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THE

# EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

# *CRITICAL JOURNAL:*

FOR

OCT. 1804..... JAN. 1805.

*TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.*

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ERRATUM

(*In ſome Copies.*)

P. 154. line 10. *for* compounded, *read* confounded.

# THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

## OCTOBER 1804.

## No. IX.

ART I. *Plan of National Improvement, pointing out the Means to render Great Britain independent of ſupplies of Corn from abroad, to extend the Britiſh Fiſheries, and augment the Military and Naval Strength of the Empire, without expence or inconvenience to the Public. To which are added, Remarks on the ſeveral attempts that have been made to Invade the Britiſh Iſlands, and an expoſition of Bonaparte's grand project to conquer Great Britain and Ireland, with Obſervations on the preſent Invaſion of Hanover.* 4to. pp. 182. Brunſwick, 1803. Sold by Budd, London.

THIS work bears deciſive marks, both internal and external, of coming from the author of a book reviewed in our ſeventh Number, under the title of '*Sketches of the Relative Strength, &c. of France and Ruſſia.*'—See No. VII. p. 43. We trace the ſame unſkilful uſe of the Engliſh language; the ſame abundance of foreign words and idioms; the ſame ſtubborn and generous attachment to the cauſe of Great Britain; the ſame arrogant and dogmatical manner of ſpeaking; the ſame raſh, unmeaſured way of thinking, in the work now before us, which we attempted to deſcribe as the diſtinguiſhing features of the former publication. The outward appearance of both the books is alſo ſimilar; they have the ſame peculiar typography, paper, and ſize. We have no doubt whatever that they are the works of the ſame author; and, in the preſent performance, we cannot deny, that there is much more to praiſe than in the '*Sketches of France and Ruſſia.*' The ſubject ſeems more familiar to the author; his calculations are more preciſe and conſiſtent; and he ſeems generally to ſpeak and to eſtimate from *data* furniſhed by his own experience. The topics of his inquiry are indeed of much eaſier inveſtigation; they form the coarſer parts of political economy. The diſcuſſion approaches more nearly to matter of fact, and rarely extends beyond obvious inferences from what has been poſitively aſſerted.

Yet, when our author deviates into general ſpeculations, and when any controverted points of political ſcience come acroſs him, his natural acuteneſs, incumbered as it is with many vulgar prejudices, and miſled by much thoughtleſs temerity, is ſeldom ſufficient to direct him in the right path, and to make up for the defects of his philoſophical education, or the coarſeneſs of his theoretical views. His name and his nation is ſtill withheld from us; and although he does not always come forward as the ſource of information, we are perſuaded that he has collected almoſt all his facts himſelf; and are certainly diſpoſed to ſuſpect, as much as formerly, the accuracy of his obſerving powers, until he comes forward in perſon, and avows himſelf and his means of information. There is, however, one remarkable difference between the authority of the preſent and of the former publication. In that work we ſaw him pretending to number and weigh with accuracy what could only be eſtimated by conjecture, and to exhibit in figures a ſtatement which did not admit of calculation. In the preſent volume his flight is certainly more moderate; and we ſcarcely can detect any inſtance of his ſtating in round ſums, what cannot by its nature be a matter of admeaſurement. We are far from ſaying, that his computations are always juſt, or even that his *data* are generally drawn from calculations actually inſtituted. But it is much, that at leaſt they may be true, and that they bear nothing on the face of them which demonſtrates their impoſſibility.

For the reſt, we regard the whole ſubject compriſed in this volume as extremely important, and at no time more nearly intereſting to Great Britain and other maritime powers, than at the preſent criſis of European affairs. The author's ſtatements, if accurate, are very valuable; and ſome of the moſt weighty of his narratives of facts are to all appearance well grounded. The points diſcuſſed will afford us an occaſion of making ſome obſervations not touched upon in the work before us, and of entering into ſeveral intereſting queſtions, which have long been either neglected, or incumbered with ſerious errors. We delight in every opportunity that is afforded us of entering upon ſuch ſubjects, and are always glad to bring before our readers, as often as the actual progreſs of literature will permit, the topics connected with the moſt dignified and manly and practical of the ſciences. '*Jam vero de legibus inſtituendis, de bello, de pace, de ſociis, de vectigalibus, de jure civium generatim in ordines ætateſque deſcripto.—Hæc una res in omni libero populo maximeque in pacatis tranquilliſque civitatibus præcipue ſemper floruit ſemperque dominata eſt. Quid enim eſt aut tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine hominum exiſtere unum qui id quod omnibus natura fit datum,*

*datum, vel ſolus vel cum paucis facere poſſit? Aut tam potens tamque magnificum quam populi motus, judicum religiones, ſenatûs gravitatem unius oratione converti? Quid porro tam regium, tam liberale, tam munificum quam opem ferre ſupplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare ſalutem, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate? Quamobrem quis hoc non jure miretur, ſummeque in eo elaborandum eſſe arbitretur, ut quo uno homines maxime beſtiis præſient, in hoc hominibus ipſis antecellat? Ut vero jam ad illa ſumma veniamus quæ vis alia potuit, aut diſperſos homines unum in locum congregare, aut a ferâ agreſtique vitâ ad hunc humanum cultum civilemque deducere; aut jam conſtitutis civitatibus leges, judicia, jura deſcribere?*' Cicero.

The 'Introduction' contains a few notices of the contents of this volume, with many unconnected remarks on the ſuperior importance of agricultural wealth, the total miſmanagement of affairs in this country, and the evil diſpoſitions of its inhabitants. We were particularly ſtruck with the groundleſs aſperity and folly of the declamation which occurs in this part of the book. It is to this chiefly that we ſhall advert in the preſent ſtage of our examination; the other remarks will find ample exemplification afterwards. Will it be credited that a ſtaunch friend of Great Britain could entertain ſo vile an opinion of our national character as the following paſſage preſents?

'When I reflect upon the diverſity of intereſt that pervades civil ſociety in general, upon the prejudices that divide the opinions of the ſeveral orders of men in every country, and upon that univerſal indifference for the public weal which *office*, *commerce* and *wealth*, have introduced into Great Britain in particular, I muſt frankly avow, that my hopes of ſeeing any thing like what I have here recommended realized, are very feeble indeed. As if a malignant genius poſſeſſed the minds of men in this quarter of the globe, rather than ſecond the views of their legitimate Sovereign, to improve the property of the nation and ſtrengthen the powers of the ſtate, they bluſter about privilege and prerogative, and fight about formality and place, until a marauding banditti knock at the door! Then they vie with one another in cowardice, and either baſely ſurrender their country, or defert both country, king and property! To quote examples here is unfortunately not neceſſary; the weekly newſpapers furniſh us with abundance!' p. xvii. xviii.

Thus does a nation become daſtardly and profligate, however ardent its loyalty, if it cheriſhes any ſpark of that conſtitutional ſpirit, without which loyalty is only baſe ſubmiſſion to arbitrary power; however magnanimous its exertions againſt the enemy, if thoſe efforts are not made in the preciſe time pointed out by this 'planner of national improvement;' however lofty its temper, and exalted its ambition after ſolid glory, if it ſagely rejects, without full diſcuſſion, the ſchemes of every viſionary who dreams that he was born to ſway the reſources of empires!—

But the praiſes of this raſh and preſumptuous perſonage are as unmeaſured as his cenſures. How aſtoniſhed muſt Arthur Young be, and how much more aſtoniſhed his readers, to find, in p. xvii, that any one volume of his works is of more real uſe to mankind than all thoſe cartloads of Voltaire, D'Alemberts, Diderots and Rouſſeaus which inundate the world?' As a ſpecimen of his rage againſt ſome inſtitutions, and his heedleſs, headlong ſtyle of innovating, we may notice his railing invective againſt the poor-laws, and his propoſal for their unqualified and immediate abolition. This, he thinks, is the way to prevent for ever the exiſtence of poor perſons; and truly, in his antipathy at this unhappy claſs, our author appears to forget the common language and feelings of humanity. What watch-dog ever ſnarled or barked more irrationally at a beggar than the 'planner' does in the following ſcurrilous and abuſive rhapſody.

'We have created a new caſt of idlers who are much more nauſeous in ſociety, a thouſand times more expenſive, and a million of times more detrimental to the ſtate than either of the former; I mean the poor. The enormous ſums expended upon this peſtiferous crew, we call *Britiſh munificence*;—a perverted term! If we perſiſt in this ſort of munificence, we ſhall dry up the generous ſource from whence it flows! I have travelled Europe over and over to look for poor; but I never ſaw any in miſery and diſtreſs, except where the doctrines of Jacobinial philanthropy had already been publiſhed and received. Aboliſh alms, offer wholeſome food for uſeful labour, and if there be a rotten part in the ſtate it will ſoon amend. To feed the community with the fetid juice of putrid bones, is to corrupt the very ſoul of the monarchy.'

This is downright nonſenſe. But there is one juſt exclamation in it, when he calls it a perverſion of language to denominate the ſupport of the poor '*Britiſh munificence*;' for the money given to them, by levy of rates, is no more munificence, than the money given to the treaſury by levy of exciſe and cuſtoms. It is to equalize the neceſſary burdens of maintaining the helpleſs poor, and expreſsly to prevent our having recourſe to ſo capricious a ſource of ſupply as munificence, that a poor rate was contrived. The whole Introduction is written in this grumbling, inſolent ſtyle. It is the effuſion of a man who ſees, in every ruler, a neceſſary foe to improvement—who is haunted by the terror of all adminiſtrations, and cabinets, and public bodies whatever—who believes that every member of every government has conſpired againſt any poſſible ſcheme, provided its tendency is obviouſly for the public good, and its powers of action ſufficiently ſtrong. In every other reſpect, he reſembles his brethren of the projecting tribe; but in this one he is quite ſingular; he is confident only that his plans are never to be liſtened to—

he

he is ſanguine only in his expectations of public folly and ruin. This is one of the turns which the deranged intellect oftentimes takes. One man believes himſelf fated to eternal perdition, as the ſcape-goat of the animated creation, from the beginning of time. Another imagines that againſt him alone all the efforts of mankind are turned, in active and unanimous conſpiracy. A third believes himſelf deſerted by his beſt and neareſt friends: And in like manner our author goes on ſcheming and reaſoning, with the unabating certainty that he is perfectly right, and ſolely right; but with an equal certainty, that no one is ever to attend to his arguments, and that all his projects are doomed to utter neglect and oblivion, merely becauſe their tendency is unqueſtionably beneficial, and their efficacy an affair of abſolute demonſtration.

The 'plan for the encouragement of the Britiſh fiſheries,' is preceded by a ſcheme, ſupported by many reaſonings, for the general improvement of the United kingdom. We differ from our author principally in this part of his ſpeculations; and as his errors are of a very popular caſt, we ſhall ſtop, to expoſe them with ſome fulneſs.

It is the fundamental doctrine of our author, that all wealth is inſecure, and comparatively to be undervalued, which is derived from any other ſource than agriculture, including in this claſs fiſheries and mines. As ſoon as the mercantile capital of any nation exceeds a certain proportion, he conceives the ſituation of the country to be dangerous, and its proſpects gloomy. Virtue he views as the eſpecial inheritance of thoſe who till the ſoil, and feed flocks with its produce. They are the claſs moſt induſtrious, as well as moſt under moral reſtraint: they are more attached to their country, and the beſt ſubjects, as well as the warmeſt patriots. Merchants, tradeſmen and artizans, can ſhift from place to place, and find a country any where. They are riotous in their wealth, daſtardly in the hour of danger, and diſcontented in poverty. An agricultural community is beſt adapted to ſupport its government by a large revenue. The wealth or the income derived from commerce is inſecure. A war may at once annihilate it, at the very moment when the public wants require its extenſion. A revenue derived from land is placed beyond the chances of war, and the power of the enemy's attacks. It furniſhes at all times a ſure fund of taxation; and the ſtate whoſe wealth conſiſts in ſuch a fund, can always rely on its revenue meeting the exigencies of its affairs.

Applied to colonial poſſeſſions, our author deems his doctrines peculiarly ſtriking. They can never be ſecurely the property of what he calls the '*metropole*.' A rupture with their inhabit-

ants is one chance of losing them entirely. Hostilities with foreign powers present another, and a more frequent risk of the same calamity. But our author goes even farther than this. He maintains, throughout his whole speculations, that no nation can be really wealthy, which is inhabited by persons engaged in the manufacture or carriage of articles of luxury. He repeatedly talks with sovereign contempt of all such artizans. He bewails the wretched perversion of judgement which uniformly ranks merchants and tradesmen, nay, 'merchant-clerks, counterkeepers, and even livery servants, customhouse and excise officers,' before 'the honest ploughman,' and 'the husbandman after his horse.' p. 41. 44. He expresses an unqualified contempt for a revenue derived from sugar and tobacco; and of a 'state propped upon the consumption of *eau lyptique*, *rouge de rose*, *tooth-powder*, and other such *items*;' unmindful of the hint given by the Roman Emperor to his son, when he objected to a certain unsavoury impost. In short, he seems uniformly to consider the soil as the only respectable and secure source either of public or private revenue; and to appreciate the utility of profits by the dignity of the occupations from which they are drawn. But, that we may not be suspected of overstating the author's doctrine, we shall lay an exposition of it before our readers in his own words.

'In the pursuit of trade and manufactures, Great Britain has neglected that medium or proportion which ought to have been maintained between that part of the community employed in agriculture and that employed in other occupations. In countries where there are but few consumers detached from the soil, agriculture almost stands at a given degree of improvement, or it makes but slow progress towards perfection. Where manufactures and trade, or the allurements of immediate gain, draw a disproportion of the population and moveable capital from rural industry, there agriculture will also languish; and although trading towns may increase, population will inevitably diminish. Great cities and manufactures are drains upon population, which nothing but a high improved agriculture can support. To balance the moral evils that are inevitable attendants on crowded communities, it is absolutely necessary to make these subservient to such internal improvement as may maintain health, vigour, and plenty in the nation. In Great Britain, this has been shamefully neglected; to commerce, we have offered up the most valuable attributes of an independent nation, viz. the elements of population, public spirit, and (I am sorry to say it) the invincibility of the state.

'In all countries, the abundance or deficiency of the necessaries of life determines the population. Where corn is cultivated and grows, political restraints and civil or municipal oppression may interrupt the progression, but cannot prevent the increase of men; where agriculture is neglected, the trade and gold of both the Indies will not prevent their degeneration. Holland and the Hanseatic Towns make no fair

exception

exception to this aſſertion; as they depend on their neighbours for food, ſo they likewiſe do for their political exiſtence. It is high time that the Britiſh legiſlature ſhould adopt efficacious meaſures to make the conſumption of our great towns, manufactures, and ſea-ports ſtimulate the exploration of our own waſte and ill-cultivated lands: That conſumption has too long fattened corn factors and the fields of foreigners.' P. 16—18.

—'A country well ſtored with ploughmen will make a ſtrong reſiſtance. A very great proportion of our manufactures derive their value from fancy; a *mode-influenza* may at any time reduce an immenſe property to nothing, lay idle ſome hundred thouſand hands, interrupt the induſtry of the nation, and embarraſs the finances of the ſtate. Raw products bear, in all countries and under all circumſtances, a real value; and ſo doth the produce of uſeful labour. To eſtimate fairly the national profits ariſing from our annual trade, it is neceſſary to inveſtigate whether or not every man, and every guinea employed in it, be employed to as much national advantage as they can poſſibly be; Drawing at the ſame time a clear diſtinction between the temporary or tranſient gains of individuals, and the ſolid benefits accruing to the ſtate.

'Ships, docks, canals, roads, and ſpacious buildings, ſhew that a country either is, or has been rich; but they are not in themſelves ſufficient ſecurity for the ſtability and permanent proſperity of a nation. As far as hiſtory leads us back, the annals of all the commercial ſtates that have gone before us, are melancholy demonſtrations of this fact; and we have the wrecks of Holland in our view!

'The hiſtory of ſtates merely commercial, reſembles the ſtory of a man getting drunk—his ſpirits riſe with every glaſs, until his head upſet his heels.' P. 34. 35.

To the greater part of theſe principles, as well as to the reaſonings founded upon them, we find it impoſſible to aſſent; and ſhall now briefly ſtate our fundamental objections.

It appears to us eminently falſe, to aſcribe greater dignity to any one mechanical profeſſion, any one branch of the ſubdivided labour of the community, than to another. If the huſbandman is not permitted to pay undivided attention to his agricultural occupation, by that arrangement of civilized ſociety which gives him the aſſiſtance of the other labourers, he muſt diſtract his attention by performing parts of thoſe other taſks. Inſtead of confining his attention to ſowing and reaping, (thoſe vocations to which our author aſſigns ſo much dignity and innocence), he muſt pollute and degrade himſelf by becoming an artizan, a maker of trinkets, a ſervant, an exciſeman. It is obvious, that all theſe profeſſions work together as parts of the ſame machine. The gains of the one are honourable in the ſame proportion in which the gains of the others are ſo. The end of each, in its particular department, is the ſame—to promote the comfort and happineſs

of the whole. To describe one as less dignified than another, is an injurious abuse of language.

But the advantages derived from all these departments are also equally *secure* to the community and to the individuals who fill them; and it should be remarked, that they are secure exactly in proportion to the security of the gains derived from agriculture. If the husbandman neither manufactures his dress and furniture, nor prepares his luxuries, he must raise grain for the support of his weaver, joiner, and grocer. They are fed by his labour only in proportion as he is clothed, and lodged, and pleased by theirs. The wealth of the nation results from their joint labours; it consists in the aggregate produce of their whole exertions; and the part which supplies comforts and luxuries, is as much opulence and as much under human controul, as the portion which furnishes articles of the first necessity.

In like manner, if we find a community employed exclusively or principally in arts and manufactures, and supplied from abroad with articles of prime necessity, we may remark, that this is exactly the same case of the division of employments; it is only applied to the great community of human society, instead of the contracted circle of one nation; or it is applied to a collection of separate countries, instead of being confined to one. Wherever, in short, we find an artizan working, we may be assured there must be a farmer ploughing and sowing, either in the same or in some other country, it signifies not which. And if a whole people betake themselves exclusively to manufactures, there must be some other people who confine their attention to husbandry. The artists and burghers of Holland must be fed by the peasantry of Poland; and if the latter cease to till the ground, the former will cease to circulate among them its manufactured produce. In like manner, if the Dutch cease to employ themselves in arts and traffic, the Poles must cease to cultivate so much of their soil, and must betake themselves to arts and commerce. To denominate the one nation dependent on the other, and to describe its wealth as comparatively insecure, is justified by no principle of political reasoning whatever.

But there are casualties in trade. Vessels may be lost at sea; fires may consume manufactories and warehouses: And agriculture alone, according to our author, furnishes a solid basis to national prosperity. Now, is not every thing human subject to accident? Is agriculture alone exempt from the general tenure? Is the labour of the farmer never the sport of times and chances; of droughts, and floods, and mildews; of sickness among cattle; tempests

tempests and fires to destroy houses and barns? These are his chances. It is beyond all calculation, indeed, that they should, in the main, affect the general prosperity, by ruining his harvests; and it is also beyond all calculation, that shipwreck should destroy the national commerce and manufactures. A war may indeed injure trade, and an enemy may ravage the country; but the vessels captured may be laden with agricultural, as well as with manufactured produce; and the hostilities may thus affect the husbandman as well as the artizan and merchant. We are therefore reduced to this dilemma,—either we must organize a state, so as to divide its capital and labour into all the requisite branches, and make it a complete whole within itself (which implies the existence of many occupations besides agriculture); or we must admit, that the farmer, as well as the artizan and trader, may be affected by the casualties of war, in the very moment in which manufactures and commerce are suffering. Besides, if there be any truth in the foregoing statements, the hostile powers cannot injure each other's commerce with impunity; for if the agriculture of the one was previously calculated, upon the supposition that its market lay in the other (which is necessarily a part of the question), it is a poor advantage to ruin its own customer, and destroy the equivalent that must be paid for its goods. Indeed, we find that this view is so clear and direct, that it influences the mutual proceedings of all contending powers, and reduces to a very trifle the real effects of war upon trade.

It has been still more usual to view colonial trade as an insecure source of wealth. But it should be remembered, that according to the modern and extensive system of colonization, the traffic between a mother country and her colonies, is exactly in the same predicament with the traffic between a farming and a commercial district; in other words, the colony trade is the carriage of agricultural produce to market. If, then, we talk of insecurity, we must apply the term to this branch of agriculture; and then the question comes to be, Whether a compact or a scattered agricultural territory is most secure? a question which obviously admits of but one answer; though it by no means follows from its decision, that no territory should be cultivated that is not of the very best form and dimensions. It ought never to be forgotten either, that this trade creates its own security, by raising up the species of force calculated to defend straggling possessions. It is the great nursery of seamen, and creator of fleets; and it furnishes the points from which a maritime enemy can best be attacked for our own security and defence. Nor can we figure the grounds on which our author, who

who is the moſt ſtrenuous advocate of fiſheries, and goes farther than all his predeceſſors in recommending their encouragement, ſhould object to that colonial ſyſtem, which is compoſed of a commerce, the moſt nearly allied to the fiſhing concerns, in all its principles and effects, and of territorial poſſeſſions, the moſt eſſentially neceſſary to the progreſs and ſecurity of the fiſheries themſelves.

A theory ſtill more trite than the preceding, has led ſome political reaſoners, and our author among the reſt, to maintain, that a numerous peaſantry is the only ſure and ſafe defence of a great country. This doctrine has found multitudes of converts among retailers of ſentiment, as well as ſpeculative inquirers. The peaſantry, by long uſage, has acquired ſuch firm poſſeſſion of the titles '*virtuous*,' '*hardy*,' '*ſpirited*,' '*freeborn*,' and the like, that we almoſt forget that there can exiſt in any other claſs of men, either worth, ſtrength, valour, or freedom; and never reflect that, while the moſt eminent inſtances of ſlavery are to be found in myriads of bondſmen, (the only name for peaſants in moſt countries of Europe), the progreſs of freedom has uniformly been coeval with the multiplication of the other orders of the community. To render the cultivators of the ſoil ſtill more *intereſting*, they are termed '*ſimple*,' '*natural*,' '*happy*,' '*ignorant*,' and ſo forth. Moſt of the arguments, or rather rhapſodies in favour of barbariſm (what is called the *rude ſtate of ſociety*) are brought to bear upon this view of the queſtion. Every opprobrious epithet is flung upon the artizan in his various capacities, of an inhabitant of towns, a conſumer of ſpirits and other luxuries, a well educated and civilized perſon. He is ſickly, and weak and ugly, and puny and diſſipated, and ſeditious and ſedentary, and perhaps a taylor. The aid of poetry has not been wanting; and inferences have actually been founded upon the moſt ſplendid and exquiſite piece of Roman verſification—Virgil's famous panegyric on the happy repoſe of ruſtic life. To us, however, notwithſtanding all this eloquence, ſentiment, and authority, it does appear that the plain facts lye wholly and unequivocally in the oppoſite ſcale. If the bodily ſtrength of artizans is leſs than that of ploughmen, they poſſeſs, in a much greater degree, that manual dexterity and ſkill, ſo neceſſary in the evolutions, eſpecially of modern war; their health, impaired perhaps by ſedentary labour, is ſpeedily reſtored by the exertions of diſcipline, and the practice of the field. Modern warfare conſiſts in reducing men to a ſtate of mechanical activity, and combining them as parts of a great machine. For this uſe, which of the two is moſt fitted by his previous habits—he who has been all his life acting the part of a mechanical imple-

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ment in a combination of movements—or he who has been conſtantly employed as a thinking, independent, ſeparate, and inſulated agent? Obedience is the firſt requiſite in a ſoldier; and for his pay, he muſt give up every faculty of body and mind to the will of another. Is ſuch diſcipline enforced more eaſily on thoſe who have roamed the woods, and ſpent their days in a vaunted freedom and ſelf-controul, or in thoſe who have never known the uſe of their natural independence, but have lived and worked, and almoſt breathed at the will of their employers? It muſt alſo be remembered, that of all troops, the moſt expenſive are thoſe levied from agricultural occupations; that artizans are naturally thrown idle by every war, but cultivators muſt work conſtantly, otherwiſe the community will ſtarve; that the peaſantry can only be drawn into military ſervice during certain ſeaſons of the year; and that hired troops, naturally compoſed of manufacturers, can be retained in ſervice all the year round. It is, however, a favourite topic with our author, that a militia ſhould defend every country. His opinions on this point, coincide indeed with the ordinary, we fear the practical tenets of the day; and we rejoice in having the preſent opportunity of urging our reaſons in oppoſition to principles of policy, ſo eminently fatal in all their conſequences to the wealth, the ſafety, and the aggrandizement of the country. The doctrine, unfortunately too prevalent in theſe times, is thus ſtated with conſiderable accuracy by our author; who, it muſt be remarked, in the outſet, does not object to ſtanding armies, and has no ſort of antipathy, on conſtitutional grounds, to the moſt extenſive and regularly organized military eſtabliſhments, on the moſt permanent footing.

'The proprietors of the ſoil are the order in the ſociety that have the moſt immediate and real intereſt in the permanent proſperity of the ſtate. They and the cultivators are thoſe moſt attached to their country. Theſe men are the natural ſupporters of the monarchy; they are its hereditary guardians; and their rank ſhould be at the head of the community. From amongſt the proprietors and cultivators, the military force of the empire ſhould be compoſed; the public functions of the ſtate are their legal patrimony.

'The militia, inſtead of being made up of men of all deſcriptions, ſome entrapped by ſtratagem, others compelled by force, or enliſted for the paltry conſideration of a few guineas, ſhould be a voluntary choſen band, raiſed among thoſe who have families to honour, manly affections to gratify, and who have a country to ſerve. They ſhould be the guard of the nation, the ſource of the army, and an honourable retreat from the toils of active ſervice. That is, the militia ſhould be an eſtabliſhment in which every honeſt Briton would be proud to ſerve, and in the boſom of which every meritorious ſoldier returning from the ſervice of his country ſhould find an ample ſubſiſtence for life.' p. 44—46.

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The objections to the militia ſyſtem, in all its modifications, whether as an ultimate object, or as a nurſery for the more regular forces, are radical and peremptory.

Militia troops are infinitely leſs valuable for all the purpoſes of actual warfare, particularly offenſive operations, than regularly raiſed and diſciplined troops, even if the expences of procuring both kinds of force were exactly equal. They are compoſed of men taken in general from a line of life to which they are naturally attached, and thrown compulſorily into one which they abhor. They are limited in their operations and diſcipline, by the manifeſt ſuperiority of the regulars, and the preference univerſally given to them—by the term of their ſervice, and by the boundaries within which it is confined. The limitation of the time for which they ſerve is peculiarly fatal to the acquiſition of military habits and a ſtate of correct diſcipline, inaſmuch as men muſt always apply themſelves to that line of exertion which they are forced to enter for a time, with very little ardour and anxiety.

But the expence of raiſing ſuch troops is enormous to the proſperity and wealth of the community. In every populous and wealthy country, there is a certain maſs of the inhabitants whoſe circumſtances are uncomfortable; whoſe fortunes are precarious; who are attached to no regular profeſſion, but ready to ſhift about, in order to anſwer any temporary demand for labour that may occur, or to ſupply any blank in the other bodies, which may leave a vacancy in the ordinary channels of induſtry. This claſs of the community is in every reſpect the leaſt valuable. Its members are perſons of bad character and idle habits—men who generally owe their misfortunes to their follies or their vices, or who are driven, by more inevitable calamities, into idle and criminal habits. They are a congeries of outcaſts from the ſound branches of the population, and have a tendency to corrupt the reſt of its members; they are the ſcum and offſcourings of ſociety, or thoſe parts which are, from being thrown off, in a progreſs towards this impure and noxious ſtate. Their numbers are continually varying with all the changes in the fortunes of the ſociety—with the wiſdom of its internal adminiſtration—the encouragements which its police affords to induſtry or to idleneſs—the changes in its domeſtic proſperity, and in its external ſecurity and power. They ſcarcely exiſt at all in a country purely agricultural, in one like America for example, where the abundance of good land, and the conſtant demands for labour, give every man the choice of being either a proprietor of ſtock, or a poſſeſſor of revenue. They abound in commercial and manufacturing communities, and are chiefly to be met with in diſtricts which ſupply the more capricious deſires of mankind, and are moſt liable to ſudden variations of demand. In an overpeopled and overtrading country,

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they are always numerous; and the miſeries they occaſion ſhould reconcile a poorer territory to various leſſer hardſhips in its circumſtances. Every ſudden change from peace to war, multiplies the numbers of this claſs. The loſs of foreign territories and of contiguous provinces, or of colonial eſtabliſhments, has the ſame effect, in a ſimilar degree.

Now, the natural deſtination of this claſs of men ſeems to be the naval and military ſervice of the ſtate. Diſcipline will excite induſtry, or at leaſt exertion, in thoſe whom habits of idleneſs had rendered callous to all the temptations of hire. Strict government will reform the manners, or at leaſt reſtrain the conduct of thoſe whom a life of lawleſs diſſipation had corrupted. It is highly beneficial to the ſounder parts of the community, that ſuch rotten members ſhould be at leaſt ſeparated from contact with the reſt, if they cannot be cured by a ſtrongly alterative regimen. Above all, it is highly beneficial to the ſtate, that its preſſing demands for ſoldiers and ſailors ſhould be ſupplied eaſily and ſuddenly, without diſturbing, in the ſlighteſt degree, the arrangements of the community. War thus creates the very means of ſupplying its demands, without convulſion or derangement of the ſociety. It furniſhes men to the army and navy, without diſturbing the loom and the plough, or drying up the ſources of national wealth, from which its expences are to be provided. It carries off the bad humours formerly ſecreted in the body-politic, without any danger, from their contagious influence, to the ſounder parts of the ſyſtem.

Hence we may infer, that in a country wholly agricultural, and thinly peopled in proportion to its natural reſources—one where land is plentiful, and labour uniformly bears a monopoly price—where, of conſequence, the floating or ſhifting maſs of population above deſcribed does not exiſt—militia troops are naturally the moſt ſafe and oeconomical mode of national defence. War is moſt to be dreaded, and offenſive hoſtilities conſtantly to be avoided. In commercial, well-peopled, luxurious and manufacturing countries, where the competition exiſts among labourers, and not among capitaliſts—where, of conſequence, there is always a large and a noxious maſs of ſhifting population ſecreted, varying in ſize with the circumſtances of the community, and increaſed by the neceſſary operations of warfare—in ſuch a ſtate, the recruiting of the regular army ſhould always be preferred to the raiſing of militia forces. War is there leſs dangerous; and offenſive meaſures of hoſtility are generally much more ſafe than operations of a defenſive nature at home. All this is extremely clear, if we reflect that a militia, being raiſed compulſorily from all the orders of the community alike, is formed of the ſound as well as of the

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floating population, and conſiſts of the induſtrious labourer, as well as of the idle and profligate vagrant. An army ſo raiſed takes away both that part of the people which ſhould remain at their looms and ploughs, and that part which ought to be enliſted or impreſſed. It confounds, in one indiſcriminate levy, the perſons leaſt fitted for military purſuits, and thoſe who are formed for the army by all their previous habits. It falls alike on thoſe who are benefited, and thoſe who are ruined, by the change of life, and drains thoſe parts of the country where no fit ſubjects are to be found, as well as thoſe which abound in materials for the recruiting ſervice. The regular army, recruited by voluntary enliſtment, draws off preciſely thoſe who ought to enter, and leaves all thoſe free who can be better employed as citizens than as ſoldiers. It is ſupplied by the diſtricts where a floating population abounds, and does not grow at the expence of thoſe which are full of induſtry and morals. It is ſupplied by the very circumſtances which render its exiſtence neceſſary; and inſtead of greatly aggravating, it eminently alleviates the evils of a ſtate of warfare.

The benefits of this ſyſtem in military policy, are exactly analogous to thoſe of the funding ſyſtem in finance. The practice of raiſing money by loan enables capital to find an inveſtment when it is ſhut out from all the ordinary channels of employment, and gives the ſtate the benefit of ſudden aſſiſtance, without cramping the commerce which the war may ſtill allow to exiſt in the country. It forces nothing; it avails itſelf of circumſtances; it turns an evil into a benefit; and prevents the ſhocks of war from falling on the moſt delicate parts of the political machine.

But, admitting that the expence, that is, the loſs attendant upon the two ſyſtems of raiſing troops, were preciſely equal, they fall, it is evident, with very different degrees of juſtice upon the community. While the army can be recruited at the proportioned expence of the whole nation, the militia muſt be raiſed from the poorer claſſes, as rigorouſly as from the rich; ſo that a man not paying taxes at all, a pauper, is liable to pay as much, or to be as much haraſſed for the public defence, as one who has 100,000l. a year. It has therefore all the evils of a poll-tax. Nay, more: on the rich it falls as a tax, which they can eaſily pay; on the poor it falls as a compulſory levy of perſonal ſervice: On the rich it operates as a light fine; on the poor as impriſonment, hard labour, or exile. Laſt of all, it falls on each rank of ſociety by lot. It is therefore a burthen impoſed on all orders with equal ſeverity; or rather it is a burthen impoſed with moſt ſeverity on thoſe leaſt able to bear the load; and it falls not equally on every perſon in the ſame claſs, but on individuals choſen

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by hazard to bear the whole. It is, at leaſt, as abſurd to defend the country in this equal manner, without regard to means, and to the ſtake which each ſubject has in its preſervation, as it would be to make every man pay an equal income-tax, whether he be rich or poor. To let the burthen fall differently on various claſſes, is as unjuſt as it would be to make all the wealthy orders pay a trifling contribution, and force all the poor to be ſervants of the public. To determine by lot who ſhall be affected by the burthen, is as palpable a blunder in taxation, as it would be to caſt lots for the individuals who ſhould pay the whole taxes of the country, and to give every man the ſame chance of paying the ſame enormous ſums, whatever be his means or his intereſt in the fate of the nation. Such are the two ſyſtems of militia and regular ſervice; and it is our aſtoniſhment, that in this enlightened country, even an old conſtitutional prejudice, derived from times utterly oppoſite to the preſent, has been able to blind the wiſeſt perſons of the nation, ſo far as to extend, inſtead of aboliſhing, a ſcheme ſo palpably abſurd and ruinous as the militia law. The author of the book now before us, with many enlightened ideas on the ſubject of regular armaments, is tinctured with ſome of the worſt of theſe errors, which have rooted a love of the militia ſyſtem in the minds of Engliſhmen; and it was of the more conſequence to expoſe his miſtakes, that he defends them on grounds conſiderably leſs abſurd, than thoſe fooliſh declamatory notions of the danger to liberty, which are generally blazoned forth for the attack of the regular recruiting ſyſtem. We now proceed to the plans contained in this ſpeculative volume, beginning with that which we think moſt exceptionable, the agricultural ſcheme propounded in the remaining part of the introduction.

It is the fundamental principle of this author, that there ought always to be a certain proportion between the agricultural and the other branches of induſtry in every ſtate. He maintains that, in Great Britain, this proportion does not prevail; but that, on the contrary, the huſbandry of the country is below its due amount; and he argues from theſe premiſes, (as may be expected in a theory which undervalues all occupations except agriculture), that it is the indiſpenſable duty of the government to interfere for the ſafety of the ſtate, and to afford ſuch poſitive encouragement, as, without hampering the natural liberty of the ſubject, may reſtore the right proportion between the kinds of induſtry. Now, certainly, if the fundamental poſition be conceded, all this follows of courſe. For no one can deny, that if the ſecurity of the community demands ſuch a diſtribution as is thus alluded to, and if there is no natural proviſion in the wants and deſires of men,

men, ſufficiently powerful conſtantly to maintain the neceſſary equilibrium, a caſe is made out, which calls for the interpoſition of a ſuperintending power. But we utterly deny the truth of the firſt principle. We cannot imagine how any thing elſe than an obvious logical error could have led our author to ſuppoſe that there is ſuch a natural proportion as he talks of. It is clear that he reaſons in a circle, in order to arrive at this concluſion; for how can any proportion be natural, but that which we find to reſult, in point of fact, from the colliſion of human paſſions, intereſts, and prudential views? Thoſe principles naturally tend to preſerve exactly that *ratio* between the different employments of ſtock and labour, which the gratification of our wants and the ſupply of our enjoyments requires. Left to itſelf, every community will naturally and certainly grow as much corn, and breed as many cattle, as the demands of its members, for bread and butchers'-meat, require. It will manufacture as many articles of luxury as the price of foreign goods and the circumſtances of its members excite and enable it to work up. It will import as many articles of neceſſary comfort and enjoyment, as the cheapneſs of foreign countries and the wealth of its members allow. To invert the proportions thus eſtabliſhed, is the greateſt danger to which the ſociety can be expoſed. Such interference alone can deſtroy the due and ſafe proportion of agricultural to manufacturing and commercial purſuits. Such undue encouragements alone can derange that vaſt and complicated machine, whoſe parts are naturally balanced in the niceſt adjuſtment; whoſe operations, if left to the controul of human wiſdom and foreſight, could not ſubſiſt for one inſtant in their neceſſary vigour; whoſe arrangement is only to be preſerved, by allowing free ſcope to the maſter principle of individual intereſt—the power which connects and maintains the whole ſyſtem, as gravitation regulates the movements of the heavenly bodies.

Such being our opinion as to the poſtulate on which our author's ſchemes are built, it is of infinitely leſs conſequence to inquire into the merits of the details. We ſhall only ſketch the plans, and offer a ſingle remark on their organization. He recommends that a national Board of Agriculture be eſtabliſhed under the patronage of the King: that it conſiſt of two colleges; the one under the preſidency of the Prince of Wales, with a vice-preſident, who ſhall be a peer, and its members the hereditary nobility; the other under an elective preſident, and compoſed of hereditary landholders, poſſeſſing a certain rental. The firſt college is to be indiviſible, and to ſit in the metropolis; the other is to conſiſt of ſubdepartments, one in each county. The Board (or rather, we ſhould apprehend, the firſt college, for we cannot

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ſee how the departments are to act jointly) is to have moſt extenſive powers, and high honorary, as well as ſubſtantial privileges. It is firſt to compile a general *cadaſtre*, ſomewhat in the ſtyle of our old *doomſday-book*, and from thence to judge how far the labour and capital of the nation are judiciouſly veſted; what waſte lands need to be encloſed; what rivers to be embanked, or rendered navigable; what parts to be defended from the ſea; what diſtricts to be furniſhed with roads, canals, and bridges:—So extenſive are the duties of this body. Having aſcertained what the agriculture of the country requires, the Board is then to ſet immediately about performing the work, by raiſing as much money as the above purpoſes may require, and ſuperintending its immediate expenditure; and our author ſketches out the method in which he imagines the Board might deviſe its impoſts:—So prodigious are the powers of this body.

Thus, according to our author's ſtrange plan, the whole improvements, in fact the whole rural economy of the country, and, we may ſay, every branch of agricultural induſtry, as well as all public works even remotely influencing cultivation, are to be placed at the abſolute diſpoſal of a board of hereditary landed proprietors, utterly uncontrouled by the Legiſlature, and ſcarcely ſubject (if we rightly comprehend the proviſion of p. 31.) to the juriſprudence of the ſtate. This new tribunal is to levy taxes at its own diſcretion to an enormous amount, in fact to any amount it may pleaſe to name, and then to expend the produce of the impoſts as it may think proper. If its powers do not altogether overawe the whole Legiſlature of the ſtate, it muſt be admitted that they at leaſt render it quite independent of every other conſtituted authority, and make it a ſubſtitute for the parliament in the moſt important of all the legiſlative functions. Beſides, although from the conſtitution of the Board its authorities cannot bear hard or unequally upon the greater landed proprietors, yet it is clear, that the Board is a landed ariſtocracy, and deſtroys the very idea of independence in the inferior proprietors. But, admitting that all proprietors of land had an influence in its management, ſtill it would ſubject the manufacturing and commercial intereſts of this great trading country, as well as the large claſs of annuitants who have no capital, including all mortgagees, to the controul of the landed intereſt. For the only circumſtance in which the propoſed board differs from the preſent parliament is, that it conſiſts entirely of landholders and nobles; and is formed, not by repreſentation and election, but by the admiſſion of every proprietor of a large eſtate to act in his own perſon. Theſe conſiderations are of themſelves ſufficient to condemn, from the beginning to the end, the whole of this prepoſterous ſyſtem, and

to preclude the neceſſity of urging any more of the reaſons which immediately ſuggeſt themſelves in unlimited abundance againſt the principles, as well as the details of a ſcheme, the wildeſt and leaſt conſiſtent that ever was ſketched out by the heated fancy of a projector.

We now proceed, with greater brevity, to conſider the plans propoſed by our author, relative to the improvement of the fiſheries. Although we are far from agreeing with him in his practical expedients on this branch of his ſubject, we have no heſitation in affirming, that it contains much valuable information on a topic highly important, and too generally neglected; and that it offers ſeveral very uſeful hints on the extenſion of a moſt fertile branch of our national reſources.

Our author introduces his diſcuſſion of the fiſheries by various ſtatements of detail, illuſtrating the immenſe importance of this branch of induſtry, as a ſource of ſolid and increaſing wealth. He enlarges upon the benefits derived from it by the Scandinavian nations in early times, and more eſpecially by the Dutch, whoſe northern fiſhery maintained a hundred and fifty thouſand tons, or from eight hundred to twelve hundred decked veſſels, and brought in a clear ſum equal to 6,000,000l. Sterling in the preſent day. He then traces the gradual decline of this branch of induſtry. This began firſt in Scandinavia, chiefly from the political circumſtances of the rival powers, as *e. g.* the long wars which grew out of the convention of Calmar. At preſent, though Denmark poſſeſſes every facility for engaging in the fiſheries, both in point of territory, ſkill, population, and ſhipping; yet her whole expottation of fiſh during the laſt fifty years, has not exceeded the average of 120,000l. Sterling. The decline of the Dutch fiſheries, our author aſcribes to the inſecurity of the capital and induſtry veſted in them, in conſequence of the inferiority of the Dutch navy, and the maritime power and rival claims of England; at any rate, the fact is certain, that though the quantity, as well as the courſes of the fiſh remain the ſame, Holland does not now employ, on an average of forty years of peace, one fifth of the tonnage which ſhe formerly engaged in this line of induſtry, and ſcarcely takes and cures enough for her own internal conſumption of the article.

We are next preſented with ſome details, illuſtrating very ſtrongly the facility with which England might enter into the line abandoned by the Danes, Swedes, and Dutch. Theſe proofs conſiſt in ſtatements of the immenſe quantities of the fiſh, and the eaſe with which a ſupply to a very large amount might find a good and near market. Our author eſtimates, from the conſumption of Holland, that Auſtria, Ruſ-

ſia,

ſia, and Poland, could take off nearly 3,000,000 of barrels, and would certainly be tempted to buy as many, if they were furniſhed in ſufficient excellence and cheapneſs. On this eſtimate, we have to remark in paſſing, that it obviouſly proceeds upon the aſſumption of a doubtful, we are diſpoſed to think, a falſe poſition, that the natives of thoſe countries would ſuddenly become enabled to pay for articles of ſome coſt, and of mere luxury. It would be no ſmall enjoyment for Poliſh peaſantry to exchange their preſent frugal reliſh of an onion, or a piece of lean and moſt cheap meat, for a well cured, fat herring, carried a long ſea voyage, and then tranſported over a conſiderable tract of country by the worſt of roads. The price to be paid for ſuch a ſupply would be enormous. By our author's own ſhowing, it appears that at the Dutch and Norwegian maritime ports, the ſalt cod ſells at preſent for three and four pounds a barrel. It is not allowing too much for expence of carriage and freight, to ſuppoſe that in Poland and Auſtria and Ruſſia, the average will be five pounds. So that a ſum of fifteen millions Sterling, yearly, muſt be found in thoſe poor countries, for the expence of purchaſing our ſalt fiſh. Nay, all this muſt be raiſed by the improvement of agriculture in thoſe countries; for they deal entirely in rude produce, ſo that our agriculture muſt neceſſarily ſuffer, and the fiſheries be ſupported at the expence of our own landed intereſt and farmers; a thing very inconſiſtent with the tenor of our author's general principles and agricultural plans. Let it alſo be remarked, that the fiſh are to be conſumed as a gratification by the lower ranks, ſo that the increaſed wealth of our new cuſtomers muſt be acquired in that very order which is unhappily at all times the leaſt likely to acquire it; and an event muſt be ſuddenly anticipated (viz. the improvement of the peaſant's condition) which is leaſt of all to be expected in feudal and enſlaved, inland and uncivilized communities, like Auſtria, Poland, and Ruſſia.

But, admitting the poſſibility of procuring ſuch an extenſive market as the ſupply of our augmented fiſheries may require, let us haſtily ſurvey our author's plan for improving them. He eſtimates with great apparent fairneſs, the expence of obtaining 600,000 barrels of cod-fiſh, at 764,000l. Sterling; and 1,500,000 barrels of herring, at 1,673,250l.; the total tonnage required at 100,000, and the ſeamen at about 20,000 men and boys. The clear gains would evidently be great. The whale fiſhery, he eſtimates at 60,000 tons and 9,500 good ſeamen, bringing in likewiſe a large clear profit. So that, according to a moderate computation, there will reſult from the propoſed extenſion of the three great fiſheries, the cod, the herring, and the whale,

an additional tonnage of 160,000, and ſeamen to the number of about 30,000, beſides the gains in produce.

In order to carry into execution theſe ſplendid plans, our author, who has always at hand a convenient ſupply of ſchemes, details a project of what he calls '*A National Corporation for carrying on the Britiſh Fiſheries.*' This body is to have ſtock divided into ſhares, upon which the public is to guarantee an yearly dividend of five *per cent.* The maritime towns ſhall all have ſhares in the ſtock and adminiſtration; the managers ſhall have the ſole and entire adminſtration of the ſalt required in the fiſheries; and the fiſh caught and cured ſhall be liable to no revenue duties. Thoſe who have ſerved in it a certain time, ſhall be entitled to a proviſion for their widows and families, and, if diſabled, to ſupport for themſelves. And the managers of the inſtitution ſhall have certain municipal powers, in order to inforce diſcipline among their workmen and fiſhermen.

Although this plan does not embrace the eſtabliſhment of a monopoly in direct and expreſs terms, it obviouſly amounts to the very ſame thing in ſubſtance. The grant of privileges; the eſtabliſhment of perquiſites and proviſions to the men employed; above all, the guarantee of a high dividend, independent of the ſucceſs of the fiſhing and trading operations, and the excluſive management of the ſalt trade, amount to a complete monopoly of the whole fiſheries of Great Britain, and of the traffic in ſalt and fiſh. We diſapprove entirely of all this, on general principles. The plan has the obvious tendency to draw capital and induſtry, to an enormous amount, into a channel, that would otherwiſe not be filled in any thing like the ſame degree. It preſcribes a large profit, independent of all exertion or ſucceſs; and thus encourages, ſtill more, that dilapidation of the funds, which, even without ſuch a great inducement to careleſs expenditure, is inſeparable from the management of company affairs. It checks the growth of ſeamen and fiſheries in the quarters where they are naturally produced in the moſt convenient and œconomical manner; and it throws into the hands of a body unconnected with government, and uncontrouled by Parliament, a ſort of *imperium in imperio*, the greateſt influence, and power of creating jobs. The idea of ſuch an eſtabliſhment is far from being original. The part of it that relates to a federal union, as it were, of the ſeaport towns, in the common concern, is copied exactly from the organization of the Dutch Eaſt India Company; in which, as in the government of the republic, each province and great trading town had a ſpecific and definite ſhare. The general ſcheme of a corporation for fiſhing, is accurately ſketched in a tract of ſome ability, containing much information

information on the fiſheries, and written for the expreſs purpoſe of recommending the extenſion of them in England. It is entitled, 'England's Path to Wealth and Honour, in a dialogue between an Engliſhman and a Dutchman.' The motto, is a text from St Luke's Goſpel, chap. v. verſe 4.—'Launch out into the deep, and let down your net for a draught.' It was publiſhed in 1750, by Cogan in Fleetſtreet. We recommend it to ſuch of our readers as value this very intereſting branch of national policy. They will find (p. 42. *et ſeqq.*) a better plan for improving the fiſheries than is to be met with in the crude draught now before us. The principle of it is to find employment for the poor, and alleviate the intolerable burthen of the Engliſh poor rates. It is, however, liable to a great number of objections, though not to all thoſe fundamental ones which we have urged againſt the project now under review.

One peculiarity we have already remarked in our author,—he ſeems, unlike other projectors, to have profited by his individual experience; and his diſappointment has increaſed the natural ſourneſs of his temper towards governments and parliaments. We conclude our ſtrictures upon his ſcheme, by the following extract, written with no ſmall ſtrength of language, and, we fear, with too much truth of deſcription.

'If we have, during the laſt century, extended our maritime trade, and increaſed our manufactures, theſe have been done by improving the ſources we already poſſeſſed; for we have made no uſeful acquiſitions; we have expended 500 millions merely to defend what we had; and, in a political ſenſe, we are not at this time ſo powerful as we were a hundred years ago. Let us now, inſtead of expending millions upon millions in cultivating the colonies of France and of her dependents, only lay out, upon the beſt of all ſecurity, and on certain intereſt, that is, upon the improvement of the ſoil of the United Kingdom, and to extend and improve the Britiſh fiſheries, only *eight millions Sterling*, and in leſs than twenty years we ſhall double the internal ſtrength of the State, and affirm the permanency of the Empire.' p. 121. 122.

'In Great Britain, we have ſeveral private works of much uſe to thoſe towns and corporations for which they have been conſtructed; but for a nation of our rank, wealth, and commerce, I do not recollect any work that deſerves the name of public. A Board of Agriculture and a Fiſhery Corporation, ſuch as I have propoſed, would be great national inſtitutions, and they would ſoon produce effects that would deſerve public conſideration.

'A naval port or road-ſtead at Buchanneſs, one on the coaſt of Norfolk, (and a naval canal from the German Ocean to the Iriſh Sea), if executed upon a proper ſcale, would be works of great public utility; eſpecially as the ſafety of the Britiſh kingdoms now requires that the Britiſh navy be provided with harbours or ſafe road-ſteads at the head

lands on the east coast of the island. Such might, in my opinion, be made, by mooring round the anchorage, single, double, or, if necessary, triple lines of floating rafts, well constructed, to ride like our floating lights. It is now upwards of nineteen years since I first mentioned these matters to those charged with the improvement and defence of the country, and I have frequently repeated them. But to offer advice or venture opinion to official men is an ungrateful task: it has been dangerous in more countries than one—"*Periculosum quippe illis temporibus veritas erat, quis mala Urbi, et Imperiis imminebant.*" TACIT.' p. 120. 121.

However inimical to governments in the mass, our author is no enemy to princes. The main burthen of his thoughts on Invasion, and his Appendix on the conquest of Hanover, is to praise the British Royal Family. We join with every good subject in the motives and general tenor of these well deserved eulogies; but our respect even for the most exalted of stations, and the most meritorious of characters, will not prevent us from exposing what we conceive to be a bad and awkward compliment, paid at the expence of truth, with mean views and a dangerous tendency. We have no hesitation, therefore, in saying, that we do not, in the slightest degree, believe that the enemy would be infinitely gratified by any change of measures which should place the operations of the British army somewhat more immediately under the controul of a military council, formed of the combined talents and experience of the British Staff; and we are still more decided in our disbelief of the silly assertion, contained in p. 135, that 'Bonaparte doth by no means ever wish to break a spear with the *present Commander in Chief.*' This, be it observed, is applied to that illustrious prince personally, and as separated from the British army; and though the author says he knows it from particular sources of information, we cannot help suspecting that he is mistaken. We likewise are sufficiently attached to our country and its Constitution, not to sympathize in the sentiment expressed in p. 151, that the duty of the British princes is always to stand between the kingdom and the enemy. Without desiring to see that illustrious body indifferent to the public safety, or inactive in defending our common cause, at this momentous crisis, we do not acknowledge their natural and hereditary right to expose themselves in the breach, and provide for the security of the fortress, to the exclusion of all the talents and gallantry which, from so many other quarters, the British nation can always command.

ART.

ART. II. *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson, Author of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison; selected from the Original Manuscripts bequeathed to his Family. To which are prefixed, a Biographical Account of that Author, and Observations on his Writings.* By Anna Lætitia Barbauld. 6 vol. 8vo. Phillips, London. 1804.

THE public has great reason to be satisfied, we think, with Mrs Barbauld's share in this publication. She has contributed a very well written Introduction; and she has suppressed about twice as many letters as are now presented to our consideration. Favourably as we are disposed to think of all for which she is directly responsible, the perusal of the whole six volumes has fully convinced us that we are even more indebted to her forbearance than to her bounty.

The fair biographer unquestionably possesses very considerable talents, and exercises her powers of writing with singular judgement and propriety. Many of her observations are acute and striking, and several of them very fine and delicate. Yet this is not, perhaps, the general character of her genius; and it must be acknowledged, that she has a tone and manner which is something formal and heavy; that she occasionally delivers trite and obvious truths with the pomp and solemnity of important discoveries, and sometimes attempts to exalt and magnify her subject by a very clumsy kind of declamation. With all those defects, however, we think the Life and Observations have so much substantial merit, that most readers will agree with us in thinking that they are worth much more than all the rest of the publication.

She sets off indeed with a sort of formal dissertation upon novels and romances in general; and, after obligingly recapitulating the whole history of this branch of literature, from the Theagenes and Chariclea of Heliodorus to the Gil Blas and Nouvelle Heloise of the present day, she proceeds to distinguish these performances into three several classes, according to the mode and form of narration adopted by the author. The first, she is pleased to inform us, is the narrative or epic form, in which the whole story is put into the mouth of the author, who is supposed, like the Muse, to know every thing, and is not obliged to give any account of the sources of his information; the second is that in which the hero relates his own adventures; and the third is that of epistolary correspondence, where all the agents in the drama successively narrate the incidents in which they are principally concerned. It was with Richardson, Mrs Barbauld then informs us, that this last mode of novel writing originated; and

she enters into a critical examination of its advantages and disadvantages, and of the comparative probability of a person dispatching a narrative of every interesting incident or conversation in his life to his friends by the post, and of his sitting down, after his adventures are concluded, to give a particular account of them to the public. There is something rather childish, we think, in all this investigation; and the problem of comparative probability seems to be stated purely for the pleasure of the solution. No reader was ever disturbed, in the middle of an interesting story, by any scruple about the means or the inducements which the narrator may be presumed to have had for telling it. While he is engaged with the story, such an inquiry never suggests itself; and when it is suggested, he recollects that the whole is a fiction, invented by the author for his amusement, and that the best way of communicating it must be that by which he is the most interested and the least fatigued. To us it appears very obvious, that the first of the three modes, or the author's own narrative, is by far the most eligible; and for this plain reason, that it lays him under much less restraint than either of the other two. He can introduce a letter or a story whenever he finds it convenient, and can make use of the dramatic or conversation style as often as the subject requires it. In epistolary writing, there must be a great deal of repetition and egotism; and we must submit, as on the stage, to the intolerable burden of an insipid confidant, with whose admiration of the hero's epistles the reader may not always be disposed to sympathize. There is one species of novel, indeed, (but only one), to which the epistolary style is peculiarly adapted; that is, the novel, in which the whole interest depends, not upon the adventures, but on the characters of the persons represented, and in which the story is of very subordinate importance, and only serves as an occasion to draw forth the sentiments and feelings of the agents. The Heloise of Rousseau may be considered as the model of this species of writing; and Mrs Barbauld certainly overlooked this obvious distinction, when she asserted that the author of that extraordinary work is to be reckoned among the imitators of Richardson. In the Heloise, there is scarcely any narrative at all; and the interest may be said to consist altogether in the eloquent expression of fine sentiments and exalted passion. All Richardson's novels, on the other hand, are narrative; and the letters of most of his characters contain little more than a minute journal of the conversations and transactions in which they were successively engaged. The style of Richardson might be perfectly copied, though the epistolary form were to be dropped; but no imitation of the

Heloise

Heloiſe could be recogniſed, if it were not in the ſhape of letters.

After finiſhing her diſcourſe upon novels, Mrs Barbauld proceeds to lay before her readers ſome account of the life and performances of Richardſon. The biography is very ſcanty, and contains nothing that can be thought very intereſting. He was the ſon of a joiner in Derbyſhire; but always avoided mentioning the town in which he was born. He was intended at firſt for the church; but his father, finding that the expence of his education would be too heavy, at laſt bound him apprentice to a printer. He never was acquainted with any language but his own. From his childhood, he was remarkable for invention, and was famous among his ſchoolfellows for amuſing them with tales and ſtories which he compoſed extempore, and uſually rendered, even at that early age, the vehicle of ſome uſeful moral. He was conſtitutionally ſhy and baſhful; and, inſtead of mixing with his companions in noiſy ſports and exerciſes, he uſed to read and converſe with the ſedate part of the other ſex, or aſſiſt them in the compoſition of their love-letters. The following paſſage, extracted by Mrs Barbauld from one of the ſuppreſſed letters, is more curious and intereſting, we think, than any thing in thoſe that are publiſhed.

'As a baſhful and not forward boy, I was an early favourite with all the young women of taſte and reading in the neighbourhood. Half a dozen of them, when met to work with their needles, uſed, when they got a book they liked, and thought I ſhould, to borrow me to read to them; their mothers ſometimes with them; and both mothers and daughters uſed to be pleaſed with the obſervations they put me upon making.

'I was not more than thirteen, when three of theſe young women, unknown to each other, having an high opinion of my taciturnity, revealed to me their love-ſecrets, in order to induce me to give them copies to write after, or correct, for anſwers to their lover's letters; nor did any of them ever know that I was the ſecretary to the others. I have been directed to chide, and even repulſe, when an offence was either taken or given, at the very time that the heart of the chider or repulſer was open before me, overflowing with eſteem and affection; and the fair repulſer, dreading to be taken at her word, directing *this* word, or *that* expreſſion, to be ſoftened or changed. One highly gratified with her lover's fervour and vows of everlaſting love, has ſaid, when I have aſked her direction,—I cannot tell you what to write; but (her heart on her lips) you cannot write too kindly. All her fear was only, that ſhe ſhould incur ſlight for her kindneſs.' Vol. I. Introduction, p. xxxix, xl.

We add Mrs Barbauld's obſervation on this paſſage, for the truth of the ſentiment it contains, though more inelegantly written

ten than any other ſentence in her performance.

'Human nature is human nature in every claſs; the hopes and the fears, the perplexities and the ſtruggles, of theſe low-bred girls in probably an obſcure village, ſupplied the future author with thoſe ideas which, by their gradual developement, produced the characters of a Clariſſa and a Clementina; nor was he probably happier, or amuſed in a more lively manner, when ſitting in his grotto, with a circle of the beſt informed women in England about him, who, in after-times, courted his ſociety, than in reading to theſe girls in, it may be, a little back-ſhop, or a mantuamaker's parlour, with a brick-floor.' p. xl, xli.

During his apprenticeſhip, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf only by exemplary diligence and fidelity; though he informs us, that he even then enjoyed the correſpondence of a gentleman of great accompliſhments, from whoſe patronage, if he had lived, he entertained the higheſt expectations. The reſt of his worldly hiſtory ſeems to have been pretty nearly that of Hogarth's virtuous apprentice. He married his maſter's daughter, and ſucceeded to his buſineſs; extended his wealth and credit by ſobriety, punctuality, and integrity; bought a reſidence in the country; and though he did not attain to the ſupreme dignity of Lord Mayor of London, arrived in due time at the reſpectable ſituation of Maſter of the Worſhipful Company of Stationers. In this courſe of obſcure proſperity, he appears to have continued till he had paſſed his fiftieth year, without giving any intimation of his future celebrity, and even without appearing to be conſcious that he was differently gifted from the other flouriſhing traders of the metropolis. He ſays of himſelf, we obſerve, in one of theſe letters—'My buſineſs, till within theſe few years, filled all my time. I had no leiſure; nor, being unable to write by a regular plan, knew I that I had ſo much invention, till I almoſt accidentally ſlid into the writing of Pamela. And beſides, little did I imagine that any thing I could write would be ſo kindly received by the world.' The commencement of his literary career is announced by Mrs Barbauld, in the following magnificent period, with a pomp and ſolemnity ſo extremely unſuitable to the occaſion, as to give the whole paſſage in our eyes very much the appearance of burleſque.

'But the genius of Richardſon was not deſtined to be for ever employed in uſhering into the world the productions of others. Neither city feaſts and honours, nor printing law books and acts of Parliament, nor the cares of a family, and the management of ſo large a concern of buſineſs, could quench the ſpark that glowed within him, or hinder the lovely ideas that played about his fancy, from being clothed in words, and produced to captivate the public ear. The printer in Saliſbury Court was to create a new ſpecies of writing; his name was to be

be familiar in the mouths of the great, the witty and the gay, and he was deſtined to give one motive more to the reſt of Europe, to learn the language of his country.' Introd. p. li. lii.

His firſt work was Pamela. Of the origin and progreſs of which, he has himſelf left the following authentic account.

"Two bookſellers, my particular friends, entreated me to write for them a little volume of Letters, in a common ſtyle, on ſuch ſubjects as might be of uſe to thoſe country readers, who were unable to indite for themſelves. Will it be any harm, ſaid I, in a piece you want to be written ſo low, if we ſhould inſtruct them how they ſhould think and act in common caſes, as well as indite? They were the more urgent with me to begin the little volume for this hint. I ſet about it; and, in the progreſs of it, writing two or three letters to inſtruct handſome girls, who were obliged to go out to ſervice, as we phraſe it, how to avoid the ſnares that might be laid againſt their virtue; the above ſtory recurred to my thought: And hence ſprung Pamela." Introd. p. liii.

This publication, we are told, which made its firſt appearance in 1740, was received with a burſt of applauſe. Dr Sherlock recommended it from the pulpit. Mr Pope ſaid it would do more good than volumes of ſermons; and another literary oracle declared, that if all other books were to be burnt, Pamela and the Bible ſhould be preſerved. Its ſucceſs was not leſs brilliant in the world of faſhion. 'Even at Ranelagh,' Miſs Barbauld aſſures us, 'it was uſual for the ladies to hold up the volumes to one another, to ſhew they had got the book that every one was talking of.' And, what will appear ſtill more extraordinary, one gentleman declares, that he will give it to his ſon as ſoon as he can read, that he may have an early impreſſion of virtue.—After faithfully reciting theſe and other teſtimonies of the high eſtimation in which this work was once held by all ranks of people, Mrs Barbauld ſubjoins ſome very acute and judicious obſervations both on its literary merits and its moral tendency. We cannot find room for the whole of this critique; but there is ſo much good ſenſe and propriety in the following paſſage, that we cannot refrain from inſerting it.

'So long as Pamela is ſolely occupied in ſchemes to eſcape from her perſecutor, her virtuous reſiſtance obtains our unqualified approbation; but from the moment ſhe begins to entertain hopes of marrying him, we admire her guarded prudence, rather than her purity of mind. She has an end in view, an intereſted end, and we can only conſider her as the conſcious poſſeſſor of a treaſure, which ſhe is wiſely reſolved not to part with but for its juſt price. Her ſtaying in his houſe a moment after ſhe found herſelf at liberty to leave it, was totally unjuſtifiable; her repentant lover ought to have followed her to her father's cottage, and to have married her from thence. The familiar footing upon which ſhe condeſcends to live with the odious Jewkes, ſhews

alſo,

alſo, that her fear of offending the man ſhe hoped to make her huſband, had got the better of her delicacy and juſt reſentment; and the ſame fear leads her to give up her correſpondence with honeſt Mr Williams, who had generouſly ſacrificed his intereſt with his patron in order to effect her deliverance. In real life, we ſhould, at this period, conſider Pamela as an intereſted girl; but the author ſays, ſhe married Mr B. becauſe he had won her affection, and we are bound, it may be ſaid, to believe an author's own account of his characters. But again, is it quite natural that a girl, who had ſuch a genuine love for virtue, ſhould feel her heart attracted to a man who was endeavouring to deſtroy that virtue? Can a woman value her honour infinitely above her life, and hold in ſerious deteſtation every word and look contrary to the niceſt purity, and yet be won by thoſe very attempts againſt her honour to which ſhe expreſſes ſo much repugnance?—His attempts were of the groſſeſt nature; and previous to, and during thoſe attempts, he endeavoured to intimidate her by ſternneſs. He puts on the maſter too much, to win upon her as the lover. Can affection be kindled by outrage and inſult? Surely, if her paſſions were capable of being awakened in his favour, during ſuch a perſecution, the circumſtance would be capable of an interpretation very little conſiſtent with that delicacy the author meant to give her. The other alternative is, that ſhe married him for

"The gilt coach, and dappled Flanders' mares."

Indeed, the exceſſive humility and gratitude expreſſed by herſelf and her parents on her exaltation, ſhews a regard to rank and riches beyond the juſt meaſure of an independent mind. The pious Goodman Andrews ſhould not have thought his virtuous daughter ſo infinitely beneath her licentious maſter, who, after all, married her to gratify his own paſſions.' Introd. p. lxiii.—lxvi.

The firſt part of this work, which concludes with the marriage of the heroine, was written in three months; and was founded, it ſeems, on a real ſtory which had been related to Richardſon by a gentleman of his acquaintance. It was followed by a ſecond part, confeſſedly very inferior to the firſt, and was ridiculed by Fielding in his Joſeph Andrews; an offence for which he was never forgiven.

Within eight years after the appearance of Pamela, Richardſon's reputation may be ſaid to have attained its zenith, by the ſucceſſive publication of the volumes of his Clariſſa. We have great pleaſure in laying before our readers a part of Mrs Barbauld's very judicious obſervations upon this popular and original performance. After a ſlight ſketch of the ſtory, ſhe obſerves,

'The plot, as we have ſeen, is ſimple, and no underplots interfere with the main deſign—No digreſſions, no epiſodes. It is wonderful that, without theſe helps of common writers, he could ſupport a work of ſuch length. With Clariſſa it begins,—with Clariſſa it ends. We

do

do not come upon unexpected adventures and wonderful recognitions, by quick turns and ſurpriſes: We ſee her fate from afar, as it were through a long avenue, the gradual approach to which, without ever loſing ſight of the object, has more of ſimplicity and grandeur than the moſt cunning labyrinth that can be contrived by art. In the approach to the modern country ſeat, we are made to catch tranſiently a ſide-view of it through an opening of the trees, or to burſt upon it from a ſudden turning in the road; but the old manſion ſtood full in the eye of the traveller, as he drew near it, contemplating its turrets, which grew larger and more diſtinct every ſtep that he advanced; and leiſurely filling his eye and his imagination with ſtill increaſing ideas of its magnificence. As the work advances, the character riſes; the diſtreſs is deepened; our hearts are torn with pity and indignation; burſts of grief ſucceed one another, till at length the mind is compoſed and harmonized with emotions of milder ſorrow; we are calmed into reſignation, elevated with pious hope, and diſmiſſed glowing with the conſcious triumphs of virtue.' Introd. p. lxxxiii. lxxxiv.

She then makes ſome excellent remarks on the conduct of the ſtory, and on the characters that enliven it; on that of the heroine, ſhe obſerves,

'In one inſtance, however, Clariſſa certainly ſins againſt the delicacy of her character, that is, in allowing herſelf to be made a ſhow of to the looſe companions of Lovelace: But, how does her character riſe, when we come to the more diſtreſsful ſcenes; the view of her horror, when, deluded by the pretended relations, ſhe re-enters the fatal houſe; her temporary inſanity after the outrage, in which ſhe ſo affectingly holds up to Lovelace the licenſe he had procured, and her dignified behaviour when ſhe firſt ſees her raviſher, after the perpetration of his crime. What finer ſubject could be preſented to the painter, than the priſon ſcene, where ſhe is repreſented kneeling amidſt the gloom and horror of the diſmal abode; illuminating, as it were, the dark chamber, her face reclined on her croſſed arms, her white garments floating round her in the negligence of woe; Belford contemplating her with reſpectful commiſeration: Or, the ſcene of calmer, but heart-piercing ſorrow, in the interview Colonel Morden has with her in her dying moments! She is repreſented fallen into a ſlumber, in her elbow-chair, leaning on the widow Lovick, whoſe left arm is around her neck; one faded cheek reſting on the good woman's boſom, the kindly warmth of which had overſpread it with a faintiſh fluſh, the other pale and hollow, as if already iced over by death; her hands, the blueneſs of the veins contraſting their whiteneſs, hanging lifeleſsly before her, the widow's tears dropping unfelt upon her face—Colonel Morden, with his arms folded, gazing on her in ſilence, her coffin juſt appearing behind a ſcreen. What admiration, what reverence does the author inſpire us with for the innocent ſufferer, the ſufferings too of ſuch a peculiar nature!

'There is ſomething in virgin purity, to which the imagination willingly pays homage. In all ages, ſomething ſaintly has been attached

to

to the idea of unblemiſhed chaſtity; but it was reſerved for Richardſon to overcome all circumſtances of diſhonour and diſgrace, and to throw a ſplendour round the *violated virgin*, more radiant than ſhe poſſeſſed in her firſt bloom. He has drawn the triumph of mental chaſtity; he has drawn it uncontaminated, untarniſhed, and incapable of mingling with pollution.—The ſcenes which follow the death of the heroine, exhibit grief in an affecting variety of forms, as it is modified by the characters of different ſurvivors. They run into conſiderable length, but we have been ſo deeply intereſted, that we feel it a relief to have our grief drawn off, as it were, by a variety of ſluices, and we are glad not to be diſmiſſed till we have ſhed tears, even to ſatiety.' Introd. p. xciii.—xcvii.

This criticiſm we think is equally judicious and refined; and we could eaſily prolong this extract, in a ſtyle not at all inferior. With regard to the morality of the work, Mrs Barbauld is very indignant at the notion of its being intended to exhibit a rare inſtance of female chaſtity. After alluding to the circumſtances, in Clariſſa's ſituation, that would have made any failure in that particular altogether inexcuſable, ſhe ſays,

'It is abſurd, therefore, in Lovelace to ſpeak of trying her chaſtity; and the author is not free from blame, in favouring the idea that ſuch reſiſtance had any thing in it uncommon, or peculiarly meritorious. But the real moral of Clariſſa is, that virtue is triumphant in every ſituation; that in circumſtances the moſt painful and degrading, in a priſon, in a brothel, in grief, in diſtraction, in deſpair, it is ſtill lovely, ſtill commanding, ſtill the object of our veneration, of our fondeſt affections.—The noveliſt that has produced this effect, has performed his office well; and it is immaterial what particular maxim is ſelected under the name of a moral, while ſuch are the reader's feelings. If our feelings are in favour of virtue, the novel is virtuous; if of vice, the novel is vicious.' Introd. p. ci. cii.

She objects, with ſome reaſon, to the number of interviews which Clariſſa is repreſented to have had with Lovelace after the cataſtrophe; and adds, 'If the reader, on caſually opening the book, can doubt of any ſcene between them, whether it paſſes before or after the outrage, that ſcene is one too much.'—The character of Lovelace, ſhe thinks, is very much of a fancy piece; and affirms, that our national manners do not admit of the exiſtence of an original. If he had been placed in France, ſhe obſerves, and his gallantries directed to married women, it might have been more natural; 'but in England Lovelace would have been run through the body, long before he had ſeen the face of Clariſſa or Colonel Morden.'

Mrs Barbauld gives us a copious account of the praiſe and admiration that poured in upon the author from all quarters, on the publication of this extraordinary work: He was overwhelmed

ed with complimentary letters, meſſages, and viſits. But we are moſt gratified with the enthuſiaſm of one of his female correſpondents, who tells him that ſhe is very ſorry 'that he was not a *woman*, and bleſt with the means of ſhining as Clariſſa did; for a perſon capable of drawing ſuch a character, would certainly be able to act in the ſame manner, *if in a like ſituation!*'

After Clariſſa, at an interval of about five years, appeared his Sir Charles Grandiſon. Upon this work, alſo, Mrs Barbauld has made many excellent obſervations, and pointed out both its blemiſhes and beauties, with a very delicate and diſcerning hand. Our limits will not permit us to enter upon this diſquiſition: we add only the following acute paragraph.

'Sir Charles, as a Chriſtian, was not to fight a duel; yet he was to be recogniſed as the finiſhed gentleman, and could not be allowed to want that moſt eſſential part of the character, the deportment of a man of honour, courage and ſpirit. And, in order to exhibit his ſpirit and courage, it was neceſſary to bring them into action by adventures and rencounters. His firſt appearance is in the reſcue of Miſs Byron, a meritorious action, but one which muſt neceſſarily expoſe him to a challenge. How muſt the author untie this knot? He makes him ſo very good a ſwordſman, that he is always capable of diſarming his adverſary without endangering either of their lives. But are a man's principles to depend on the ſcience of his fencing-maſter? Every one cannot have the ſkill of Sir Charles; every one cannot be the *beſt* ſwordaman; and the man whoſe ſtudy it is to avoid fighting, is not quite ſo likely as another to be the beſt.' Introd. p. cxxvii. cxxviii.

Beſides his great works, Richardſon publiſhed only a paper in the Rambler (the 97th); an edition of Æſop's Fables, with Reflections; and a volume of Familiar Letters for the uſe of perſons in inferior ſituations. It was this latter work which gave occaſion to Pamela: It is excellently adapted to its object, and we think may be of ſingular uſe to Mr Wirdſworth and his friends, in their great ſcheme of turning all our poetry into the language of the common people. In this view, we recommend it very earneſtly to their conſideration.

There is little more to be ſaid of the tranſactions or events of Richardſon's life. His books were pirated by the Dublin booksellers: At which he was very angry, and could obtain no redreſs. He correſponded with a great number of females; and gradually withdrew himſelf from the fatigues of buſineſs to his country reſidence at Parſon's Green; where his life was at laſt terminated in 1761, by a ſtroke of apoplexy, at the age of ſeventy-two.

His moral character was in the higheſt degree exemplary and amiable. He was temperate, induſtrious, and upright; punctual and honourable in all his dealings; and with a kindneſs of heart,

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and a liberality and generosity of disposition, that must have made him a very general favourite, even if he had never acquired any literary distinction.—He had a considerable share of vanity, and was observed to talk more willingly on the subject of his own works than on any other. The lowness of his original situation, and the lateness of his introduction into polite society, had given to his manners a great shyness and reserve; and a consciousness of his awkwardness and his merit together, rendered him somewhat jealous in his intercourse with persons in more conspicuous situations, and made him require more courting and attention, than every one was disposed to pay. He had high notions of parental authority, and does not seem always quite satisfied with the share of veneration which his wife could be prevailed on to shew for him. He was particularly partial to the society of females; and lived, indeed, as Mrs Barbauld has expressed it, in a flower-garden of ladies. Mrs Barbauld will have it, that this was in the way of his profession as an author; and that he frequented their society to study the female heart, and instruct himself in all the niceties of the female character. From the tenor of the correspondence now before us, however, we are more inclined to believe, with Dr Johnson, that this partiality was owing to his love of continual superiority, and that he preferred the conversation of ladies, because they were more lavish of their admiration, and more easily engaged to descant on the perplexities of Sir Charles, or the distresses of Clarissa. His close application to business, and the sedentary habits of a literary life, had materially injured his health: He loved to complain, as most invalids do who have any hope of being listened to, and scarcely writes a letter without some notice of his nervous tremors, his giddiness and catchings. 'I had originally a good constitution,' he says in one place, 'and hurt it by no intemperance, but that of application.'

In presenting our readers with this imperfect summary of Mrs Barbauld's biographical dissertation, we have discharged by far the most pleasing part of our task; and proceed to the consideration of the correspondence which it introduces, with considerable heaviness of spirit, and the most unfeigned reluctance. The letters are certainly authentic; and they were bought, we have no doubt, for a fair price from the legal proprietors: but their publication, we think, was both improper and injudicious, as it can only tend to lower a very respectable character, without communicating any gratification or instruction to others. We are told, indeed, in the preface, 'that it was the employment of Mr Richardson's *declining* years, to select and arrange the collection from which this publication has been made; and that he always looked forward to their publication at some distant

tant period;' nay, 'that he was not without thoughts of publishing them in his lifetime; and that, after his death, they remained in the hands of his last surviving daughter, upon whose decease they became the property of his grandchildren, and were purchased from them at a very liberal price by Mr Philips.' We have no doubt that what Mrs Barbauld has here stated to the public, was stated to her by her employers: but we cannot read any one volume of the letters, without being satisfied that the idea of such a publication could only come into the mind of Richardson, after his judgement was impaired by the infirmities of '*declining* years;' and we have observed some passages in those which are now published, that seem to prove sufficiently his own consciousness of the impropriety of such an exposure, and the absence of any idea of giving them to the world. In the year 1755, when nine tenths of the whole collection must have been completed, we find him expressing himself in these words to his friend Mr Edwards:

'I am employing myself at present in looking over and sorting and classing my correspondences and other papers. This, when done, will amuse me, by reading over again a very ample correspondence, and in comparing the sentiments of my correspondents, at the time, with the present, and improving from both. The many letters and papers I shall destroy will make an executor's work the easier; and if any of my friends desire their letters to be returned, they will be readily come at for that purpose. Otherwise they will amuse and direct *my children*, and teach them to honour their father's friends *in their closets* for the favours done him.' Vol. III. p. 113. 114.

Accordingly, they remained in the closet till the death of the *last of his children*; and then the whole collection is purchased by a bookseller, and put into the hands of an editor, who finds it expedient to suppress two thirds of it!

Those who have looked into the volumes in question, will be at no loss to comprehend the reasons of the unqualified reprehension we are inclined to bestow on their publication: for the information of those who have not had an opportunity of reading them, we may observe that, so far from containing any view of the literature, the politics, or manners of the times—any anecdotes of the eminent and extraordinary personages to whom the author had access—or any pieces of elegant composition, refined criticism, or interesting narrative, they consist almost entirely of compliments and minute criticisms on his novels, a detail of his ailments and domestic concerns, and some tedious prattling disputations with his female correspondents, upon the duties of wives and children; the whole so loaded with gross and reciprocal flattery, as to be ridiculous at the outset, and disgusting

in the repetition. Compliments and the novels form indeed the ſtaples of the whole correſpondence: we meet with the divine Clariſſa, and the more divine Sir Charles, in every page, and are abſolutely ſtunned with the clamorous raptures and ſupplications with which the female train demand the converſion of Lovelace, and the death or reſtoration of Clementina. Even when the charming books are not the direct ſubject of the correſpondence, they appear in eternal alluſions, and ſettle moſt of the arguments by an authoritative quotation. In ſhort, the Clariſſa and Grandiſon are the ſcriptures of this congregation; and the members of it ſtick as cloſe to their language upon all occaſions, as any of our ſectaries ever did to that of the Bible. The praiſes and compliments, again, which are interchanged among all the parties, are ſo extremely hyperbolical as to be ludicrous, and ſo inceſſant as to be exceſſively fatiguing.

Mrs Barbauld, who does not venture to ſay much in favour of the collection ſhe was employed to uſher into the world, has ventured, however, to obſerve, 'that nothing tends ſo ſtrongly to place us in the midſt of the generations that are paſt, as a peruſal of their correſpondence; and that to have their letters, and their very handwriting before our eyes, gives a more intimate feeling of their exiſtence, than any other memorial of them.' The obſervation is unqueſtionably juſt; but the writer of it certainly could not be ignorant, that the intereſt to which ſhe alludes is entirely of a ſecondary nature, and depends altogether upon the character of thoſe whoſe exiſtence is thus ſtrikingly recalled to us. Almoſt any memorial of great and celebrated perſons is acceptable; and we graſp eagerly at every trifle which may enable us to form a lively conception of them as individuals, or to connect a private character with their public fame. But we neceſſarily care very little about the paſt exiſtence of thoſe who have never filled any place in our imagination, and attach no value to an ordinary epiſtle, merely becauſe the writer has been half a century in his grave. The correſpondence before us, with a very few exceptions, ſeems to have no greater claim to the attention of the public, than might be made for the private correſpondence of any given ſet of perſons in the middling ranks of life: nor, indeed, would it be eaſy to collect an equal number of well ſpelled letters, with ſo little variety of ſubject, and ſo little amuſing anecdote. We ſhall endeavour to give our readers an idea of the contents of theſe ſix volumes.

The firſt ſeries of letters is from Aaron Hill, a poet of ſome notoriety in his day; but, if we may judge from theſe epiſtles, a very bad compoſer in proſe. The only amuſing things we have met with in this volume of his inditing, are his prediction of

of his own great fame, and of the speedy downfal of Pope's; and his scheme for making English wine of a superior quality to any that can be imported. Of Pope he says, that he died 'in the wane of his popularity; and that it arose originally only from meditated little personal assiduities, and a *certain bladdery swell of management.*' And a little after—

'But rest his memory in peace! It will very rarely be disturbed by that time he himself is ashes. It is pleasant to observe the justice of forced fame; she lets down those, at once, who got themselves pushed upward; and lifts none above the fear of falling, but a few who never teazed her.

'What she intends to do with *me*, the Lord knows!'

Vol. I. p. 107.

In another place he adds, 'For my part, I am *afraid* to be popular, I see so many who write to the living, and deserve not to live, that I content myself with a resurrection when dead;' and after lamenting the unpopularity of some of his writings, he says, 'But there *will* arise a time in which they will be seen in a far different light. I know it on a surer hope than that of vanity.' The wine project which is detailed in many pages, requires no notice. As a specimen of the adulation with which Richardson was incensed by all his correspondents, we insert the following sentences:

'Where will your wonders end? or how could I be able to express the joy it gives me to discern your genius rising with the grace and boldness of a pillar! &c. Go on, dear Sir, (I see you will and must) to charm and captivate the world, and force a scribbling race to learn and practise one rare virtue—to be pleased with what disgraces them.'—'There is a manner (so beyond the matter, extraordinary always too as that is) in whatever you say or do, that makes it an impossibility to speak those sentiments which it is equally impossible not to conceive in reverence and affection for your goodness.'

In allusion to the promise of Sir Charles, he says—

'I am greatly pleased at the hint you gave of a design to raise another Alps upon this Appennine: we can never see too many of his works who has no equal in his labours.'

These passages, we believe, will satisfy most readers; but those who have any desire to see more, may turn up any page in the volume: It may be of some use, perhaps, as a great commonplace for the materials of 'soft dedication.'

After the letters from Hill, there is *one* from Bishop Warburton, which has no recommendation but his name; and six or seven from Mr Strahan the printer, which are very simple, affectionate and unassuming, but contain nothing whatever, either in respect of composition or information, that can entitle them to the attention of the public. It was very proper and natural

for Mr Strahan to write such letters to his friend; but it was most absurd and improper to publish them. In this volume there are not more than two or three letters from Richardson; and these seem very much in the taste of the poet to whom they are addressed.

The second volume begins with some letters from the author of the Night Thoughts, written, however, as the editor acknowledges, in the decline of his genius. They are devout and serious, but affected and hyperbolical about trifles. He outdoes almost all his competitors in the extravagance, and, we might say, the indecency of his flattery. He tells Richardson 'to continue, by his conduct, to convince the hypercritics that Sir Charles is by no means drawn beyond the life;' that he is 'a peculiar instrument of Providence adjusted to the exigence of the times:' and adds, 'as I look upon you as an instrument of Providence, I likewise look upon you as a sure heir of a double immortality. When our language fails, one indeed may cease; but the failure of the heavens and the earth will put no period to the other. Happy is the man whose head has secured him one immortality, and whose heart entitles him to the other!'

The next series of letters is from Miss Fielding, who wrote *David Simple*, and Miss Collier, who assisted in writing *The Cry*. What modern reader knows any thing about the Cry, or David Simple? And if the elaborate performances of these ladies have not been thought worthy of public remembrance, what likelihood is there that their private and confidential letters should be entitled to any notice? They contain nothing, indeed, that can be interesting to any description of readers, and only prove that Richardson was indulgent and charitable to them, and that their gratitude was a little too apt to degenerate into flattery.

The letters of Mrs Pilkington and of Colley Cibber appear to us to be still less worthy of publication. The former seems to have been a profligate, silly actress, reduced to beggary in her old age, and distressed by the misconduct of her ill educated children. The compassionate heart of Richardson led him to pity and relieve her; and she repays him with paltry adulation, and interlarded, in the bombastic style of the green room, with dramatic misquotations misapplied. Of the letters of Cibber Mrs B. says that 'they shew in every line the man of wit and the man of the world.' We are sorry to dissent from so respectable an opinion; but the letters appear to us in every respect contemptible and disgusting, without one spark of wit or genius of any sort, and bearing all the traces of vanity, impudence, affectation and superannuated debauchery, which might have been expected from the author. His first epistle is to

Mrs

Mrs Pilkington (for the editor has more than once favoured us with letters that have no sort of relation to Richardson or his writings) and sets off in this manner:

'Thou frolicsome farce of fortune! What! Is there another act of you to come then? I was afraid, some time ago, you had made your last exit. Well! but without wit or compliment, I am glad to hear you are so tolerably alive,' &c.

We can scarcely conceive that this pitiful slang could appear to Mrs Barbauld like the pleasantry of a man of fashion. His letters to Richardson are, if any thing, rather more despicable. After reading some of the proof sheets of Sir Charles, he writes,

'Z——ds! I have not patience, till I know what is become of her. Why, you—I do not know what to call you!—Ah! Ah! you may laugh if you please: but how will you be able to look me in the face, if the lady should ever be able to shew *here* again? What piteous d——d, disgraceful pickle have you plunged her in? For God's sake send me the sequel;—I don't know what to say!—'

The following is an entire letter:

'The delicious meal I made of Miss Byron on Sunday last, has given me an appetite for another slice of her, off from the spit, before she is served up to the public table. If about five o'clock to-morrow afternoon will not be inconvenient, Mrs Brown and I will come and piddle upon a bit more of her: but pray let your whole family, with Mrs Richardson at the head of them, come in for their share. This, Sir, will make me more and more yours,' &c.

After these polite effusions, we have one short letter from a Reverend Mr Harvey, about printing some of his theological works, and a long tedious account of the commemoration at Oxford in 1754 from the pen of the Reverend Mr Kennicot. After these, we have a few letters from Richardson to Miss Highmore, very kind and familiar, but written in a girlish and weak style, and every way unfit for publication. No real friend of the author of Clarissa would have allowed the stuff we have at page 240, &c. of this volume, to see the light. To this is subjoined, for what reason or under what pretext we know not, a correspondence between Miss Mulso and Miss Highmore, which is a good deal like most correspondences we have seen between young ladies—full of sentimental finery and wordy nothingness. We quote one sentence to shew how exactly misses of the year 1750 wrote like misses of the present day.

'Your charming epistle, your tender and affectionate expressions of friendship, gave my heart more delight than it has felt of a long time. Oh! my dear Hecky, could I say with truth that our souls are sister souls, how pleased should I be with myself!—how sweet the idea of an irresistible sympathy between us!

'And so you are not alarmed neither for our lovely favourite, nor

prayers! At this time knowing Klopstock, she loves him as her lifely son, and thanks God that she has not persisted. We married, and I am the happiest wife in the world. In some few months it will be four years that I am so happy, and still I dote upon Klopstock as if he was my bridegroom.

'If you knew my husband, you would not wonder. If you knew his poem, I could describe him very briefly, in saying he is in all respects what he is as a poet. This I can say with all wifely modesty..... But I dare not to speak of my husband; I am all raptures when I do it. And as happy as I am in love, so happy am I in friendship, in my mother, two elder sisters, and five other women. How rich I am!' Vol. III. p. 146-9.

The next letters are those written by Richardson to Miss Mulso, (for her part of the correspondence was prudently withdrawn soon after his death), containing a vast deal of minute disquisition upon the characters and design of his novels, delivered in a very rambling, diffuse, and childish style, though frequently conducted with great acuteness. The letters, we dare say, were very amusing to the young lady at the time; but they will neither edify nor amuse the public. We add one sentence as a specimen of the tone in which they are written.

"How does your beloved Harriet?" I can't tell how she does. Alas! I have a head that troubles itself not much about her.—"Does not Sir Charles love teasing a little?" No, he does not. Another person, perhaps, may. But it is a fault too ungenerous for Sir Charles Grandison to be guilty of. But here is the thing: you ladies, some of you, scruple not to deserve blame; and then, truly, it is teasing to tell you of your faults in a pleasant way.' Vol. III. p. 167.

The same character may be given of the correspondence with Miss Highmore. One of the best letters is dated from Tunbridge in 1751. We shall venture on an extract.

'But here, to change the scene, to see Mr W—sh at eighty (Mr Cibber calls him papa), and Mr Cibber at seventy-seven, hunting after new faces; and thinking themselves happy if they can obtain the notice and familiarity of a fine woman!—How ridiculous!—

'Mr Cibber was over head and ears in love with Miss Chudleigh. Her admirers (such was his happiness!) were not jealous of him: but, pleased with that wit in him which they had not, were always for calling him to her. She said pretty things—for she was Miss Chudleigh. He said pretty things—for he was Mr Cibber; and all the company, men and women, seemed to think they had an interest in what was said, and were half as well pleased as if they had said the sprightly things themselves; and mighty well contented were they to be second-hand repeaters of the pretty things. But once I faced the laureat squatted upon one of the benches, with a face more wrinkled than ordinary with disappointment. "I thought," said I, "you were of the party at the tea-treats—Miss Chudleigh is gone into the tea-room"—"Pshaw!" said

had had the advantage of a liberal education, and of being admitted into good company; but it is beyond my conception, that a man of family, and who had ſome learning, and who really is a writer, ſhould deſcend ſo exceſſively low in all his pieces. Who can care for any of his people? A perſon of honour aſked me, the other day, what he could mean, by ſaying, in his Covent Garden Journal, that he had followed Homer and Virgil in his Amelia. I anſwered, that he was juſtified in ſaying ſo, becauſe he muſt mean Cotton's Virgil Traveſtied, where the women are drabs, and the men ſcoundrels.' Vol. VI. p. 154-5.

It is lamentable that ſuch things ſhould have been written confidentially; it was ſurely unneceſſary to make them public.

After the diſmiſſal of Mr Edwards, we meet with two or three very beautiful and intereſting letters from Mrs Klopſtock, the firſt wife of the celebrated German poet. They have pleaſed us infinitely beyond any thing elſe in the collection; but how far they are indebted for the charm we have found in them to the liſping innocence of the broken Engliſh in which they are written, or to their intrinſic merit, we cannot pretend to determine. We inſert the following account of her courtſhip and marriage:

'After having ſeen him two hours, I was obliged to paſs the evening in a company, which never had been ſo wearieſome to me. I could not ſpeak, I could not play; I thought I ſaw nothing but Klopſtock. I ſaw him the next day, and the following, and we were very ſeriouſly friends. But the fourth day he departed. It was an ſtrong hour the hour of his departure! He wrote ſoon after, and from that time our correſpondence began to be a very diligent one. I ſincerely believed my love to be friendſhip. I ſpoke with my friends of nothing but Klopſtock, and ſhowed his letters. They raillied at me, and ſaid I was in love. I raillied them again, and ſaid that they muſt have a very friendſhipleſs heart, if they had no idea of friendſhip to a man as well as to a woman. Thus it continued eight months, in which time my friends found as much love in Klopſtock's letters as in me. I perceived it likewiſe, but I would not believe it. At the laſt Klopſtock ſaid plainly that he loved; and I ſtartled as for a wrong thing. I anſwered, that it was no love, but friendſhip, as it was what I felt for him; we had not ſeen one another enough to love (as if love muſt have more time than friendſhip!) This was ſincerely my meaning, and I had this meaning till Klopſtock came again to Hamburg. This he did a year after we had ſeen one another the firſt time. We ſaw, we were friends, we loved; and we believed that we loved; and a ſhort time after I could even tell Klopſtock that I loved. But we were obliged to part again, and wait two years for our wedding. My mother would not let marry me a ſtranger. I could marry then without her conſentment, as by the death of my father my fortune depended not on her; but this was an horrible idea for me; and thank heaven that I have prevailed by

ter of Christianity.' A melancholy truth, elegantly expressed. I have only perused a small part of this divine piece, and am greatly delighted with what I have read. Surely he is a heavenly man. I am very fond of Dr Clark, and excellent good Seed. I thank you, Sir, for introducing another wise charmer, not less worthy of every body's regard. He merits attention, and religiously commands it.' Vol. V. p. 40.

A few letters from Mr Peckard and Dr Hildesly follow, in the usual strain of adulation. Next come several letters from the Reverend Mr Skelton, mostly on the subject of the Dublin piracy, and the publication of some works of his own. He seems to have been a man of strong, coarse sense, but extremely irritable. Some delay in the publication of his sermons draws from him the following curious piece of fretfulness.

'Johnston kept them a month on the way; Wilson kept them three, and does nothing, only hints a sort of contemptuous censure of them to you, and huffs them out of his hands. The booksellers despise them, and I am forced to print them, when the season for sale is over, or burn them. God's will be done. If I had wrote against my Saviour, or his religion, my work would long ago have been bought, and reprinted, and bought again. Millar would have now been far advanced in his third edition of it. But why do I make these weak complaints? I know my work is calculated to serve the cause of God and truth, and by no means contemptibly executed. I am confident also, I shall, if God spares me life to give it the necessary introduction, sell it to advantage, and receive the thanks of every good man for it. I will therefore be in the hands of God, and not of Mr Millar, whose indifference to my performances invite me not to any overtures.' Vol. V. p. 234. 235.

Mr Schirra, the German translator of Richardson's books, then presents us with two or three dull complimentary letters, in which he engrosses his own history and that of his publications, and repeats it as the opinion of a certain minister of the gospel, 'that he doubted not but that if very many parts of Clarissa were to be found in the Bible, they would be pointed out as manifest proofs of divine inspiration.' With all his vanity, Richardson was too pious a man to feel any thing but disgust at such a compliment as this.

We next meet with three little notes from Dr Johnson, about a preface and an index; and the volume concludes with a fragment of the history of Mrs Beaumont, retrenched from Sir Charles Grandison. The fifth volume, as we have already intimated, is entirely filled with the correspondence of Lady Bradshaigh, from which we do not think it necessary to make any extract. Its bulk is considerably increased by *fac similes* of a letter from almost every one of the correspondents that has been enumerated.

Although

Although Richardson is not responsible for more than one fifth part of the dulness exhibited in this collection, still the share of it that may be justly imputed to him is so considerable, and the whole is so closely associated with his name, that it would be a sort of injustice to take our final leave of his works, without casting one glance back to those original and meritorious performances, upon which his reputation is so firmly established.

The great excellence of Richardson's novels consists, we think, in the unparalleled minuteness and copiousness of his descriptions, and in the pains he takes to make us thoroughly and intimately acquainted with every particular in the character and situation of the personages with whom we are occupied. It has been the policy of other writers to avoid all details that are not necessary or impressive, to hurry over all the preparatory scenes, and to reserve the whole of the reader's attention for those momentous passages in which some decisive measure is adopted, or some great passion brought into action. The consequence is, that we are only acquainted with their characters in their dress of ceremony; and that, as we never see them except in those critical circumstances, and those moments of strong emotion, which are but of rare occurrence in real life, we are never deceived into any belief of their reality, and contemplate the whole as an exaggerated and dazzling illusion. With such authors we merely make a visit by appointment, and see and hear only what we know has been prepared for our reception. With Richardson, we slip, invisible, into the domestic privacy of his characters, and hear and see every thing that is said and done among them, whether it be interesting or otherwise, and whether it gratify our curiosity or disappoint it. We sympathize with the former, therefore, only as we sympathize with the monarchs and statesmen of history, of whose condition as individuals we have but a very imperfect conception. We feel for the latter, as for our private friends and acquaintance, with whose whole situation we are familiar, and as to whom we can conceive exactly the effects that will be produced by every thing that may befal them. In this art Richardson is undoubtedly without an equal, and, if we except De Foe, without a competitor, we believe, in the whole history of literature. We are often fatigued, as we listen to his prolix descriptions, and the repetitions of those rambling and inconclusive conversations, in which so many pages are consumed, without any apparent progress in the story; but, by means of all this, we get so intimately acquainted with the characters, and so impressed with a persuasion of their reality, that when any thing really disastrous or important occurs to them, we feel as for old friends and companions, and are irresistibly led

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to as lively a conception of their ſenſations, as if we had been ſpectators of a real tranſaction. This we certainly think the chief merit of Richardſon's productions: For, great as his knowledge of the human heart, and his powers of pathetic deſcription, muſt be admitted to be, we are of opinion that he might have been equalled in thoſe particulars by many, whoſe productions are infinitely leſs intereſting.

That his pieces were all intended to be ſtrictly moral, is indiſputable; but it is not quite ſo clear, that they will uniformly be found to have this tendency. We have already quoted ſome obſervations of Mrs Barbauld's on this ſubject, and ſhall only add, in general, that there is a certain air of irkſome regularity, gloominеſs and pedantry, attached to moſt of his virtuous characters, which is apt to encourage more unfortunate aſſociations than the engaging qualities with which he has inveſted ſome of his vicious ones. The manſion of the Harlowes, which, before the appearance of Lovelace, is repreſented as the abode of domeſtic felicity, is a place in which daylight can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to ſhine; and Clariſſa, with her ſcrupulous devotions, her intolerably early riſing, her day divided into taſks, and her quantities of needle-work and diſcretion, has ſomething in her much leſs winning and attractive than inferior artiſts have often communicated to an innocent beauty of ſeventeen. The ſolemnity and moral diſcourſes of Sir Charles, his bows, minuets, compliments, and immoveable tranquillity, are much more likely to excite the deriſion than the admiration of a modern reader. Richardſon's good people, in ſhort, are too wiſe and too formal, ever to appear in the light of deſirable companions, or to excite in a youthful mind any wiſh to reſemble them. The gaiety of all his characters is extremely girliſh and ſilly, and is much more like the prattle of ſpoiled children, than the wit and pleaſantry of perſons acquainted with the world. The diction throughout, is heavy, vulgar, and embarraſſed; though the intereſt of the tragical ſcenes is too powerful to allow us to attend to any inferior conſideration. The novels of Richardſon, in ſhort, though praiſed perhaps ſomewhat beyond their merits, will always be read with admiration, and certainly can never appear to greater advantage than when contraſted with the melancholy farrago which is here entitled his Correſpondence.

Art.

ART. III. *Componimenti Lirici de più illustri Poeti d'Italia.* Scelti da T. J. Mathias. 3 vol. Londra. 1803.

THAT all wrote poetry, the learned and unlearned, was the complaint even of the Augustan age: and the art of printing, by facilitating the means of circulation and the attainment of literary fame, has unquestionably increased this evil. At present, in almost every civilized country, poetry has been so multiplied, that judicious selections become very desirable; and in no cultivated language more, than in that of Italy, because none has longer maintained itself unaltered. At the close of the thirteenth century, (when the learned tongues were corrupted, the modern barbarous and unformed) the Italian phœnix sprung from the ashes of Roman literature. Dante, Cino, and after them Petrarca, not only created the poetical tongue of their country, but brought it at once to full perfection: their writings are at this day nearly the standard of poetical composition. Less vigorous, than those of slower growth, the language of Italy quickly reached that polished maturity, which few others have yet attained. Our own is among the most cultivated; but, three centuries after the days of Petrarch, Waller lamented its fluctuation.

'For who can hope, his line should long
Live in a daily-changing tongue?
We write in sand; our language grows,
And, as the tide, our work o'erflows.'

The poets of Italy, numerous at all times, have continued to write in an unvarying tongue for upwards of five centuries; and, though they have left no branch of poetry unadorned, the sonnet and lyric muse have been chiefly cultivated. Their infinite increase has rendered selections so necessary, that many have been published, though none that can be reckoned satisfactory: and we lament, that the production of Mr Mathias, though it has considerable merit, does not altogether supply the deficiency. The editor, with a certain degree of information concerning Italian poetry, has undertaken this work without rendering himself completely master of the field from which his resources were to be drawn. It is not sufficient to have chosen some striking poetry, or brought to light some latent beauties: what was wanted, was such a judicious selection from a very bulky stock, as might afford, within a moderate compass, an adequate specimen of the whole; and this we have not yet attained. In arranging such a work, different schemes might be adopted: a specimen

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might be given from every writer who had gained reputation amongſt his contemporaries, with a brief account of his literary hiſtory; or a ſtandard of merit might be aſſumed, and every production ſuperior to it might be choſen, without regard to its author. A ſelection, that united both theſe plans, would be moſt valuable and entertaining; extracting more largely from the beſt writers, and giving a ſpecimen, with a ſhort account of their other works, from thoſe whoſe fame might appear to exceed their real merit. We regret that Mr Mathias adopted no regular ſyſtem. He has omitted altogether ſeveral poets of conſiderable celebrity and excellence; he has extracted largely from ſome of a heavy vein, little from others of brighter genius; he has given ſingle ſonnets from ſeveral, who are almoſt unknown in England, without any notice concerning them, except 'their names, their years,' imperfectly regiſtered in a chronological index. The omiſſion of ſuch *notizie critiche* (without which theſe ſingle ſonnets have little intereſt) is the more ſingular, as the editor might have reprinted them from the *Parnaſo Italiano*, where he would have found a conciſe account of moſt of the Italian poets. The work is alſo very deficient in explanatory notes, without which many alluſions muſt be unintelligible to the beſt Italian ſcholars. It is entitled *Componimenti Lirici*, but the volumes contain only ſonnets, *canzoni*, and a very few odes in *ſeſta* and *quarta rima*; nor is any reaſon aſſigned for the omiſſion of the *canzonette* and other ſorts of lyric poetry, which abound in Italy. All other ſelections, bearing that title, comprehend them; and they are certainly more truly lyric, than the ſonnet. Mr Mathias writes Italian with great accuracy; and ſome lines in his dedicatory ode are *excellent*. His tranſlation from Gray, and the ſonnet in the third volume, are not quite ſo unexceptionable; the laſt line, 'Beltà con ſenno ſia poſſente Maga,' reminds us of one in the Lucciole d' Avanzi, 'Beltà faſcinatrice e d' amor Maga.' With a diſtinguiſhing taſte, and an accurate knowledge of the language, the editor might have made this work truly valuable, if he had beſtowed more labour upon it, and acquired the extenſive information, without which it could not be rendered perfect.

The Engliſh reader, who is not deeply verſed in the literature of Italy, but partial to the poetry of his own country, has probably ſeen with intereſt in the complimentary letter of Algarotti in Maſon's Gray, that the odes of Chiabrera, Guidi, and Lazzarini, were the pride of Italy, and conſidered ſuperior to any other modern productions of the lyric muſe. Impreſſed with this idea, and curious to ſee the poetry, to which the odes of Gray

Gray have been compared by a writer of such eminence, he probably looked with eagerness through the selection for these distinguished authors. Of the two first, he may have found enough perhaps to satisfy his curosity; but, when he looked for the poetry of Lazzarini, what must have been his surprise at finding one solitary sonnet! In the chronological index, indeed, he is altogether omitted; and, amongst the many Italian names, which are strung together in the preface, and the editor's Arcadian letter, *to his most erudite friends Alcèo and Aristippo*, that of Lazzarini does not appear. Algarotti was not, however, singular in his opinion; for we well remember the elegant lamentation of Bettinelli, his rival in literary fame:

> 'Oimè! le Muse, che allataron Bembo,
> Che sul Pò nutricar l'Italo Omero,
> Or solitarie in su la fredda tomba
> Piangon di *Lazzarini* e di Manfredi.'

Lazzarini's works are scarce in England; but seven of his sonnets and three of his odes will be found in the Scelta di Gobbi. He died in 1734.

From the lyric writings of Chiabrera, Mr Mathias has selected eleven *canzoni*. If he had been thoroughly acquainted with his works, he must have known that Chiabrera wrote also near a hundred sonnets, of which a specimen should certainly have been given; as their style is by no means inferior to that of his *canzoni*. The reputation of Chiabrera, which has always been very considerable in Italy, probably surpasses his actual merit; but he was a prolific writer, and attempted every species of poetry.

As Lope de Vega continued the story of Angelica from Ariosto in twenty Spanish cantos, Chiabrera, who was his contemporary, pursued that of Logistella and Rugiero in ten books of blank verse. He wrote also an epic poem on the wars of the Goths in Italy, and several dramatic pieces; but he was most successful in light Anacreontic odes, which * he is said to have introduced into the Italian language. He acquired the high name of *il gran Savonese*, as Menzini styles him, by copying the Greek poets, and abjuring that servile imitation of Petrarch, which had prevailed amongst the Italians; but his verse is seldom animated, and frequently very prosaic. He felt and admired the sublimity of Pindar; and vainly wished to soar after the Theban eagle: but

* Others attribute their introduction to Bernardo Tasso; but he rather copied Horace than Anacreon.

but the swan † of Savona, '*roco augel paluſtre*,' was a bird of heavy wing, and could not rise above the marshes of Italy.

The *canzoni* of Alessandro Guidi, to whose excellence the editor has paid a just tribute of praise, stand unrivalled for animation and energetic harmony. Whenever he alludes to the former glory or virtues of Rome, a subject to which his mind perpetually recurred, the spirit of the ancient mistress of the world seems to animate his verse, and breathes into his writings a strain of exalted sublimity, which the poets of old Rome in her golden days were never perhaps able to reach. We could cite with pleasure many pages from this magnificent writer; but a few lines from the first of his odes, in Mr Mathias's selection, will be sufficient to excite those, who are unacquainted with his poetry, to read and study it.

'Ramenta pur le trionfali rote,
I tanti tuoi, che s' appressaro a i Numi
Per invitti costumi,
Che tal sembianza in vano
Cercasi in grembo allo splendor Romano.
Ardea su l' alma a i chiari duce tuoi
Sdegno regale e bellicoso ardire,
E quel fatal desire
Di sempre incatenar duci ed eroi;
E così i figli suoi
Vide del tuo Signor la stirpe altera
Tanto infiammarsi alla stagion guerriera.
Ed ebbe sempre o il forte Scipio a lato
O il buon Fabrizio armato,
Ne in van dielle il destino
I nomi grandi del valor Latino.
Tracia sel sa, ch' oltre all' angusti foci
Pallida e fugitiva in Asia corse;
Quanto sopra se scorse
Con la grand' ira i cavalier feroci,
O qual orride voci
Mandò Bizanzio! a lui tremò la mente.'—*vol. III. p.* 13.

We think the selection of Mr Mathias has done justice to this excellent poet: one valuable ode to Cardinal Albano is however omitted;

† '——di Dirce al fonte
Spensi primier la sete,
Che già Savona mia lunga sostenne;
E di Parnaso al monte
Sulle piaggie segrete
Di lei Cigno novel Sciolsi le penne.'
*Chiabrera, Canz. lug.* 15.

omitted; which, if the editor had seen, we think he would have inserted. It is not published with the rest of his *canzone*, but may be found at the head of his *Endimione*, in the 36th vol. of the Parnaso Italiano. Its commencement is very spirited.

'Io, mercè de le figlie alme di Giove,
Non d' armento o di grege
Son ne' campi d'Arcadia umil custode:
Cultor son io de l' altrui bella lode,
Che levo in alto co' sonori versi;
Ed ho cento destrieri
Su la riva d'Alfeo
Tutti d' eterne penne armati il dorso,
Che certo varcherian l' immenso corso,
Che fan per l' alta mole
I cavalli del sole.'

Guidi was born about thirteen years after the death of Chiabrera, and a few months after the martyrdom of King Charles, whose murderers his verse has execrated. With ardent ambition, and a confidence in his own talents, which seems to have been very offensive to his countrymen, he deserted the beaten path of Petrarch, and Pindar was the only model he condescended to admire; φαεινὸν ἄστρον ἐρημοῦ δι' αἰθέρος. He felt, indeed, that the minute rules of the *canzone*, as established by Petrarch, and servilely adhered to by his followers, were pedantic restrictions, which shackled the subject, and rendered the harmony weak and monotonous. The close imitators of Petrarch thought it expedient not only to use his metre, but even the arrangement, and sometimes the incipient words of his sentences, though their subject might be completely different. By his system, no couplet in one stanza was allowed to rhyme with one in another, however distant, though the stanzas might be ten in number, and each consisting of twenty lines. All such unmeaning restrictions of rhyme, all the subdivisions of the stanza into *Piedi* and *Sirima*, *Fronte* and *Volte* (which the reader, who wishes to understand minutely, may find at length in *Quadrio*), were at once rejected. He considered also, that a perpetual recurrence of rhymes was not so necessary, as an artful disposition of them, which might be sufficient to gratify the ear, without shackling or embarrassing the subject; and his harmony was so perfect, that, although many blank lines occur in his odes, as in the Lycidas of Milton, the ear is never offended by them. No bard has ever struck the Pindaric lyre with such boldness and success; but few have ventured to imitate him. The Italian critics, indeed, acknowledge his merit; but warn other writers to decline a career, in which, without the extraordinary genius of Guidi, they would inevitably fail. Perhaps,

haps, however, the narrow rules of the *Petrarcheſque* ode have produced more dull poetry, than any licenſe of metre could have done: his imitators were forced to attend ſo much to the formal part of their compoſition, that the matter of their verſe became a ſecondary conſideration. Tiraboſchi ſtates, that the preſumptuous manner in which Guidi ſpoke of himſelf, and the uncomelineſs of his perſon, rendered him very unpopular, and contributed to prevent his ſtyle being imitated. His temper was irritable; and he died at laſt in a fit produced by ill-humour at errors of the preſs in his verſion of the homilies. He ſeldom condeſcended to imitate any Italian writer; but the following lines are cloſely copied from Molza:

'Sorgere in ogni etate
Fuor da queſte ruine
Qualche ſpirto real ſempre ſi ſcorſe,
Che la fama del Tebro alto Soccorſe.' *Guidi.*

'Che ſempre alcun real ſpirto è giunto
Fuor di queſte ornate alte ruine
A riſtorarle d' ogni colpo ingiuſto.' *Molza.*

Very different in ſtyle from the bold flights of Guidi, but little inferior in poetical beauty, is the pathetic eloquence of Celio Magno, a Venetian writer of the ſixteenth century. The flow of his verſe is ſo natural, tender, and intereſting, that his pathetic odes have never been equalled; and (as Rubbi obſerves) he proved to Italy, that love was not indiſpenſably neceſſary to the production of beautiful poetry; a truth which, however, Saunazaro had begun to ſuſpect, when he wrote,

'Che ſenza dir degli occhi, o del bel velo,
O di lei che mi fugge,
Si può con altra gloria andar in cielo.'

Indeed, Sannazaro ſometimes ventured to write in a better manner; and his 'Incliti ſpirti, a cui fortuna arride,' is far ſuperior to his trivial odes in this ſelection. The editor has not done juſtice to the ſuperior merit of Celio Magno, from whoſe *canzoni* he has printed only two, on the Deity, and the Death of his father. They are both excellent: the former is a maſterly compoſition, and as its ſubject is the moſt ſublime, its poetry is the moſt elevated. He attempted an ode of exultation for the victory of Lepanto; but the theme did not ſuit his genius, and it is not at all comparable to the ſublime Spaniſh ode of Fernando de Herrera upon the ſame ſubject. His pathetic poetry, however, is exquiſite; and the editor ſhould have printed the odes on his return from baniſhment, and on the approach of his death. The latter would have been particularly intereſting to Engliſh readers, as they would have diſcovered in that, and a few

few other paſſages by the ſame author, the ſource of ſome of the moſt ſtriking beauties in Gray's celebrated elegy. We ſhall tranſcribe a few paſſages, in which the coincidence appears to be moſt remarkable:

' Ne per lor mai più luce
Febo, o ſcopre per lor più Cintia i rai. '
*Celio Magno, Canz.* 11.

' The breezy call of incenſe breathing morn,
No more ſhall rouſe them from their lowly bed. ' *Gray.*

' O d' ogni uman ſudor meta infelice
Da cui torcer non lice
Pur orma, ne ſperar pietade alcuna!
Che val, perch' altri ſia chiaro e felice
Di gloria d' avi, o d' oro in arca aſcoſo,
E d' ogni ben giojoſo
Che natura può dar larga e fortuna,
Se tutto è falſo ben ſotto la luna,
E la vita ſpariſce a lampo eguale
Che ſubito dal cielo eſca e s' aſconda. ' *C. Magno,* 11.

' Let not ambition, &c. *down to*
The paths of glory lead to the grave. ' *Gray.*

' In bel ſepolcro, tal non viſtò avanti
Con larghe eſequie di lamenti e doglia
Poſer la ſua terrena eſangue ſcorza.
Ecco il ciel riſonar di chiara tromba
Ecco ſovra la tomba
La Fama in arid. ' *C. Magno,* 10.

' If memory o'er their tombs, ' &c. *Gray.*

' Ma (qual in parte ignota
Ben ricca gemma altrui cela il ſuo pregio,
O fior, ch' alta virtù ha in ſe ripoſta)
Viſſe in ſen di caſtità naſcoſta
In ſua virtute e 'n Dio contento viſſe
Lunge dal viſco mondan, che l' alma intrica. ' *C. Magno,* 6.

' Full many a gem, &c. *and*
Far from the madding crowds, ' &c. *Gray.*

' Una (*one of the Muſes*) di ſcolpir ſi sforza
Nel duro marmo, e porvi ad altrui voglia
Breve detto, che 'l nome e i merti accoglia.
*And* ——— il nome e i pregi
Render paleſi in queſto marmo adorno. ' *C. Magno,* 10.

' Some frail memorial, ' *and the four next lines.* *Gray.*

' Laſſo me, che queſt' alma e dolce luce,
Queſto bel ciel, queſt' aere onde reſpiro,
Laſciar convegno; e miro
Fornito il corſo di mia vita omai,

E l' esalar d'un sol breve sospiro
A languid' occhi eterna notte adduce.' *C. Magno*, II.

'For who to dumb forgetfulness,' &c. *Gray.*

'Da miei più cari e fidi
Amor cortese guidi
Al marmo in ch' io sarò tosto sepolto,
E la pietà, che in lor mai sempre vidi,
Qualche lagrime doni a mia sventura.' *C. Magno*, II.

'On some fond breast,' &c. *Gray.*

The leading thoughts of the *epitaph* will be found in the following lines:

'Prestin le Muse ancor benigno e pio
Officio al cener mio,
E su la tomba il mio nome si scriva;
Acciò, se 'l tacerà d'altro onor casso
La Fama, almen ne parli il muto sasso.

* * * * *

Benchè parco bramar fu 'l mio tesoro
E l'alma in se di libertà vaga,
E d'oneste' ozio più che d'altro ardente,
Resa talor la mente
Quasi per furto infra le Muse paga
Che de prim' anni miei dolci nodrici
Fur poi conforto a miei giorni infelici.

* * * * *

Ahi, ch' anzi pur, Signor, pregar dovrei
Per le mie gravi colpe al varco estremo
Dove pavento e tremo
Da la giust' ira tua, mentre a lor guardo.' *C. Magno*, II.

The imitations of Dante and Petrarch, in Gray's elegy, have been noted; but we believe the beautiful passage, which he has translated from Petrarch in his Bard, has not been observed. See the 2d stanza of the *canzone*, which commences *Standomi un giorno.* 'Fair laughs the morn,' &c.—*Gray.* The sixth stanza of his elegy is also translated from the third book of Lucretius, 'At jam non domus,' &c. Considering how much he was indebted to the Italian poets, he seems to have treated them ungenerously in his ode on the Progress of Poetry, where he might have bestowed some praise on those, who sung even after 'Latium had her lofty spirit lost.' Pignotti has, however, since avenged the cause of Italy by retaliation, and has stolen as much from Gray, as Gray did from the Italians.

Having given the palm for animation to Guidi, and for tenderness to Celio Magno, we cannot withhold our commendations from the serious and dignified strength of Filicaja, or the simple elegance and Horatian neatness of Testi. The sublimity

of

of Filicaja is not so much derived from Pindar, as from the sacred writings. Probably the success with which Herrera diffused the spirit of Isaiah into his writings, as well as the piety of his own mind, directed the thoughts of Filicaja to that fountain of poetical beauty. His ode on the victory gained by the Poles and Imperialists over the Turks, bears a strong resemblance to that of Herrera on the battle of Lepanto. In his address to the Deity, he says,

' Tolsi all' Ebrea faretra
L'auree quadrella. '

And in another *canzone*,

' ——— all' Idumea faretra
Le saette involai,
Ond' io dell' Asia il fier Pithon piagai. '

The odes selected by Mr Mathias from Filicaja have all considerable merit; but the first is such an extravagant encomium on the profligate and contemptible Christina, that we wish it had been omitted: many others might have been chosen of equal poetical beauty. That on his departure from Florence, is excellent and truly original, although he seems to have held in view the lines of Celio Magno, which commence *Rimanetevi in pace.* As a specimen of Filicaja's poetry, we will quote some lines from his *canzone sopra l'assedia di Vienna*, which is not printed in these volumes:

' A 'tuoi santi decreti
Pien di timore e d'umiltà m'inchino,
Vinca, se così vuoi,
Vinca lo Scita; e 'l glorioso sangue
Versi l' Europa esangue
Da ben mille ferite. I voler tuoi
Legge son fermi a noi;
Tu sol se' buono e giusto; e giusta e buona
Quell' opra è sol, che al tuo voler consuona.
Ma sarà mai, ch' io veggia
Fender barbaro aratro all' Austria il seno?
E pascolar la greggia
Ove or sorgon cittadi, e senza tema
Starsi gli Arabi armenti in riva al Reno?
Fia, che dell' Istro la famosa reggia
D' ostile incendio avvampi?
E, dove siede or Vienna, abiti l' Eco
In solitario speco,
Le cui deserte arene orma non stampi? '

The numerous odes of Testi are uniformly good; his thoughts are natural and pleasing, his expression neat and chaste. He

says of himself that he handled the lyre of Pindar, as well as Horace;

' ——— L' eburnea lira
Che a l' Ausid' ora, ed or a Dirce in riva,
Trattar Clio m' insegnò con music' arte: '

but though his vein have little resemblance to that of the Theban bard, he may truly be called the second Horace of Italy: their genius, their turn of mind, and the character of their lyric poetry are very similar. The taste of Testi was pure and almost faultless: his attempts at sublimity, like those of Horace, steered a midway course; and, conscious of his inability to soar into the loftiest regions of poetry, he seems like his pattern to have mistrusted the waxen wings of Dædalus. His style is very uniform; and, though amongst his numerous *canzoni* there are many equal, if not preferable to those chosen by Mr Mathias, we object to no one of them, excepting *Di Troja al domator*, which is one of his worst compositions. We will quote a few lines from the first book of his odes, as an example of his elegant Horatian manner.

' Beato è quel, che in libertà sicura
Povero, ma contento, i giorni mena;
E che fuor di speranze e fuor di pena
Pompe non cerca, e dignità non cura.
Pago di se medesmo e di sua sorte
Ei di nemica man non teme offesa;
Senza ch' armate schiere in sua difesa
Stian de l' albergo a custodir le porte.
Innocente di cor, di colpe scarco,
E non impallidisce e non paventa,
Se tuona Giove, e se saette avventa
Del giusto ciel l' inevitabil arco. '

The following spirited address to Venice is a fair example of his most elevated verse.

' O reina del mar, reliquia grande
De la Latina libertade, ascolta
Le voci del mio cor! Forse una volta
Famose esser potrian, e memorande
Corran l' insegne tue dal Moro al Trace
Sempre vittoriose, e per tua spada
Ogni barbara turba estinta cada,
Che osi de' regni tuoi turbar la pace. '

Having spoken at length of the four Italian bards, whose poetry, though very different, has given us most pleasure, we will not detain the reader with particular observations on the other writers, whose works have found a place in this selection. Many of the *canzoni* in the first volume are very dull, and might

have

have been well omitted. We ſhould alſo have been contented with fewer ſpecimens from Arioſto, Taſſo, Bembo, Sannazaro, and Paterno. Moſt of their *canzoni* (as well as thoſe ſelected from Lorenzo de Medici, Politiano and Colonna) are tediouſly harmonious, and run on through a maze of melliſluous diction without force or ſpirit, and almoſt without a ſubject. From the ſecond volume we could have ſpared many of Chiabrera's odes. Their places might eaſily have been filled by better poetry from other authors, ſome of whom are unnoticed, ſome not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed, in this ſelection. From the poetry of Gabriele Fiamma, a Venetian writer of the ſixteenth century, Mr Mathias has ſelected two ſonnets, but he has omitted a very fine ode, the ſubject of which is a beatific viſion, like the Deus of Celio Magno. It has few equals in Italian ſacred poetry. Amongſt many others, which we could point out, the Petrarcheſque *canzone* of Zappi on Louis the XIV. deſerved notice; it is little, if at all, inferior to its beautiful model, 'Standomi un giorno ſolo a la fineſtra,' Petrarch, II. 3. We obſerve a *canzone* written by Bedori on the model of the ſecond of Petrarch's *ſorelle*, of which the laſt lines are not printed as we have been accuſtomed to read them. We are ignorant, whether theſe variations ſpring from the editor, or from Bedori himſelf. His imitation of the third *ſorella* has been more eſteemed than this *canzone*. He was a Bologneze, and died in 1718. His name is altogether omitted in the chronological index. Mr Mathias has left a blank in the column of births in the index to the name of Lodovico Paterno; we imagine that he has not ſeen his Nuovo Petrarca, where in the *Trionfo d' amore* the time of his birth is ſtated with curious minuteneſs.

'Dal dì, che nacqui, (o foſſi allhor io ſpento)
Il duodecimo dì, ſul mezo giorno,
Con trenta tre nel mille e cinquecento
Duo meſi inanzi Aprile.' p. 521.

This work was written on the model of Petrarch 'In vita e morte di M. Mirtia,' and was publiſhed in 1560. Mr Mathias's ſpecimens are taken from his other works, which are little (if at all) preferable to this. His poetry gained him conſiderable reputation amongſt his contemporaries.

Seven odes by Menzini are printed in the ſecond volume. He was a follower of Chiabrera, whoſe inſipidity he inherited. His odes are deficient in ſpirit and animation: he copied happily the terſe, ſententious manner of Pindar, but was unequal to his higher flights. The third ode of his firſt book, 'E' ver che l' uomo ha ſua milizia in terra,' is a moſt extraordinary imitation of Pindar's ſtyle, though no expreſſion is directly borrowed from him. We

ſhould have preferred it to many that Mr Mathias has printed. The two firſt odes by Frugoni are alſo inferior to his 'Orano eſpugnata,' which might have filled their place.

Without entering into further particulars, we ſhall now diſmiſs the *canzoni*, and proceed to the conſideration of the ſonnets, which fill the larger part of the third volume. Of the ſelection from Petrarch, we have ſaid nothing, becauſe he is in the hands of every reader of Italian poetry. Theſe volumes contain four of his *canzoni*, one *ſeſtina*, and ten of his *ſonnets*. If the editor intends them as the cream of Petrarch, we certainly differ from him. If (as we underſtand from the advertiſement) they are meant as a ſupplement to a ſelection from Petrarch, which he had before publiſhed, they are improperly placed in this work.

Bettinelli, in an intereſting treatiſe which he has written upon ſonnets, after ſtating the decided ſuperiority of Petrarch, gives the preference to that which commences 'Levommi il mio penſier;' though he has pointed out ſeven trifling faults in it, of which two are grammatical liberties. In reviewing the different ſonneteers who have flouriſhed in Italy (with the excluſion of all living authors) he divides thoſe, whom he conſiders moſt excellent into two claſſes, the one containing twelve, and the other twenty-four. He excludes alſo Filicaja, Lorenzini, Zappi, Paſtorini, and others, obſerving that they are 'Benchè ricchi di penſier nuovi e vivaci, d' ingegnoſe fantaſie, di forza, di teſſitura, di ſonorità, e d' altre doti, ma del perfetto ſcriver digiuni poetico inſieme e Italico.' It is remarkable, that of the thirty-ſix primary authors, according to Bettinelli, four of the firſt claſs and eleven of the ſecond are altogether unnoticed by Mr Mathias; and that only five of Bettinelli's choſen ſonnets appear amongſt 211, which have found a place in this publication. We do not pretend to agree exactly with the deciſions of Bettinelli; but differing from him in a few reſpects, we do it with the deference due to his well-approved reputation as a critic; eſpecially as his own ſonnets are ſo valuable, that his opinion upon thoſe of other poets deſerves the greateſt attention. The beſt ſonneteer, if he judges with impartiality, muſt neceſſarily be the beſt ſelector of ſonnets. We believe Bettinelli is ſtill living, and on that account his compoſitions would be excluded from the ſelection of Mr Mathias, who ſtates in his preface that it is made from the *Lirici paſſati*; but we think it fit to quote one of them, which by its excellence will give greater weight to his opinion upon this ſubject. He was an avowed enemy to the empty harmony which has long been the pride of many Italian verſificators; in his own ſtrong expreſſions, 'Il ciel n' ajuti da tanta noja e faſtidio di verſi, magri di coſe, e ricchi di bagatelle canore.' His ſonnets have ſo much ſubſtantial

tial merit, that it is very difficult to give a decided preference to any one; and we are aware, that there are many equal (perhaps, in the opinion of ſome, ſuperior) to that we have ſelected.

'SOPRA VENEZIA.

'Spiegato il crudo ſanguinoſo artiglio,
Delle grand' ale con terribil rombo
L'Unno ſparvier (della vendetta figlio)
Cadea dall' Alpe in ſu l' Italia a piombo.
Da monte e pian, qual trepido colombo,
Fuggia davanti a lui ſenza conſiglio
D' incendi e ſtragi all' orrido rimbombo
L' abitator in diſperato eſiglio.
Ma d' accorti Alcion candido ſtuolo
Cercando all' onde in ſeno albergo fido
Stende dall' arſe patrie a gara il volo;
Di libertà, di valor vero al grido,
Tra città ſpente e regni intatto e ſólo
Dopo mill' anni e più creſce il bel nido.'

*Opere di Bettinelli, Vol. XVIII. p.* 143.

Truſting that our readers will have formed no mean opinion of the talents and taſte of the writer we have now quoted, we ſhall proceed with his ſcheme for a ſelection of ſonnets, divided into two claſſes, according to their degrees of merit. He admits, that they border ſo cloſely on each other, that it is very difficult to form a deciſion; and, having ſtated his own opinion, he adds, 'Tu puoi far nuova ſcelta e ſaprottene grado io 'l primo, e loderò a cielo i migliori. Ma ſtudiati d' eſſer parco tu pure, ed anzi avaro, e ben ſai perchè.' In Bettinelli's ſcheme, I have marked thus * the ſonnets which are in Mr Mathias's book; and thus ‡ the poets from whom he has given ſome other ſpecimen. The reſt are wholly unnoticed by him. Bettinelli cites only the firſt line of each ſonnet.

FIRST CLASS.

‡ *Petrarca.* Levommi il mio penſier in parte, ov' era.
* *Coſtanzo.* Quella cetra gentil, che in ſu la riva.
*Next to this the following two equal in merit,*
* Cigni felici, &c. *And,* Odo fin qui, &c.
*Coppetta.* Perchè ſacrar non poſſo altari e tempi.
*Nearly equal to this,* Porta il buon villanel, &c.
‡ *Bembo.* Anime, tra cui ſpazia or la grand' ombra.
‡ *Coſa.* Cura, che di timor ti nutri e creſci.
* *Caſtiglione.* Superbi colli e voi ſacre ruine.
*Vaccari.* Io giuro per l' eterne alte faville.
‡ *Manfredi.* Non templi od archi, e non figure o ſegni.
*He praiſes alſo,* L'Auguſto ponte, *and fix others in the Paris ſelection.*
* *Lazzarini.* Se da te appreſe, Amore, e non altronde.

He

*He adds*, Sino a sei ponno citarsi tra gli excellenti di questo gran maestro di stile.

*Ghedini.* L' amico spirto, che al partir suo ratto.

*He praises also*, Sei tu pur. Poichè al tronco fatal.

*And* Con che sottil lavoro.

‡ *Rossi.* Io nol vedrò, poichè il cangiato aspetto.

*Cassiani.* Diè un alto strido, gittò i fiori, e volta.

SECOND CLASS.

‡ *Rainieri.* Quel che appena fanciul torse con mano.

*Thiene.* Questi palagi e queste logge or colte.

‡ *Molza.* Io pur doveva il mio bel sole io stesso.

‡ *Tansillo.* Qual uom che trasse il grave remo e spinse.

* *Rota.* Questa scolpita in oro amica fede.

‡ *Caro.* Ecco, signor, che al tuo chiamar mi volgo.

‡ *Guidiccioni.* Viva fiamma di Marte, onor de tuoi.

*Marmita.* Coprasi pur d' armati legni il mare.

‡ *Tasso.* Stiglian quel canto, onde ad Orfeo simile.

‡ *Celio Magno.* Ecco subito lampo, ecco diserra.

*Dall' Uva.* In cui Cipro confide, in cui più spera.

‡ *Marini.* Ove ch' io vada, ove ch' io stia talora.

* *Guidi.* Eran le Dee del mar liete e gioconde.

*Bassani.* O Italia, o Roma, se il valore antico.

‡ *Baruffaldi.* Ben veggo il marmo, il simolacra e l' urna.

*A. Fabri.* Se il tromba cui parmi udir sovente.

*G. P. Zanotti.* E crollar le gran torri e le colonne.

*Fr. Zanotti.* Non perchè schiere avverse urti e confonda.

‡ *Frugoni.* Quando il gran Scipion dall' ingrata terra.

*Barbieri.* Certo allor quando la Nettunia Dea.

*D. Fabri.* Ben può l' astro maggior e la sorella.

*Salandri.* Vieni aspettata in ciel, vieni gran Dea.

*Durante.* Ben può Appennin l'Alpestre dorsa opporme.

It is almost incredible that so many good authors, and so many capital sonnets, should have entirely escaped the observation of Mr Mathias; and that only *five* of them should have found a place in his *numerous* selection. We will quote at length, as specimens of the two classes, the sonnets of Coppetta and Benedetto dall' Uva, two poets of the sixteenth century, who have been overlooked by Mr Mathias.

*Coppetta.*

‘ Perchè sacrar non posso altari e tempi,
Alato veglio, all' opre tue sì grande?
Tu già le forze in quel bel viso spandi,
Che fè di noi sì dolorosi scempi.
Tu della mia vendetta i voti adempi,
L' alterezza e l' orgoglio a terra mandi
Tu solo sforzi amore e gli commandi,
Che disciolga i miei lacci indegni ed empi.

Tu

Tu quello or puoi, chè la ragion non valse,
Non amico ricordo, arte, e consiglio,
Non giusto sdegno d' infinite offese.
Tu l' alma acqueti che tant' arse ed alse,
La quale or tolta dal mortal periglio
Teco alza il volo a più leggiadre imprese.'

Francesco Beccuti, detto il Coppetta, died in 1553. His poetry is printed in 4to., with copious notes by Cavalluci. Ven. 1751.

*Dall' Uva.*

'In cui Cipro confida, in cui più spera,
Dopo tante lussurie ed error tanti?
Ne suoi (dice il Signor) lascivi amanti,
Ne le sue ninfe, o nella Dea primiera?
Ecco viene il mio giorno, e de la fiera
Strage fin qui dal mar s' udranno i pianti,
E catenati al duro Scita avanti
Andranno uomini e donne in lunga schiera.
Chi comprò non s' allegri, e chi vendeo
Non se ne dolga assai; ch' una egual sorte,
Come è pari il fallir, tutti comprende.
Schermi di mura e fossa in darno feo
Famagosta sul mar, che Dio le porte
E le sue torri, più che 'l Trace, offende.'

This sonnet, which has great beauty and strength of expression, was written in 1571, during the siege of Famagusta; and is interesting, when we recollect how truly it was prophetic. The depravity of Cyprus is strongly expressed by Petrarch also.

'Quest' è la terra, che cotanto piacque
A Venere; e 'n quel tempo a lei fu sacra,
Che 'l ver nascoso e sconosciuto giacque;
Ed anco è di valor si nuda e macra,
Tanto ritien del suo primo esser vile,
Che par dolce a' cattivi, ed a' buoni acra.'

*Trionf. d'Am.*

When Cyprus had fallen, and not till then, the Christian arms prevailed. Famagusta capitulated at last, to avoid the fate of Nikosia, where Mustafa had massacred 14,000 inhabitants in the preceding year; but a few days after the capitulation, her brave governor was flayed alive by the perfidious Turks. His fate was speedily avenged by the ever-memorable victory of Lepanto; but Cyprus remained the victim of Turkish cruelty.

'Vincemmo, è ver; ma l' Idumee catene
Cipro non ruppe unquanco.' *Filicaja, C. 2.*

Were we called upon to give a decided preference to any one sonnet in the Italian language, we should certainly be inclined to

to ſay, that the ſonnet of Gaetana Paſſarini, commencing, 'Genova mia, ſe con aſciutto ciglio,' (*Mathias, Vol. III. p.* 331.) is ſuperior to any in Petrarch. We imagine it was written, after the bombardment of Genoa, by Lewis the Fourteenth, in 1684. Mr Mathias is miſtaken in ſaying that Paſſarini died in 1714. She was living in 1726, when Bergalli publiſhed her 'Rimatrici d'ogni ſecolo.' Her works, we believe, have never been collected, but are ſcattered in different *Scelte* and in the *Rime degli Arcadi.* We have ſeen little more than 20 of her ſonnets and anacreontic odes; but the ſpecimen of her poetry given by Mr Mathias ought not to have ſtood ſingly. The ſonnet addreſſed to Prince Eugene, 'Signor, che nella deſtra,' and ſeveral of her others, have conſiderable merit.

We ſhould ſay alſo, that the 'Tempeſtoſe, ſonanti, e torbid' onde' of Galeazzo di Tarſia, (*Mathias, III.* 269.) is very excellent; and we ſhould offer the following ſonnet, by Salandri, as an exquiſite model, and prefer it much to that which Bettinelli has cited from him. It is addreſſed to a young bride, and appears to us beautiful and faultleſs.

'Più che leggiadra ſei, più vezzoſa!
Serba intatta la fede al tuo diletto!
Vivi di tua belta, vivi geloſa
Del bel candore, che non ha difetto!
Ogni alito di molle inſidioſa
Aura, che ſpiri da caduco obietto,
Può la dolce ſcemar vampa amoroſa,
Che per gli occhi beveſti, e nutri in petto.
Sgorga dal cavo ſen di balza Alpina
Limpido il fonte, nel cui vivo umore
Il ſole per vaghezza i raggi affina;
Ma ſe del picciol ſolco or erba or fiore
Folleggiando a lambir per via declina,
A poco a poco impoveriſce e muore.'

*Poeſie di P. Salandri, p.* 247.

Many of the ſonnets printed by Mr Mathias are unintelligible to the reader, from the deficiency of proper titles and annotations. By a note to the line, 'Marmi, che 'l bel Toſco in voi chiudete,' the reader is informed that this Tuſcan was Petrarch; but, in the next page, 'Il nobil cigno che in Adria miſſe le ſue eterne penne,' which alludes to Bembo, is left without explanation; yet we can hardly think that the editor reckoned the tomb of Petrarch more obſcure than the abode of Bembo. The ſonnet by Metaſtaſio, which commences, 'Leggiadra Roſa, le cui pure foglie,' loſes all its beauty from being printed without its title. It was addreſſed to a lady called Roſa, who was about

to

to take the veil. The cuſtom of printing ſonnets and *canzoni* without notes or titles has prevailed unfortunately too much in Italy, and renders it difficult for one, whoſe memory cannot command the hiſtory of Europe, and the biography of Germany and Italy, to ſeize readily their meaning, and taſte all their beauties; but it is the duty of an editor to make his ſelection eaſily intelligible to the reader, and never to publiſh what he may not underſtand, without noticing it. Ignazio Gajone, in his annotations to Padre Ceva's 'Scelta di canzoni,' was not aſhamed (though an Italian) to ſtate, that there were paſſages which he could not perfectly comprehend in thoſe which he moſt ad-admired.

Few Italian poets have acquired greater celebrity in England than Guarini, the author of 'Il Paſtor Fido,' which has gone through ſeveral editions in this country; but his name does not appear in theſe volumes. We imagine the editor was unacquainted with his ſonnets, which are not to be found in the Parnaſo Italiano. Their ſtyle is very good, and they would have been more intereſting than the productions of many unknown authors. It will be ſufficient for us to quote one of them.

'Segua d' incerto ben fallace ſpeme,
E per pace interrotta eterna guerra,
Chi (fatto idol celeſto uom pur di terra)
Vende la libertate e l' alma inſieme!
Tenti le vie più vaſte e più ſupreme
Di falſo onor, che i ſuoi ſeguaci atterra,
Novo Fetonte; e, mentre ſuda ed erra,
Serbi ſe ſteſſo a le miſerie eſtreme!
Ch' io per me, pur che ſpiri entro 'l mio core
La ſu 'l gran fiume, ove ſtillò l' elettro,
Febo il ſuo canto, e le ſue gioie amore,
Co 'l più famoſo e fortunato ſcettro,
Che dal orto a l'occaſo il mondo adore,
Non cangerei queſto mio rozzo plettro.'

The name of Staccoli, a ſonneteer of the fifteenth century, appears in the chronological index of *the authors contained in theſe volumes;* but none of his poetry is to be found in them. He was an imitator of Petrarch, and much eſteemed; a ſpecimen of his ſonnets ſhould have been inſerted. Several of thoſe from Lorenzo di Medici are very indifferent. If the editor had been acquainted with the Bergamo edition of his works, he might eaſily have made a more favourable ſelection.

We are not ſatisfied with the choice from Coſtanzo, Caſa, or indeed any writer of ſonnets in this volume: We think that many have been omitted ſuperior to thoſe which are choſen from the

the ſame author; and we think that, in the numerous flock of Italian ſonneteers, many writers of merit have been wholly overlooked: but the taſte of mankind varies ſo much upon this ſubject, that we will not enter into further particulars. We were certainly tempted to ſmile, when we ſaw that Mr Mathias had ſelected a ſingle ſonnet, of little merit, from Frugoni. He was probably unacquainted with his works, and picked this out of ſome *ſcelta*. Frugoni is a very eſtimable writer, and the Lucca edition of his poetry conſiſts of fifteen octavo volumes, of which a ſmall portion is occupied by upwards of 1000 ſonnets. Many of them were officiouſly publiſhed after his death, and their merit is various. We have already ſtated, which of them Bettinelli preferred; and we will quote another as a ſpecimen leſs injurious to him, than the ſonnet printed in this work.

'O d' immatura ancor bellezza adorno,
Figlio, che ſchiudi fra purpuree faſce
L' ineſperte pupille, e il primo giorno
Piangi del cieco eſiglio, in cui ſi naſce;
La bella madre non cercar d' intorno;
La madre, oimè! che tra le dure ambaſce
T' abbandonò per non più far ritorno
Di là, dove di luce aurea ſi paſce.
Ah! tu nol ſai; forſe ver te pietoſa
Nud' alma e ſanta, e d'ogni duol digiuna,
E' qui preſente, e al fianco tuo ſi poſa:
Forſe cuſtode de la dolce cuna
Si la defende, che guatar non l'oſa
Il bieco ciglio de la rea fortuna.'

Mr Mathias has alſo choſen an indifferent ſonnet, by Redi, commencing, 'Donne gentili divote d' amore,' which is a faulty verſe, the accent being on the ſeventh ſyllable, while the ſixth is unaccented. Such lines are indeed occaſionally found, as 'Donne che avete intelletto d' amore' in Dante, and 'Ella a coprir la malizia amoroza' in Chiabrera's Guerre de' Goti, where the eliſion, however, renders them leſs offenſive; and Ceſarotti has injudiciouſly admitted them in his excellent tranſlation of Oſſian: but they are great blemiſhes, and if Pindar was right, that ἐχομένως ἔργα πρόσωπον χαὶ δίμεν τελαυγές, a ſhort ſonnet, with ſuch a commencement and no conſpicuous beauty, ſhould have been certainly excluded. We will not detain the reader with any further obſervations on theſe volumes, but will cloſe our remarks with a beautiful ſonnet from Taſſo, which we think the editor ſhould have printed.

'Io veggio in cielo ſcintillar le ſtelle
Oltre l' uſato, e lampeggiar tremanti;
Come negli occhi de corteſi amanti
Noi rimiriam talor vive facelle.

Aman

Aman forſe la ſuſo, o pur ſon elle
Pietoſe a' noſtri affanni, a' noſtri pianti:
Mentre ſcorgon l' inſidie e i paſſi erranti
Là dove altri d' amor goda e favelle.
Corteſe lumi, ſe Leandro in mare,
O traviato peregrin foſs' io,
Non mi ſarete di ſoccorſo avare.
Così vi faccia il ſol più belle e chiare,
Siete nel dubbio corſo al deſir mio
Fide mie duci, e ſcorte amate e care.

Upon the whole, we give Mr Mathias much credit for having acquired a greater facility in the Italian language, than is uſual for Engliſhmen who have never viſited Italy, and we very much admire his own *canzone*; but we regret, that he completed this work too haſtily, without having previouſly acquired ſufficient knowledge of Italian literature. It is a wide field, and difficult for any, but Italians, to traverſe. In the choice of *canzone*, he has been moſt ſucceſsful. We learn, that he has advertiſed a ſelection of lighter lyric poetry, which we hope will be more perfect, and we ſhall hail it with pleaſure. We truſt that he will not be offended, if we take the liberty of recommending to him to be leſs paſtoral in his vignettes and preface; and rather to addreſs the public, than the ſhepherds of the Roman Arcadia. We always thought this fiction puerile and undignified, even for Italians. His exertions in this branch of literature, which has been too much neglected in Great Britain, may become very valuable to the public. A perfect ſelection would be extremely deſireable; but one incompletely made is hurtful. The uninformed reader relies on the ſelector, and, thinking that he ſees the flower of Italian poetry, is contented to look no further. We are far from intending to diſcourage the editor, whoſe undertaking we think very meritorious; but wiſh to ſtimulate him to render his work leſs imperfect. We hope it may reach a ſecond edition, and then perhaps our obſervations (however ſlight or ſuperficial) may be of ſome aſſiſtance to him; and if we ſhall have pointed out any poetry, concerning which his judgment may coincide with ours, we truſt he will inſert it. We ſhould prefer ſeeing the lighter lyric poetry publiſhed as an additional volume, and not a ſeparate work; for no diſtinctive line can be accurately drawn. The *canzone*, the *ode Toſcana*, and the *canzonetta*, have been blended together by infinite variations: the metre of the latter has been adapted to the higheſt ſubjects; and the *verſi ſdrucciolì*, which more properly belong to it, occur in the *canzoni* of thoſe who followed the Greek ſchool.

ART. IV. *Syſtem of Mineralogy, comprehending Oryctognoſie, Geognoſie, Mineralogical Chemiſtry, Mineralogical Geography, and Economical Mineralogy.* By Robert Jameſon, Regius Profeſſor of Natural Hiſtory and Keeper of the Muſeum in the Univerſity of Edinburgh, Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of Edinburgh, of the Linnæan Society of London, Honorary Member of the Royal Iriſh Academy, of the Mineralogical and Phyſical Societies of Jena, &c. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 614. Edinburgh, Conſtable & Co.; London, Longman & Co. 1804.

IT was not without conſiderable heſitation that we determined to take any ſeparate notice of the volume before us. Our reaſons for wiſhing to defer its examination till we could conſider the whole work collectively, were ſimply theſe. Ample as this volume ſeems, it contains only the half of the firſt diviſion of Mr Jameſon's undertaking; for it comprehends only the Earthy foſſils. Beſides, it muſt be in a great meaſure unintelligible to the public till the ſecond volume appears; as, for ſome extraordinary reaſon, the explanation of the many new words and ſtrange phraſes now promulgated by the author, has been reſerved to illuſtrate that part of his work. Laſtly, we are not without hope, that the ſucceeding volumes may afford ſome matter deſerving of gentle commendation, which may mollify the impreſſion of thoſe ſtrictures which we may be compelled to make on the preſent volume.

Theſe reaſons were counterbalanced by others, which appear to us more weighty; for, if our information be correct, it will be at leaſt a year before the ſecond volume can appear; and no one has ventured to calculate within what period the geſtation of the others will be terminated. Mr Jameſon, we are afraid, has not attended very carefully to the probabilities of lives and ſurvivorſhips among modern books, or he never would have deferred the exhibition of his explanatory *viaticum* to ſo dangerous a diſtance, unleſs he expects it to have a reſuſcitating influence on the expiring volume. It might poſſibly eſcape an author's modeſty, indeed, that his work was likely to become obſolete before he rendered it comprehenſible; but to the malicious perſpicacity of a Reviewer, ſuch a poſſibility occurred with inſtinctive readineſs. The advance of mineralogy is likely to be more rapid than the pen of Mr Jameſon; and in a ſcience ſo eminently progreſſive, every work that pretends to a ſyſtematic form can only have an ephemeral exiſtence; and a Reviewer, more than any other deſcription of perſons, muſt attend to the injunction of 'ſhooting folly as it flies.' It would be reprehenſible, too, it appears to us, to paſs, in ſilence, over the innovations of language

language which deform this volume. The general adoption of theſe barbariſms would ſpeedily reduce Swift and Addiſon to a dead letter; for, no one who uſed the jargon of Mr Jameſon could poſſibly comprehend their language. The high price may induce thoſe, who meditate the purchaſe of this publication, to pauſe, till they are in ſome degree informed how far the profeſſions of the title-page are fulfilled; and thus the joint intereſt of the author and of the reader may be ſerved by an immediate inveſtigation. Laſtly, we have the vanity to imagine, that Mr Jameſon's candour may allow the ſubſequent portions of his work to profit in ſome degree by our animadverſions.

The chief recommendation of this performance is the name of its author. His 'Mineralogy of Arran' was a highly creditable work, diſplaying a competent ſhare of mineralogical knowledge, obtained under circumſtances that rendered its acquiſition meritorious, and exhibiting a reſpectable independence of intellect that renounced the theories amidſt which he was educated, and became ſelf-convinced of the important truth, that compleſe mineralogical knowledge is indiſpenſable to every ſpeculator in geology. Though the 'Mineralogy of the Weſtern Iſles' was ſwelled by an unneceſſary republication of his obſervations on Arran, it preſented us with conſiderable additions to our very limited knowledge of the productions of the Hebrides, and manifeſted the enterprize and acuteneſs of obſervation which the author poſſeſſes. His journey to Germany, for the profeſſed purpoſe of augmenting his mineralogical knowledge, proved his judicious ardour in the cauſe of philoſophy, and excited an apparently well-founded hope, that the ſcience to which he had addicted himſelf would be advanced by the acquiſitions of his matured experience.

During his reſidence on the Continent, Mr Jameſon ſeems to have contracted an enthuſiaſtic attachment to that ſyſtem called the Wernerian; and his admiration of the Profeſſor of Freyberg ſeems to us to treſpaſs far beyond the modeſt limits of philoſophic approbation. The ſlighteſt obſervation that falls from him is fulſomely announced as a diſcovery; every diſcovery claims the merit of priority; and every aſſertion is demonſtration. No devotee ever more zealouſly maintained the infallibility of the Pope, than Mr Jameſon has done that of his maſter; and the articles of the Nicene creed were not more true or invariable, than the aphoriſms of Werner. The moſt intenſe zealotry generally allows ſome illumination from candour, and ſome limitation from reaſon. The Turks allow our Saviour to have been a prophet; but the diſciples of Werner admit of no inſpiration but his; all that he affirms is true; and all that his aſſent has not ſanctioned, is abſolutely falſe or apocryphal.

not be deſtroyed in the purſuit of farther attainments, and that thoſe elementary books which are placed in the hands of the young and ignorant ſhould not preſent them with examples of a mode of compoſition vitiated to the greateſt degree. They ſhould not have every poſſible defect in grammar, in the ſelection and application of words, and in ſpelling, prefented to them in print, in a work affirmed in its own preface to be the ſtandard of authority on the ſubject of which it treats. Elegance is not univerſally requiſite, nor is it always attainable; but grammatical and orthographical correctneſs are indiſpenſable; nor is perſpicuity of leſs importance.

As Mr Jameſon does not pretend to have contrived a new ſyſtem of mineralogy, or to deliver in this work an original nomenclature and arrangement, but only to exhibit to his Engliſh readers a complete view of what has been accompliſhed by Werner, we are more particularly called upon to attend to the perſpicuity and propriety of his language. A work of this ſort, in fact, is to be conſidered very much in the light of a *tranſlation*: and as its chief merit muſt conſiſt in the accurate and luminous expreſſion of the German original, ſo it can be liable to no greater objection than that of being obſcure, barbarous, or unintelligible.

How far theſe conditions have been fulfilled in this 'Syſtem of Oryctognoſie,' and how far Mr Jameſon is deſerving of this ſeverity of cenſure, our readers will be capable of judging, when we have laid before them a few, and but a few, of the peculiarities which this work preſents.

The mineral genera are moſtly diſtinguiſhed by new names. We find the '*ſſint* genus,' the '*clay* genus,' the '*talc* genus,' and the '*calc* genus.' Theſe names are not merely clumſy, they are inaccurate. The names of the genera in Werner's ſyſtem are derived from the earth of predominating influence. It is perfectly correct, in Germany, to uſe '*kieſel*,' flint; and 'kieſel-erde,' literally ſſint-earth. But flint-earth is not Engliſh. To expreſs the ſame idea, we muſt uſe ſilica, ſilex, or ſilicious earth. Flint-earth, if it meant any thing, would imply pounded flints. Even Mr Jameſon talks of ſilica as an ingredient in the compoſition of minerals. 'Thon,' clay; 'talc,' which word we alſo uſe for a peculiar mineral, are exactly parallel caſes: neither clay-earth nor talc-earth are Engliſh. As to 'kalk,' lime; Mr Jameſon's tranſlation, calc, appears in Engliſh a barbarous abbreviation of calcareous. A little attention to propriety would have prevented theſe innovations, and the former denominations of the genera would have remained undiſturbed.

Another deviation from ancient cuſtom, that pervades many of

of the names in Mr Jameſon's nomenclature, is the addition of an *e* final where none formerly exiſted, or its ſubſtitution for another letter. We may inſtance Veſuviane, Arragone, Lithomarge, Molybd*ane*, &c. The eliſion of one or more ſyllables often occurs. Thus we find *aſbeſt*, *calc*-ſpar, *rhomb*-ſpar, *cube*-ſpar, *gyps*, *titan*, *menac*, *ſylvan*, &c. Other names are ſingularly altered in the ſpelling, as *wacce*, *appatite*, *kyanite*, *cinnobar*, *gneuſs*, &c. A large diviſion of names are altogether new, as *azure-ſtone*, for lazuli, *flint-ſlate*, *whet-ſlate*, *polier-ſlate*, *clay-ſlate*, *clink-ſtone*, *ſchaum-earth* or *calc-ſchaum*, *ſlate-ſpar* or *ſhiver-ſpar*, *ſchal-ſtone*, *calc-tuf*, *hair-ſalt*, *rock-butter*, *ſilver-glance*, *copper-glance*, *lead-glance*, &c. &c. &c. Nor has the fabrication of new ſubſtantives exhauſted Mr Jameſon. Among his adjectives, we find *ſchorlous*, *aſbeſtous*, *goldiſh*, *ſilveriſh*, *jaſpery* and *featheroſe*.

This ſeems a ſufficient ſample of his nomenclatural merits; let us next examine the deſcriptions, and ſelect a few of the ſimpler paſſages they contain. We find that he makes a liberal uſe of ſuch familiar language as 'obtuſer,' 'parallelly,' 'more ſeldomer,' 'cheſil' for chiſel, 'petrefaction' for petrifaction, 'unſeparated,' 'by reaſon,' 'far handſomer,' 'cleavage,' 'conformably-wiſe,' and 'unconformably-wiſe;' and he talks of grains of garnet being '*powdered*,' inſtead of pounded. The meanneſs of theſe expreſſions is agreeably contraſted by the frequent introduction of ſuch magnificent ſounds as 'frangibility,' 'acumination,' (inſtead of termination), porcellanous, ſcopiform, gelatinization, and manipular. His phraſes are occaſionally adorned by 'architectonic marbles,' 'Helleſpontic archipellagoes,' and 'meteoric water.' We likewiſe hear of 'promiſcuous radiation,' of 'cryſtals ſcalar-wiſe aggregated,' of 'duplicating tranſparency,' of 'obſolete edges,' of 'concealed foliated fractures,' of 'mighty beds,' of 'ſuppoſititious cryſtals,' of 'ſcopiform-diverging fibrous aggregation,' of 'floetz rocks,' of 'colour delineations, ſtriped, zoned, and flamed,' of 'jaſper ſwimming in a chalcedonic baſis,' of ſubſtances that are 'bad ſhaped, aggregated,' or 'cuneiformly thick,' and of a vaſt many more that are not 'particularly difficultly frangible.'

Theſe words and phraſes are of perpetual recurrence; there is no page of the deſcriptions which they do not tend to render brilliant; and there are ſome favourite combinations of which almoſt every deſcription can boaſt. Thus, twenty-nine minerals out of thirty have 'fragments indeterminately angular;' and nine out of ten are 'not particularly difficultly frangible.' This character of 'frangibility' is often contraſted with brittleneſs in a manner not extremely obvious to vulgar apprehenſion. One ſubſtance is deſcribed as 'brittle,' and 'eaſily frangible;' another as 'brittle,' but 'difficultly frangible;' a third as 'brittle,' and 'very difficultly frangible.'

In page 153. cellular quartz is described as occurring 'hexagonal, polygonal, and parallelly double, and spongiform circularly cellular.' In page 175. we learn that chalcedony generally occurs in 'reniform and fortification-wise, curved, lamellar, usually distinct concretions.' In page 58. the crystals of leucite (which is uniformly spelt *leuzite* by Mr Jameson) are said to have their 'summits deeply and flatly acuminated by four planes, which are conformably-wise set on the alternate edges.' In p. 574. we find a paragraph beginning abruptly thus: 'Principal fracture is intermediate between floriformly foliated and narrow, and scopiformly diverging radiated.' But the most elegant specimen of Mr Jameson's descriptive talent that has come within the range of our observation, is a passage in page 138. which purports to develope the structure of amethyst. It stands thus:

'The massive is commonly composed of more or less perfectly straight and thick prismatic distinct concretions, which are obliquely transversely streaked, and when free at the extremities shoot into crystals. These distinct concretions are generally intersected by other fortification-wise bent lamellar distinct concretions, and the colour delineation arranges itself in the direction of these lamellar concretations.'

With this we close the exhibition, and we shall not insult the understanding of our readers by commenting on what we have laid before them. We have carefully avoided noticing the very numerous errors that may be attributable to the press, in behalf of which we hope a copious table of *errata* will be included in the second volume. The blunders we have instanced have all obtained the stamp of the author's authority by a persevering repetition of error.

The reader may now judge with what singular impropriety the author's explanatory commentary on these remarkable words and phrases, has been referred to an unpublished second volume; and unless he feels himself capable of comprehending all we have cited, he need not waste his time in exploring these pages. We have given nothing more than a fair specimen of their general contents, and we believe their composition to be conducted with such meritorious equality, that scarcely any one page can be found less reprehensible than another. But, independent of omitting the explanation of terms, there is another omission which, considering where Mr Jameson professes to have received his mineralogical education, and the system he affects to expound, seems even more extraordinary. We have no account offered of the 'external characters,' except a few concise observations in the introduction. When we consider to what a degree of elaboration the toil of perfecting these famous characters has extended, what

what ample tables have been formed to comprehend all their varieties, to limit their extent, and define every possible application; when we refer to the preliminary passages of Mr Jameson's own book, and find him profusely encomiastic in expressing his approbation of these most perfect instruments, we must consider the omission as wholly unaccountable. No attempt is made by the author to extricate us from our embarrassments, and no mention of the external characters appears after the introduction, till we reach the descriptions, and find our comprehension of them entirely dependent on our perfect acquaintance with the arbitrary language in which they are expressed.

From these omissions, and from the combination of verbal and idiomatic singularities, the 'system of oryctognosie' is rendered almost entirely inaccessible to the majority of readers. Nor are we ashamed to declare ourselves of the number of those who would feel considerable doubt and trepidation in attempting to attach a meaning to sundry oracular passages. We may therefore fairly consider it as a work composed in a foreign language, and limit our future investigations to inquiring how far it deserves a translation. Should the verdict be favourable, we have little doubt Mr Jameson may easily find some one among the many ingenious inhabitants of the elevated regions of this city, who, for reasonable considerations, will *do* it into English; and we humbly beg leave to suggest the propriety of *bestowing* a translation on every one who can produce an original copy. Nor ought this proceeding to be considered as degrading. Frederic the Great employed Voltaire to wash his *dirty linen*; and we really think Mr Jameson's *ofnaburgs* and *tartans* will be much improved by being boiled and scoured.

When this wholesome operation is performed, the author may perhaps correct a few of the contradictions which at present add to the perplexity of his readers.

We are told in page 72. that Karsten names the precious garnet, almandine; and that he places the pyrope and common garnet together. But, in the very next page, we read that the pyrope is the precious garnet of Karsten. In page 289. a sentence occurs which seems to require considerable elucidation. 'Werner suspects that moonstone may be considered as adularia; *because it differs from it*, by its *milk white* colour, which is *flesh-red* when held between the eye and the light.' These may serve as instances.

The general arrangement of Mr Jameson's book is derived from Werner. The tenets inculcated are those held, with various limitations, by his illustrious scholars; and the descriptions profess to be accurate vehicles of the collected stock of Wer-

nerian acumen and information. With this ſyſtem, we have nothing now to do, nor with the deſcriptive characters it employs. Almoſt every writer who has uſed them, has ſubjected them to ſome modification, and many of theſe changes have been found beneficial. The prolix enumeration of every ſhade of colour that can tinge a mineral, has been generally abridged; accurate ſtatements of ſpecific gravity and hardneſs, have ſupplied the place of vague approximations; the ſeparation of ſpecies has been facilitated by the uſe of diſtinctive characters which contraſt the points of diſſimilitude; new and moſt important characters have been generally introduced, and many barbarous names have been replaced by ſcientific denominations expreſſing the components of the ſubſtance. Theſe changes and additions have all been ſanctioned by mineralogiſts, who admit the authority and adopt the arrangement of Werner. But let not the reader be led into a fruitleſs expectation that he will benefit by theſe changes, when he ſtudies this moſt recent ſyſtem of Wernerian oryctognoſie. To all improvement and innovation, Mr Jameſon appears a decided enemy. In a few frivolous inſtances of relative hardneſs, he affects to give the authority of Haüy; but we look in vain for a detail of electric phenomena, or of the diſcovery of double refraction in inſtances where it was unſuſpected. No proper notice is taken of the agency of chemical teſts, the blowpipe excepted. The internal ſtructure of minerals, developed by mechanical diviſion, is deſpiſed. Nor is the meaſure given of the angles of a ſingle cryſtal, or any attempt made to explain that beautiful and important ſcience of cryſtallography, which is likely to form the baſis of all accurate mineralogy. It is in vain to urge, that all this forms no part of the Wernerian ſyſtem. We expect a ſyſtematic work to make us acquainted with the actual, and not with the obſolete ſtate of the ſcience it treats of; or if this valuable maſs of information is not ſufficiently orthodox to be inſerted in the text, it was ſurely worthy a place among the notes and obſervations. We might remind Mr Jameſon of the work of Brochant, which he has mentioned with ſome approbation. Brochant likewiſe profeſſedly gives a view of the Wernerian ſyſtem. But no information of importance has been omitted, becauſe the limits of that ſyſtem did not contain it. It would be invidious to extend the parallel between the two authors.

In ſome few caſes, Mr Jameſon has deviated from the general 'bold antiquity' of his performance; and theſe ſolitary inſtances of exuberance make the ſurrounding ſterility more ſtriking. No where is this ſterility more remarkable or reprehenſible, than in his account of the 'geographic ſituation' of minerals. Marl, or,

as

as Mr Jameſon ſpells it, *marle*, we are gravely told is found in Thuringia; but no other inſtance of its occurrence is cited. Perhaps the ſcarcity of publications on Scotiſh mineralogy may juſtify his referring more frequently to the 'Mineralogy of the Weſtern Iſles' than to any other work; and though his citations are almoſt excluſively from it, we are thankful for the information we receive; but ſcarcely any inſtance of the occurrence of minerals in England are quoted. One or two indeed are given on the authority of Karſten; and he ſtates, on his own authority, that ſulphate of ſtrontian is found in the *ſouth of England, near Briſtol*. Even the few localities that are cited are ſometimes incorrect. The *ſattin* ſpar, as he terms it, is found in Cumberland, and not in Derbyſhire. Topaz, we have good reaſon to believe, never was found in Cornwall; and his avowed ignorance of the nature of the alum ſlate at Whitby, and of the geological ſituation of fuller's earth, is ſurpriſing. In this country, we ſhould hardly have expected to ſee revived the idle tale of the difficulty of procuring ſpecimens from the quarries in the aluminous rock at Tolfa, which are open to every comer.

To enter into a detail of the deficiencies and errors that might be pointed out in almoſt every page, would be a taſk more irkſome to the reader than difficult to us. But it may perhaps be an object of ſome intereſt, to examine how many well defined ſpecies of minerals are omitted, without even a mention of their names. We look in vain, in the tabular view of the ſyſtem, or in the body of the work, for the arſeniate of lime, the pharmacolithe of Karſten, for the fluate of potaſs and alumina, the cryolithe of Abildgaard, for the euclaſe, nepheline, meionite, pinite, &c. We find no mention of the vaſt maſs of emerald or beryl found in France, or of the phoſphate or chromate of iron. The new earth, yttria, is never mentioned, nor the gadolinite which contains it. Our ſearch is equally fruitleſs for the aplome, the dioptaſe, the wernerite itſelf, and the new metals tantalus and columbium. Nothing is ſaid of the diſcoveries of the celebrated d'Andrada, a ſcholar of Werner, and of the numerous liſt of minerals, not a few of which are new ſubſtances, which he diſcovered in Norway and Sweden. Many other minerals, generally conſidered as diſtinct ſpecies, are equally neglected: Hatiy's appendix alone would furniſh a numerous catalogue. If all theſe were deemed too apocryphal to enter the immaculate canon of the *ſyſtem*, ſome other mode of exhibiting them ſhould have been deviſed. Perhaps they are reſerved to grace the pages of the ſecond volume; but that cannot excuſe their omiſſion in the 'tabular view,' to which one new earth, two new metals, and between twenty and thirty new ſubſtances would have formed a magnificent addition.

At page 168, Mr Jameson assures his readers, that the description of the quarta species is 'one of the most highly finished pictures of the Wernerian oryctognosie.' We deem it incumbent upon us to communicate this information to those who wish to estimate the fairest part of this performance. The intensity of praise in the sentence above quoted, is however considerably qualified, when we read, a little lower down, that Wiedenman and other mineralogists were actually unable to understand this boasted description! A degree of ineptitude that is far from appearing so surprising to us, as it seems to have been to Mr Jameson.

Our duty towards this work seems now to be nearly discharged. We have pointed out some of the parts that appeared objectionable, and we have cited many sins of omission. We have stated what the author considers the most favourable specimen of its contents, which we would willingly quote, did not the species, quartz, and its subspecies, extend over many pages. We should have no hesitation in leaving the final decision to the judgement of our readers; but we cannot close the article without a few observations of a more general nature.

The alchemical professors, whose sole aim was to impose upon the ignorance, and profit by the credulity of their votaries, involved the names of the agents they employed in symbolical mystery. They peopled the nomenclature of chemistry with as many monsters as mythology has introduced into the heavens, and talked familiarly of the ascent of black eagles, and the escape of red lions from the embraces of Diana, when their object was merely to disguise the expression of a chemical operation. Their efforts were finally counteracted by more enlightened inquirers, and the necessity of a systematic, invariable, and expressive nomenclature was strongly felt. Though, like the result of every human effort, the new chemical nomenclature has its defects, it is one of the most useful and beautiful intellectual instruments that has ever been devised; nor can we conceive any enlightened and unprepossessed mind to hesitate in its adoption.

Of the extensive science of chemistry, mineralogy forms a small department, and, though indebted to chemistry for its existence as a science, has too frequently attempted to effect a disunion. Some of the complex combinations of earths, that constitute mineral substances, could not be expressed, perhaps, according to the rules of that nomenclature. To such substances, therefore, a specific denomination has been correctly assigned; but all the earthy, and alkaline, and metallic salts, the metallic alloys, the phosphurets, and the sulphurets, come within the

the strictest line of limitation, and should be known by no other name than that which indicates their composition. Mr Jameson, however, thinks otherwise. He tells us roundly, in page 50. of the Introduction, that 'chemical nomenclature should not be admitted' in mineralogy; and therefore he regales the intellectual palate of his readers with 'hair salt' and 'rock butter.' Nor is his hostility to chemistry confined to so minute a consideration as the names of substances; he would willingly banish its agency entirely; upon all occasions he yields reluctantly to its dictates; and whenever the ideal distinctions of the system he embraces seem to be in contradiction, he boldly renounces its authority. In a note in page 26. of the Introduction, the following extraordinary sentence may be read: 'In short, we may believe that every analysis (not confirmed by synthesis) which does not agree with the *natural alliances* of minerals, is *false*.' It is the extension of this principle that has procured diamond a place among *earthy* fossils, and that has induced Mr Jameson ingeniously to suppose that quartz is inflammable, and probably of the same nature with diamond! What are these '*natural alliances*?' The union of ignorance with theoretic assumption: and to this blessed combination the most irrefragable demonstration is to be wantonly sacrificed.

It might have been expected that the frequent errors of his 'great master,' in conjecturing the origin of minerals, should have induced Mr Jameson to adopt his opinions upon such subjects with some hesitation, and to announce them with some modesty. This, we are sorry to say, is far from being the case. Werner has theoretically assigned 'the newest *floetz* trap formation' as the 'repository' of many of the gems, and among others, of spinelle, sapphire, ruby, and hyacinth. These are almost the only gems whose 'repository' has actually been detected; and it is somewhat unfortunate, that *every instance is contradictory* of his assertion. Sapphires and rubies are found in primitive compound rocks; spinelle has been found imbedded in adulasia and in granular marble, and hyacinth (not zircon, as Mr Jameson affirms) in syenite. * With these instances of fallibility before him, which

* Basalt, as might be expected, is considered of Neptunian origin; and Mr Jameson roundly affirms, 'it is *now universally* admitted to be an aquatic production.' Does he consider his countrymen, who follow the theory of Dr Hutton, as nonentities? Or how does he dispose of almost every mineralogist in France and Italy, and, among others, of M. Daubuisson, 'a *scholar of Werner*,' and once a staunch stickler for the aqueous origin of basalt; but who, since he visited Auvergne, has candidly owned, that some basalt at least is volcanic?

which he partly admits, we hoped that he would have advanced with ſome temper to conſider volcanic products. We did not expect the lava of Albano, with its leucites and melanites, to be called a 'new *floetz* trap;' nor to ſee it affirmed, that augite occurs principally in baſalt; to find Veſuvius and Ætna, and even Italy, omitted among its localities, and to obſerve it mentioned in a note, as a matter of doubt, that it 'was *ſaid* to have twin cryſtals.' Did Mr Jameſon ever ſee an augite, or a ſpecimen of Veſuvian or Ætnean lava? If he had, we think he would not have troubled his readers with the nice diſtinction of augites being 'wrapped up, but not imbedded in lava.' The climax, however, is not attained, till we are told, that it is probable that pumice is formed by water, and that the volcanic glaſs of Lipari is undoubtedly of an aqueous origin! All this reminds us of the veteran mineralogiſt, who, having denied the volcanic ſtructure of the environs of Naples, was conducted to view the ſmoking ruins of Torre del Greco. After a pauſe of mortification, he exclaimed, 'I cannot deny this to be a *lava*; but I affirm it, contrary to every principle of geognoſie.'

In ſome inſtances, however, it is not eaſy to explain the tenour of Mr Jameſon's writings, by the mere effects of prepoſſeſſion and ſyſtem. The name of Dolomieu is rarely mentioned, but as a prelude to a miſtatement of his opinions; and towards Haüy he attempts to exerciſe the dexterity for which ſome ſubtle diſputants have been celebrated, and a ſyſtem is affirmed to be his, which he certainly never would acknowledge. Mr Jameſon gravely aſſerts, that Haüy conſiders the *form* of the molecule as the *type* of the ſpecies. Nothing can be more falſe: The *molecule itſelf*, that is, a body of a given form, and poſſeſſing given qualities, beſides its form, is the type of the ſpecies. The qualities of matter cannot exiſt ſeparate from form, nor can a material form exiſt without qualities. It is the aggregate union of theſe, that conſtitutes the repreſentative of the ſpecies. It is this that Haüy aſſumes; and therefore Mr Jameſon's attack is directed againſt a phantom of his own creation. Even over this he has not obtained any ſignal triumph; for he has been particularly unfortunate in the inſtances adduced, to prove the viciouſneſs of the ſuppoſed ſyſtem. He affirms zeolyte to be improperly divided into mezotype and ſtillbite, becauſe, excepting the difference in the *form* of their integral molecule, they are identically the ſame. Has he forgot that mezotype, when heated, is one of the moſt powerfully electric bodies in nature, and that ſtillbite has no ſuch virtue? That mezotype gelatinates with acids, while ſtillbite forms a liquid ſolution? We ſincerely hope, that, before he advances to his promiſed attack on 'the extremely

extremely ill done' parts of Haüy's book, he will patiently render himſelf maſter of the ſyſtem he affects to deſpiſe; and that, in his future publications, he will correct his ſpelling of molecule, by retrenching the ſuperfluous letter by which he uniformly converts it into *mollecule*. If additional proof was wanting of the inattentive and ſlovenly manner in which this work is executed, it is afforded by Mr Jameſon not having acquired the orthography of a word of ſuch frequent occurrence.

With theſe obſervations we cloſe our ſtrictures, and ſincerely regret the ſeverity with which we have been obliged to ſpeak of an author who has formerly deſerved the acknowledgements of the public. If Mr Jameſon perſevere in his taſk, we venture to indulge a hope that his future volumes may be deſerving of more lenient treatment. The defects of language are eaſily corrected; and though it is a laborious taſk to add to our ſtock of information the accumulated increaſe of late years, and to maintain it on a level with the general advance of ſcience, the effort is within the compaſs of ordinary perſeverance. But it may not be found a matter of equal facility, to obtain general enlargement of views, and freedom from theoretic ſhackles. It is alſo an arduous taſk, to toil after geological acquiſitions, to explore the excavations of mines, and to obtain minute information of the moſt important metallurgical proceſſes, and of every art which has mineral ſubſtances for its ſubject. This, however, Werner has done for Germany; and this Mr Jameſon has undertaken to do for Britain. A mere tranſlation from foreign authorities will in no reſpect ſuffice. Information, thus obtained, is always defective and generally erroneous; and indeed, every foreign work in which we have ſeen an attempt to detail the metallurgic operations practiſed in theſe kingdoms, is exceſſively faulty. All this comes under the department of 'economical mineralogy;' and much original matter muſt be accumulated, before it can be rendered worthy of public notice.

We would exhibit the difficulties of the attempt, not to diſmay, but to excite; and ſhould wiſh every obſtacle to ſo important an undertaking to be thoroughly contemplated, that it may be ſucceſsfully ſurmounted. Mr Jameſon, no doubt, has already pondered on the ſubject: but we apprehend, from the ſpecimen we have already conſidered, that his thoughts tend too much to mere tranſlation; and we repeat that, in the economical part of his ſyſtem, ſuch a performance can never prove an acceptable preſent to the public. If, in deſpite of thoſe ſtrenuous exertions, which, we truſt, a regard for his reputation will ſtimulate Mr Jameſon to make, he ſhould diſappoint the hopes

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of his friends, by the ultimate failure of his undertaking, he may console himself with the reflection, that its execution was not within the reach of minds of ordinary powers. He may remember, that to fail in a gallant attempt is often more honourable than trivial success; and return to his investigations of geographical geology, with the safe assurance that his industry and intelligence will ensure him in that department a creditable share of reputation and success. We observe that he has announced his intention of publishing an account of the geology of part of the south of Scotland; and we confidently anticipate much pleasure and information in the perusal of that work, whatever prognostic may be formed of the ulterior fate of the remaining portions of the 'System of Mineralogy.'

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ART. V. *Travels from Berlin through Switzerland to Paris in the year* 1804. By Augustus Von Kotzebue, Author of the Stranger, Lover's Vows, Pizzaro, &c. &c. Translated from the German. 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 730. London. Phillips. 1804.

THIS publication affords a remarkable instance of the rapid communication of ideas which results from the art of printing, and of the disposition which a certain class of sentimental persons, especially in Germany, have to avail themselves of such facilities. About the beginning of the present year, M. Kotzebue sets out upon his travels. He performs a long tour through four different countries—he examines the French *republic*, its government, its capital—concocts a narrative with a few quires of tender effusion and rambling reflection.—He returns.—In three months, and before the Leipzig fair, his article is ready for the market—it is sold—translated into English in a few weeks—read in this country, and, before much more than half a year is expired from the commencement of the tour, we are now engaged in reviewing it.

In a commodity so quickly raised, we certainly cannot expect to find much excellence of a solid description. It is one of those wares which are calculated only for immediate consumption; and if this experiment upon the powers of the author's name is successful, the speculation has answered its purpose, the trader gains his profit, and, we have no doubt, is long ere now far advanced in half a dozen plays, and novels, and ethical treatises, for the same insatiable market. It would indeed be as impossible for M. Kotzebue to travel, whether in Russia, Siberia, or France, or to perform the functions analogous to what, in other men, we call thinking—or to read, if this is ever a part of his system, with-

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out instantly producing a certain weight of writing, as it would be for him to write without printing, or to publish without exposing himself, in many instances, to ridicule and pity. These, however, are emotions to which the million of German readers are not much alive; and of late years, unfortunately, their baneful passion for noxious and tasteless paradox has taken a deep root in this country. The many admirers of the German stage and romance, who have retained the infection, in spite of all the powerful antidotes which the wits of England administered, are exceedingly well predisposed for such sentimental journies as the present. It will assuredly find favour where Brydone, and Volney, and D'Ulloa, have failed to move. In fact, its attractions belong to the subject, rather than the manner; and we purpose to exhibit a few specimens, that our readers may be led to form a proper opinion upon its whole merits, as well as upon the nature of the absurdities which the German palate can relish in this kind of writing. To such a selection, the present article must be confined. It would require as digressive an imagination as our author's, to attempt following him through all his desultory ramblings, whether of narrative or of reflection; and it is still less worth while to exhibit any general view of his manifold imperfections, or the ridiculous and depraved characters of the school to which he belongs. All this is best described by specimen.

Nothing strikes one more constantly in these volumes, than the utter disregard of all mankind and their opinions, by which the writer seems at every moment to be influenced. Whatever comes into the head of Augustus Von Kotzebue may be put down—*Quicquid in buccam venerit*,—no matter whether it has a meaning or not, or what meaning it has, or how far it may be contradictory of the very last effusion—it is Kotzebue's, and he may publish it—'*Meus hic furnus*'—This is his ruling maxim. The preface, for example, after saying nothing more than that the whole of 'his remarks are his own,' and that if there are absurdities among them now, there were many more in the manuscript, concludes with this notable impertinence—'I have nothing further to say, till the tide of time shall alter forms, and the danger of being saluted with a shower of stones from a meteor shall be over.' p. iv. The 'cursory remarks, by way of introduction,' are made of the like stuff. They contain a rhapsody, to shew that travelling and living are not perfectly the same thing—interspersed with much grumbling, that men should come into the world without their consent being previously asked and obtained. We are treated, about the beginning of the journey, with a romantic proposal in favour of planting fruit

trees,

trees, for which this native of the Pruſſian ſands ſeems to have a very natural partiality. 'A good road,' he exclaims, 'lined with fruit trees, is a nobler monument to the memory of a prince, than'—What? Our readers will not immediately gueſs the exact meaſure of this monument. It is then, preciſely, nobler than 'a ſummer-houſe in the Chineſe, or in any other ſtyle.' p. 10. To the praiſe of fruit trees, ſucceeds that of 'fools.' He concludes this eloge with a wiſh, which ſome readers may perchance be inclined to think ſuperfluous, 'I ſhould like to have ſuch a fool about me—I muſt find fault with all the crowned heads, for having allowed ſuch a uſeful cuſtom to become obſolete.' p. 24.

Upon entering Switzerland, our author goes off at once into an impaſſioned invective againſt *deſcriptions*, and vows with vows, with indeed a very ſolemn oath, that he will never think of deſcribing. We were too well acquainted with this tribe of writers, not to lay our account immediately with reading three entire volumes of nothing but deſcription. Accordingly, he begins the very line after this vow with a deſcription, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word; and after having extended it through many pages of foam, abyſs, yawning cliff, crevice, foliage, tint, and all the other ingredients which go to the compoſition of ſuch an article,—after repreſenting the 'ruſhing Rhone,' in the various predicaments of 'trickling,' 'oozing,' 'decking,' 'vaniſhing,' 'being married,' 'buried,' 'ſwallowed,' 'vomited up,' and 'rejoining its bride,' he ſays, he believes he has '*almoſt* been betrayed into a deſcription.' p. 73. The deſcriptions are mixed up alſo with remarks of a miſcellaneous nature. One ſpot is the place where the Deity ſtood when he pronounced his handy-work good. (p. 46.) We are, on another occaſion, ſagely told that 'in travelling, it often happens that we find things very different from what we expected.' p. 65.

Admitting, after all, that M. Kotzebue had adhered in practice to his general rule, we might aſk, why all this enmity to deſcriptions? He tells us, 'they are inadequate; they give an imperfect idea of the original; they afford no joy like that which the real beholder receives from the view.' This is all very true; but it proves nothing: It applies to his favourite art of painting, with at leaſt equal force; nay, it applies to every imitative art, and to none more than to that which M. Kotzebue has moſt cultivated, the drama. Surely, he would form ſingularly inaccurate notions of what paſſes in the world, who ſhould take his ideas of human life from the plays of our author. Thoſe rare productions, and in general the whole of the German ſtage, contain things which cannot be much praiſed for 'reſembling' any 'original.' All M. Kotzebue's clamour amounts

amounts to a propoſition not very new, that ſeeing and reading are not the ſame, and that there is leſs pleaſure in hearing a deſcription of a beautiful proſpect, than in beholding it. A poſition which thoſe only can doubt, who unhappily ſtand in need of our author's introductory remarks to convince them that travelling and living are not in all reſpects the ſame things.

On his arrival at Paris, M. Kotzebue details all the curioſities of that well known capital with tireſome minuteneſs, under the ſtale and peculiarly deſcriptive form of conducting his readers round the town. His catalogue of ſights indeed is only different from a dry liſt, in this, that he affectedly uſes the language of a *cicerone* or ſhewman. Inſtead of ſaying 'the walk,' he talks of 'that walk;' and, rather than plainly inform us of a man meeting a woman, and beginning to converſe, he exclaims, 'Do you ſee yonder man meeting yonder woman, and beginning to converſe?' We have juſt the ſame ſenſation in every reſpect during this operation, that we remember to have experienced when a ſexton has gone through his deſcription of the wonders of his cathedral; there is no ſtopping him to get any uſeful information; on he goes with the old bead-roll of names and dates, interſperſed with notices of kings and conquerors, whom every one knows every thing about; or curates and churchwardens, reſpecting whom you were formerly in a ſtate of happy ignorance; obliging you to hear, inſtead of the revenues and conſtitution of the eſtabliſhment, or the hiſtory of its foundation and decline, the ſtory of St Dunſtan and the Devil in one of the windows, or the life of the laſt ſexton and his three wives.

Juſt ſo the very narrative and perpetually deſcriptive M. Kotzebue. He tells you little of the changes produced by the revolution, or of the preſent ſtate of manners, rights (if there are any) and opinions (whoſe exiſtence is equally dubious) in France. But he carries you round the Thuilleries, Palais-Royal, almoſt all the coffeehouſes in the neighbourhood, and, without exception, all the theatres.

Of the leading characters at preſent figuring in Paris (we ſhould perhaps ſpeak in the ſingular number) you can get no information. Of the eternal Auguſtus Von Kotzebue, and his feelings and taſtes, or of the ignorance and privation of taſte on which he curiouſly piques himſelf, you hear, at every ſtep of your walk; of the Firſt Magiſtrate of France (an Emperor, we believe, at the departure of the laſt advices), you are perhaps told that he is little in ſtature, but an extraordinary man; and of his brother Lucien, that he is a 'moſt amiable man, eſpecially in all the relations of domeſtic life;' and that Talma is a good player, eſpecially when he acts in the Stranger and the

Two Brothers. * To make amends, you have long hiſtories of old beggar-women, ragged children ſitting on bridges, tender-hearted French huſſars, and many pages entirely devoted to a full account of the various ſhew-boxes exhibited in Paris, with the heads (ſometimes the whole) of the eloquent harangues delivered by their proprietors.

If former travellers, in the countries of marble and canvaſs, have tired us with their connoiſſeurſhip, M. Kotzebue produces the ſame effect, in a ſtill more eminent degree, by his perpetual avowal of ignorance in the fine arts, and his declamations againſt what is generally called a cultivated taſte in painting and ſtatuary. After abjuring all pretenſions to ſuch qualities, we ſhould naturally expect him to dwell very lightly on the national galleries at Paris. Quite the contrary; he devotes above a hundred pages to the ſubject; carries us through one hall after another, and particularizes almoſt every eminent piece. He is, however, always ſtopping to abſure all critical talent, all knowledge in the two ſiſter arts; frequently to 'thank God that he wants thoſe qualifications;' and to remind us, as if ſuch a thing were at all neceſſary, that 'he cannot *reaſon*, he can only *feel*.' This kind of paradox is indeed by no means peculiar to M. Kotzebue. It is ſomewhat extenuated by the palpable abſurdities of many ignorant lovers of the fine arts, and it is connected with a very general queſtion, being, in fact, almoſt an offset from the grand paradox of modern times—the argument againſt refinement and civilization. In this point of view, we were induced to follow our author rather minutely through the galleries; and the reſult of our attendance upon him is exactly what we had expected to find, that his catalogue of paintings and ſtatues differs from the deſcriptions which a real connoiſſeur would give, only in the ignorance of the ſubject, the petulant contempt of ſuperior learning, and the miſerably bad taſte which it diſplays. It is in other reſpects juſt as faulty; poſſeſſing, in a liberal meaſure, the defects of prolixity, fanciful feeling, and prejudice. His contempt of the Venus de Medicis, on account both of the deſign and the execution; and his diſguſt at the Laocoon, on account of the ſubject, are not the greateſt abſurdities which this man of feeling, who cannot reaſon, is always committing. In fact, he does try to argue, but argues very ill. He endeavours to prove that the ſubject of pictures deſerves more conſideration than the execution or the talents of the artiſt; and indeed we find that this is his general criterion of judging. Surely a man, under the influence of ſuch a fancy, need not go to Paris for gratification. What Apollos,

* Favourite productions of our author, of which whoſoever has not heard ſufficiently before, may read enough in theſe volumes.

Apollos, Madonnas, or Holy Families, can vie with the ſtores of the ſign-poſt and caricature-ſhop in the eyes of ſuch a ſpectator? We cannot leave this branch of the work without noticing two other circumſtances, one of which we have found infinitely ludicrous, and the other intolerably offenſive. He is conſtantly aſcribing to his favourite pieces qualities which no picture, indeed no inanimate object, can poſſibly poſſeſs. Not that he gives a glowing deſcription of the '*ſpirantia æra*,' the '*vivos de marmore vultus*,' or the 'marble ſoftened into life growing warm;' and 'the animated canvaſs' ſparkling with 'an eye that ſpeaks the melting ſoul.' All this we can admire (in the two firſt of deſcriptive poets) as exquiſite metaphor; and, indeed, no ſtrained deſcription of the wonders which the chiſel and the pencil can work in the hands of Praxiteles and Raphael. M. Kotzebue's fictions are of a much duller caſt; they are plain matter of falſehood, and are meant to be literally believed; while the writer's fancy is too rapid and ſtrong to let him perceive the impoſſibility he is deſcribing. Thus, he actually tells us, as a fact, that the monument of Le Brun's mother conſiſts of an angel ſounding a trumpet—a matron in her coffin hearing it—*then* lifting the lid—*then* gladly awaking from a long ſlumber—and *then* riſing out of her grave.

But the other circumſtance to which we allude, is the unceaſing ſpirit of blaſphemy which breaks forth whereſoever the ſubject of any piece is taken from Scripture hiſtory. We would gladly avoid polluting our pages by any examples; but ſo grave an accuſation demands ſome proof; and we truſt that the evidence of this German wit's being one of the moſt impious ſcoffers of the day, will at leaſt induce his admirers to re-examine the foundation of their predilection. We may add, that there was not perhaps any very urgent neceſſity to render all this part of the work literally, for the benefit of readers, whoſe taſtes it is much to be hoped, are ſtill very different from thoſe of Paris and Berlin. Our Saviour is generally denominated, with great familiarity, 'the little Jeſus,' or 'the little Chriſt.' Vol. II. p. 41—47, &c. The following account is given of Dominichino's curſe of the firſt parents: 'A great crowd of little angels are carrying the Lord in the clouds, who would certainly tumble down if the little creatures did not every where prop him up with their hands, eſpecially his poſteriors.' Vol. II. p. 50. Speaking of the portrait of Madame Liſi, a noble Florentine's wife, he ſays—'But ſhould Heaven again want a Holy Virgin, let it chooſe this married beauty.' Vol. II. p. 52. He compares (in p. 54.) the crucifixion to a common execution; and adds, reſpecting martyrdoms, 'A roaſted or flayed ſaint, if he were painted by the Lord himſelf, is to me,' &c. &c. We ſuppoſe our charge is now ſufficiently made out. In a leſs

jocose kind of infidelity, M. Kotzebue is not deficient. Thus, in vol. II. p. 165, he mentions it as self-evident, *en passant*, that the Egyptian Iris, with Florus on her knee, served for the prototype of the Holy Virgin. If any thing can increase the culpability of such passages, it is the information conveyed in a note to vol. I. p. 5. 'that these travels are addressed to a lady.' That this unfortunate female, however, may not have her delicacy offended in one respect alone, our author has taken notable care to season the book with the more ordinary kinds of indecency. A whole section is devoted to the interesting subject of the Parisian *filles de joie*. A minute account is given of the concern which French young ladies take in the care of their brothers '*qui se sont brulé*.' An anecdote, too long and bad to be copied, is given at p. 174. of vol. III. See also the whole anecdotes of the same section, without exception. And, finally, for variety sake, he presents his fair reader with a bit of a scene in the *Medecin malgre lui*, under the form of a lecture upon indelicacy. '*Va-t-elle à la chaise percée?*'—'*Oui*'—'*Copieusement?*'—'*Assez*'—'*Et la matiere est-elle?*' &c.

Having now given our readers perhaps more specimens than they may think quite necessary of the faults in which these volumes abound, we hasten to make some amends, both to them and to the author, by noticing a few of the good parts; or, rather, we shall select all the things which we have been able to collect, in any way deserving such an epithet. This is no very tedious task; and it may probably save some of our readers the trouble of perusing the work.

The excellences in question consist entirely of a few curious anecdotes, quite unknown in this country,—some of them only known in France. They deserve our attention, and are extremely entertaining, as well as interesting, in a higher point of view.

1. In the course of the fifty long pages which our author, in the true spirit of his trade, devotes to the Parisian theatres, we meet with some curious illustrations of the systematic attention bestowed in France to the support and improvement of the stage. A theatrical author is encouraged in a degree, and with a punctilious attention to his ease and interest, perfectly unknown in any other country. He has a right to one twenty-first part of the gross receipts of his piece every night it is performed, in *every* theatre of France, all his life, and his heirs for ten years after his death. The utmost care is taken both to protect his copyright in the piece, and, what may seem more difficult, to secure him his due share of the profits each night, in all the theatres of France, which far exceed a hundred in number. A particular office is established at Paris, in which the author needs only enter his

his name, and he has no farther trouble to take. The office has its correſpondents and caſhiers all over the country, and accounts to the author for his full profits, for a commiſſion of two *per cent.* At the expiration of the two firſt years, the author of any popular piece may rely on having cleared 40,000 livres, or near 1700l. Sterling. After that, the profits decreaſe; but if the author has produced two or three ſuch pieces, he not only provides decently for himſelf, but leaves his children a comfortable proviſion for ten years after his deceaſe. This is all to be underſtood of even ordinary workmen for the ſtage. The example taken by M. Kotzebue is ſtriking. The tranſlator of his '*Stranger*,' or, as he calls it, '*Miſanthropy and Repentance*,' whom he charges with having performed the taſk rather in an awkward manner, has already cleared 60,000 livres, or above 2500l. Sterling, by it; and the piece is ſtill a ſtock play, being frequently performed three times in one evening in Paris. The author only got 200 rix-dollars for it, or about 40l.! D'Aleyrac, the popular compoſer, receives, as profits for his former pieces, 1200l. Sterling a year, without including Paris. How contemptible, when compared with this, are the higheſt wages of literary labour in all the other departments of the republic of letters!

2. Many traits are recorded in this work, illuſtrative of the ſuperlatively fickle, and, in many reſpects, ludicrous character of the French people. Among theſe, we particularly noticed the *charlataniſme* of their amateurs, and the indelicacy which prevails among the women. A girl ſcarcely fifteen years old will ſtand before *David's* painting, and, attentively gazing through her opera glaſs at the ſtark-naked Sabine, will obſerve, that ſuch a muſcle is full of energy, but ſuch a one like nothing. 'She will talk of the tibia, of the abdomen, and god knows of what more.' Mothers and daughters will entruſt their intrigues to each other, and generally live upon the moſt ſcolding terms of familiarity. Every newſpaper contains advertiſements from perſons of both ſexes, wiſhing to form temporary connexions.

3. Of the claſs of narratives uſually denominated 'anecdotes' *par excellence*, M. Kotzebue has given ſeveral that deſerve notice. It became abſolutely a faſhion, during the reign of terror, to make *bon-mots* on the way to be guillotined. Danton, when a companion in diſtreſs on the platform advanced to embrace him, obſerved very coolly, '*Laiſſez, nos tetes doivent ſe rencontre toute à l'heure dans le ſac;*' alluding to the ſack into which the decollated heads fell from the '*petite fenetre nationale*,' as it was endearingly termed by thoſe merry mortals. Talma told our author, that he was one day in company with a large party, when the whim ſtruck them to play *à la guillotine*. This they did with a fire-

ſcreen, which they pulled up and let down on the necks of ſuch as choſe to ſuffer. It happened, that in leſs than two days after, the whole party, except Talma, were called upon to repeat the *divertiſſement* in a more public and ceremonious manner, with a better apparatus provided at the national expence. Madame Talma was in confinement with the celebrated Madame Roland. At her execution, it is well known ſhe behaved with great firmneſs; but, on the evening before, ſhe was uncommonly moved. She ſpent the night in playing on the harpſichord; but Madame Talma ſays, that the airs ſhe ſtruck, and her manner of playing, were *ſo ſtrange, ſo ſhocking*, and *ſo frightful*, that the ſounds will never eſcape her memory. This is a ſtriking ſketch.

On the ſubject of Bonaparte, we meet with few anecdotes worth preſerving. They relate chiefly to his mode of going to the play and the levee. He is received by thunders of applauſe by the pit, to which he pays not the ſmalleſt attention, and ſpeaks to no one during the performance. He eſpecially likes tragedy, and told our author that comedy does not pleaſe him. His box is ornamented with a fine ſtar; and it is the current belief that he has faith in the guidance of one. At the levee, he ſeems to behave very plainly. To ſome, as to the Turkiſh ambaſſador who brought a ſplendid preſent, he exhibited tokens of inſufferable coldneſs and contempt. The American miniſter was obſerving how much peace was to be deſired; Bonaparte ſhrugged his ſhoulders, as if to ſay, '*Ce n'eſt pas ma faute*,' and ſeemed to repreſs ſome words to this purpoſe that were about to eſcape him. Of Paul I. he obſerved to M. van Kotzebue, that 'he had a moſt ſincere regard for him; that he was a hot-headed prince, but had an excellent heart.' He ſeems to have indulged in ſome very judicious ſeverities againſt the modern German plays, which we truſt his admirer M. Kotzebue will profit by.

4. However ridiculous, in many reſpects, the genteel ſociety of Paris may be, ſince it has been new-modelled by the revolution, and eſpecially to foreigners, whoſe minds are of a more ſedate and ſober caſt, we muſt allow that one ſpecies of entertainment, known in the beſt circles, and deſcribed in a very lively manner by M. Kotzebue, is of a reliſh, in point of mental luxury, ſuperior to any thing which we meet with in other countries. It conſiſts in aſſembling a very ſelect company to a moſt elegant entertainment, where ſome of the moſt eminent poets, actors, or muſical performers, are invited. Only the very firſt-rate profeſſors are ſought after; and they who have not ſufficient influence to command ſuch charms, muſt be content with the ordinary entertainment of a crowd, a concert, or cards. The perſons who chiefly illuminate theſe feaſts of taſte, are Delille and Talma. The former is very kind in reciting large paſſages from his works, and always

always favours the company with his moſt recent unpubliſhed productions. He is almoſt ſtone blind, but has a wonderful memory. Talma gives the fineſt pieces of Voltaire, Racine, and Corneille, with all that pathos and energy of which he is ſovereign maſter, and which aſtoniſh ſtill more in private than in the theatre. To ſo exquiſitely claſſical an entertainment, the mere mental voluptuary can indeed find no one immediate objection. Yet will the more ſtern obſerver ſee cauſe to apprehend, from the prevalence of ſuch a cuſtom, no little degradation both to the character of the poet and the excellence of his productions, perhaps even to the taſte of the beſt ſocieties. The poet is evidently brought down to the level of an exhibitor, and made to pour gratuitouſly his own effuſions upon thoſe who would otherwiſe have to pay the juſt price of reading them. All critiçiſm, in ſuch circumſtances, is out of the queſtion. No man, according to the Caſtilian adage, can look a gift horſe in the mouth, eſpecially in preſence of the breeder. Nothing but admiration muſt be returned for the bard's complaiſance; and, after receiving ſuch rapturous and indiſcriminate applauſe from circles which comprehend every thing that is eminent for beauty, faſhion, wealth, and even talents, is it ſuppoſing the poetical character too frail, to expect that the juſter judgements of a more ſtern tribunal, the impartial and infallible voice of the public will be afterwards diſregarded, unleſs it chimes with the very echo of the *petit ſouper*? Is not the taſte of thoſe important circles, too, in danger of being rendered leſs faſtidious than the imperfections of all mortal poets require, by this conſtant habit of applauſe? Upon the actors, this ſort of private rehearſal can certainly produce only good effects. On the one hand, they rather ſtand in need of that near inſpection, and deliberate attention, which is incompatible with the 'pride, pomp, and circumſtance' of the crowded theatre; while, on the other, the applauſe beſtowed in private circles can never corrupt a performer, who muſt appear three times a week before a moſt pityleſs tribunal, at the riſk of his fame and his bread. Nevertheleſs, we confeſs, that among the audience at the *Theatre Français*, we ſhould not expect to find thoſe ſalutary checks and corrections which the public is in the habit of diſpenſing to the firſt-rate performers, adminiſtered with the moſt relentleſs juſtice, by thoſe polite perſonages who are accuſtomed to laviſh their applauſes upon the ſame actors as their gueſts and companions, after the theatre is diſmiſſed. And thus we are rather diſpoſed to find fault even with the leaſt hurtful of the two modes of recreation, for its natural effects on the taſte of the moſt important part of the community. In other countries, be it always remembered, ſuch an effect, whether as to poetry or recitation,

citation, would be more trivial, in proportion as men of real talents and ſolid accompliſhments more rarely form a part of the moſt faſhionable ſociety. In Paris, on the contrary, the firſt philoſophers and wits are uniformly admitted to thoſe ſelect parties, which, perhaps, may alſo account for the exiſtence of that very elegant ſpecies of amuſement, whoſe merits we have now been diſcuſſing.

5. The laſt thing which we ſhall ſelect for the amuſement of our readers, is the ſingular hiſtory of the late fictitious Dauphin, the detail of which has never reached this country, and deſerves well to be conſidered in many points of view. Such impoſtors have ſtarted up in many places, and in all ages of the world; and, aſſuming certain moſt notorious characters, formerly believed to be dead, have ſucceeded in obtaining a univerſal aſſent, almoſt reſembling the effects of ſome epidemic contagion; for they have generally repreſented perſons extremely well known, whoſe death had been matter of complete evidence and very recent occurrence, and to whom they bore the very faineſt reſemblance. To the liſt of Limuel, Warbeck, Pugatcheff, the Joans, the Dimitris, and King Sebaſtian, muſt now be added a perſon whoſe exploits, though confined to private circles, have, upon the whole, been more aſtoniſhing, from the refined age and nation in which they were performed, and the high rank of the perſons who were their dupes.

Jean Marie Hervagault is the ſon of a taylor at St Loo, of a prepoſſeſſing figure, and very like Lewis XVI. in the features of his face. He has no education, but great addreſs. He is ſuppoſed to be a natural ſon of the Duke de Valentinois. In September 1796, he left his father's houſe, wandered about the country as a perſon of family reduced by the revolution, and procured every where a favourable reception. He then went to Cherbourg, where he was taken up as a vagrant, and viſited in jail, and extricated by his father, who found him poſſeſſed of money and jewels to a conſiderable amount. He once more eloped and ſtrolled about, ſometimes as ſon of the Prince of Monaco, ſometimes as heir of the Duc d'Urſel. At laſt he paſſed for a relation of Lewis XVI. and the Emperor Joſeph, aſſumed woman's clothes, and ſaid he had been over to aſſiſt his emigrant parents in England. He gained univerſal credit with perſons of diſtinction; but was again impriſoned at Bayeux. His father once more relieved him, and he a third time broke looſe. He now obtained money from different perſons of rank, as a rich but unfortunate branch of the Montmorency family; and carried on his impoſtures at Meaux, only eight leagues from Paris. At Chalons he was once more impriſoned; and here he aſſumed

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an air of grandeur and myſtery, gave ſignificant hints, and ſoon it was whiſpered about that he was the Dauphin, ſon of Lewis XVI., who had not died at the time ſuppoſed. The jailor was the firſt dupe, and gave him money. The whole inhabitants of any rank or conſequence at Chalons were deceived, became confidants of the ſecret, and advanced large ſums of money. He kept a ſumptuous table in priſon, and was allowed to ſee all company. The police examined him rigidly; when he declared himſelf the ſon of a taylor at Loo, as if to deceive them, and was let out after a trifling confinement. He was again impriſoned for two years at Vire; but ſplendidly ſupported by his adherents at Chalons; and, on his liberation, received by them in triumph, had public entertainments in honour of his return, and walked into the town over flowers ſtrewed at his feet. He then was diſmiſſed from the town by the police; but wherever he went, he found friends and adherents among the higher orders, ready to ſacrifice their whole fortunes in his cauſe, and to follow him as his ſervants about the country. In this way he went from one chateau to another; and at all was received with the higheſt pomp and veneration.

'He was once at Rheims,' ſays our author, 'twice at Vitry le Français, and often at different country ſeats, where balls, concerts, and feaſts of every kind were given in honour of him. At Vitry he was ſplendidly and conveniently lodged at the houſe of Madame de Rambecour, whoſe huſband cloſely followed all his footſteps, waited upon him with the moſt attentive zeal, and ſerved him like a valet. On St Louis's day, a ſuperb *fête* was prepared for him, it being the feaſt of the ſaint whoſe name he bore. The ladies ſung ſongs compoſed in honour of him. In the confidential circles which he frequented, they always called him *Mon Prince!* His portrait was handed about as that of the *Dauphin;* and it was reported, that the Pope himſelf had imprinted a mark on his leg to know him again by. Finally, a letter was handed about from a *biſhop*, in which this deluded prelate writes in expreſſions of the profoundeſt reſpect for this young vagabond, and, by his example, convinced many who were ſtill wavering in their belief. Already was a court formed round Lewis XVII.: he had immediately his favourites, and was going to nominate thoſe who were to hold the great offices of his houſehold. Many names of conſequence were to be found among them. They all glowed with enthuſiaſm, and prepared to make the greateſt ſacrifices. Men of birth and rank deemed themſelves fortunate in being able to perform the meaneſt drudgery of menial ſervice for him. Miſers turned ſpendthrifts, that they might have the honour of entertaining him. It was very natural, that ſuch proceedings ſhould not eſcape the eye of a vigilant police. Fouché was informed at Paris of all that was going on at Vitry; and a warrant put an end to the farce.'

'But

'But even when taken into cuſtody, Hervagault conducted himſelf with a loftineſs and dignity that ſtruck all preſent with a kind of dubious awe. His moſt downcaſt confidents ſurrounded him with the moſt heartfelt reverence. One of them, highly moved, begged leave to embrace him; and the taylor's ſon negligently tendered his hand to kiſs. The very firſt night of his incarceration, a moſt ſplendid feaſt was given at the priſon, and he was moſt ſumptuouſly ſerved at all times. The notary called him in priſon *Monſeigneur*, and was moſt graciouſly rewarded with the appellation of *Mon petit page—Mon petit valet de chambre d'Amitié*. Thus he acted his part diſpaſſionately, and with an air of the utmoſt importance;—going to maſs, a ſervant carried his prayer book and cuſhion. He appointed a ſecretary, and made him ſign in his name that of *Louis Charles*. At laſt the mayor was forced to debar the multitude from acceſs, and to intercept the enormous ſupplies of wine and good cheer ſent for his uſe.' Vol. III. p. 50.

At laſt his offence was tried, and he was ſentenced, in 1802, to be impriſoned four years at Oſtend. He appealed to the court at Rheims; and, before the cauſe could be judged, a new actor appeared on the ſtage. The aged Biſhop of V****, a man unuſually venerated for his integrity, learning, and auſterity of life, declared himſelf convinced that Hervagault was the real Dauphin; ſaid he had found, on examining the ſurgeons who diſſected the pretended Dauphin at the Temple, that, in fact, it was a ſuppoſititious corpſe; came to Rheims, and, by many interviews with him, was quite confirmed; lent large ſums for his ſervice; and gave up every purſuit, even his holy functions, for his ſake. He uſed all his intereſt at Paris to obtain a mitigation of the ſentence —correſponded in cyphers with the leading men, to whom he meant to entruſt the ſecret—and a plan was formed to marry Hervagault to a diſtant relation of the Royal Family, and to make levies of men for his ſervice. The trial was then concluded, by confirming the original ſentence in ſpite of the violent and unanimous outcries of the populace. In priſon he was again treated as before. No one deſerted him. The biſhop, in particular, formed a plan for his reſcue on the road to Soiſſons, and being diſcovered, was arreſted, but pardoned. He immediately, however, formed a new junto of partizans, and the government were obliged to ſend him off.

'In order (adds M. Kotzebue, p. 57.) to render it conceivable how ſo many perſons of rank and knowledge ſhould have ſuffered themſelves to be made the dupes of this raw youngſter, people ought themſelves to have heard him tell his ſtory. With great emotion, he would remember how Louis XVI. his father uſed to give him leſſons in hiſtory and geography in the Temple. In the tone of the moſt ingenuous ſimplicity, he would talk of a little bitch called *Fidèle*, of which Marie Antoinette his mother was very fond. The moſt minute details he deſcribed

ed with infantile vivacity; nor did he forget that Simon his jailor uſed to wake him in the dead of night, to convince him that he had not been carried off.'

Our author next adds his account of his adventures, which cannot fail to ſtrike every one with admiration of this ſingular young man's genius for the finer ſpecies of impoſture. It is too long for inſertion; but the purpoſe of our abſtract is anſwered, if we have ſhown the extent to which the beſt educated perſons in France, not immediately connected with either the new or the old court, were worked upon; they continue ſtill to believe in his being the real Dauphin.

'His narrative,' they ſay, 'bears the ſtamp of truth; and if the Dauphin has not been entirely ſent out of the world, he will ſome time or other appear again, bring back the golden times into our fields, and promote to high honours his faithful adherents.' p. 74.

We deſire any adviſer of the fatal emigration of the French princes and nobility, who may caſt his eye on theſe pages, to pauſe, and receive the edifying leſſon, which this ſtrange anecdote is ſo well calculated to impreſs. Let them reflect, how many diſadvantages, how many mighty obſtacles, thrown in the way of this youth's wild project, by nature, by education, by political circumſtances, were at once vanquiſhed by one only ally—the loyalty and zeal of the adherents who clung, who ſtill cling, to thoſe who have ſo poorly deſerted and betrayed them. By the aid of this one ſentiment, by merely calling himſelf a French prince, did the ſon of a country village taylor crowd his ſtandard with devotees to the Royal cauſe, even when it was erected in a dungeon; levy at will contributions of money and ſervice; retain his ſupporters; nay, augment their numbers, through all the viciſſitudes of his ſtrolling life; and at laſt fail, only by a few days, of appearing in arms at the head of a rebellion, for the rights of the French crown. We leave the moral leſſon which may be drawn from this raw youth's attempt, to all the projectors of that infinitely wilder ſcheme—the plan of regaining the throne of France by means of emigration.

ART.

ART. VI. I. *Account of ſome Experiments on the Deſcent of the Sap in Trees.* In a Letter from Thomas Andrew Knight Eſq. to the Right Hon. Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart., K. B. P. R. S. (*From Phil. Tranſ.* 1803. *Part II.*)

II. *Experiments and Obſervations on the Motion of the Sap in Trees.* In a Letter from Thomas Andrew Knight Eſq. to the Right Hon. Sir Joſeph Banks Bart., K. B. P. R. S. (*From Phil. Tranſ.* 1804, *Part I.*)

We have condenſed into one article theſe two curious and intereſting memoirs. They contain a continuation of a courſe of experiments on the motion of the ſap in trees, of which the firſt part was related in a former volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions (1801, Part II.) We ſhall begin with a brief abſtract of that paper.

It appeared from Mr Knight's experiments, which were contrived with great neatneſs and ſimplicity, that the ſap is abſorbed from the ſoil by the bark of the roots, and carried upwards by the alburnum of the root, trunk and branches; that it paſſes through the central veſſels (as our author calls them) into the ſucculent matter of the annual ſhoot, the leaf ſtalk, and leaf; and that it is returned to the bark through certain veſſels of the leaf-ſtalk. In the preſent paper, Mr Knight continues his inquiries, and proceeds to ſhow how the ſap, having reached the point where he formerly had left it, deſcends through the bark, and contributes to the very important proceſs of forming the wood.

He began, by ſome experiments, to inveſtigate the preciſe functions of *leaves*. Placing a plate of glaſs under a vine leaf, in full growth, he found it ſoon covered with moiſture. If the upper ſide of the leaf was brought round, and the glaſs placed under it, no mark whatever was left of exhalation. It was in theſe, and the like experiments, very often repeated, that Mr Knight found a full confirmation of the poſition, deduced by other naturaliſts, from trials with leaves not in a ſtate of growth, that the different ſides of the leaf have different properties, and are ſubſervient to different functions in the vegetable economy.

The formation of wood depends moſt materially on the free circulation of the ſap from the leaves downwards, both in conſequence of gravitation, and of the motion impreſſed on the tree by external cauſes. By tying down young vine ſhoots in an inverted poſition, and placing their tops in the earth, and then cutting off the bark for a certain ſpace all round, ſo as to cut off the communication formerly proved to be maintained through the

the medium of the bark, Mr Knight found much wood was generated at the *upper* lip of the wound. It was evident, therefore, that the gravitation of the ſap here facilitated the proceſs. By making the ſtem of a young apple tree quite faſt, at a certain height, and allowing the top to move freely in the wind, it was found that the growth of the upper part was much more rapid than that of the ſtem, and that another ſimilar tree, not ſo fixed, had grown much thicker in the ſame time. Hence we perceive the ſingular importance of ſituation to the growth of trees; and the reaſon why thoſe which are tied or trained againſt a wall are often unhealthy, and ſtunted in their vegetation. Hence, too, we can explain, in a moſt ſatisfactory and pleaſing manner, a variety of the arrangements of nature in the vegetable world. The ſpeculations introduced by our author, on this view of the ſubject, are ſo beautiful and curious, that we cannot refrain from extracting a part of them.

'Theſe reſults appear to open an extenſive and intereſting field to our obſervation, where we ſhall find much to admire, in the means which nature employs to adapt the forms of its vegetable productions to every ſituation in which art or accident may depoſit them. If a tree be placed in a high and expoſed ſituation, where it is much kept in motion by winds, the new matter which it generates will be depoſited chiefly in the roots and lower parts of the trunk, and the diameter of the latter will diminiſh rapidly in its aſcent. The progreſs of the aſcending ſap will of courſe be impeded; and it will thence cauſe lateral branches to be produced, or will paſs into thoſe already exiſting. The forms of ſuch branches will be ſimilar to that of the trunk; and the growth of the inſulated tree on the mountain will be, as we always find it, low and ſturdy, and well calculated to reſiſt the heavy gales to which its ſituation conſtantly expoſes it.

'Let another tree of the ſame kind be ſurrounded, whilſt young, by others, and it will aſſume a very different form. It will now be deprived of a part of its motion, and another cauſe will operate: the leaves on the lateral branches will be partly deprived of light, and, as I have remarked in the laſt paper I had the honour to addreſs to you, little alburnum will then be generated in thoſe branches. Their vigour, of courſe, becomes impaired, and leſs ſap is required to ſupport their diminiſhed growth: more, in conſequence, remains for the leading ſhoots; theſe, therefore, exert themſelves with increaſed energy; and the trees ſeem to vie with each other for ſuperiority, as if endued with all the paſſions and propenſities of animal life.

'An inſulated tree in a ſheltered valley, will aſſume, from the foregoing cauſes, a form diſtinct from either of the preceding;* and its growth

* 'Not only the external form of the tree, but the internal character of the wood, will be affected by the ſituation in which the tree grows; and

growth will be more or less aspiring, in proportion to the degree of protection it receives from winds, and its contiguity to elevated objects, by which its lower branches, during any part of the day, are shaded.'

Our author, suspecting that the ascending fluids are the same, wherever found, in the vessels, proceeded to verify his conjectures by an experiment, which showed, that the leaf stalk, vine tendril, fruit stalk, and succulent point of the annual shoots, may be substituted for each other. He also made an experiment, which proved, that when shoots are grafted on leaf stalks, the wood is deposited on the external sides of the central vessels, and springs from the vessels which return the sap from the leaves. He examined the process of budding, and found that the wood is formed from the bark of the inserted bud, and resembles entirely the wood of the stock from which it was taken, not of that into which it is inserted—that the medulla is wholly inactive, and protrudes no shoots whatever into the wood; and that the substances, which, on a false theory, had been denominated '*medullary processes*,' are shot out from the bark, and terminate at its union with the stock. A full confirmation of the same important conclusion was received, from examining the manner in which wounds of trees become covered over. The edges protrude a new bark, and from this alone new wood is generated.

It appears that the leaves chiefly prepare the sap for generating wood. But it should also seem, that the young bark, by its exposure to air and light, possesses somewhat of the same preparing power. For, after all communication had, by an incision, been cut off between the leaves, and a portion of the bark of an annual shoot, and a second incision had been made at some distance below, a little wood was found generated at the upper lip of the wound.

Mr Knight next proceeded to apply his theory to the care of tuberous rooted plants, which bud below ground. It followed, from his doctrine, that their buds owed their formation to sap received from the leaves, through the bark; and experiments amply confirmed this anticipation. He cut the runners of potatoes, half

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and hence, oak timber, which grew in crowded forests, appears to have been mistaken, in old buildings, for Spanish chesnut. But I have found the internal organization of the oak and Spanish chesnut to be very essentially different. (See a magnified view of each in Plate IV.) The silver grain and general character of the oak and Spanish chesnut, are also so extremely dissimilar, that the two kinds of wood can only be mistaken for each other by very careless observers. Many pieces of wood, found in the old buildings of London, and supposed to be Spanish chesnut, have been put into my hands; but they were all most certainly forest oak.' p. 281. 282.

half budded, and inserted their ends in a decoction of logwood. The tinctured liquor quickly began to pass through the runners, but did not at all get into the parent plant. On examination, however, he found that it had passed through a complicated series of vessels, between the cortical and alburnous substances of the tubes, and that many minute ramifications of these vessels approached the external skin, or epidermis, at the base of the buds, to which, as well as to every other part of the growing tubes, he justly conceives they convey nourishment.

Our author adduces several additional and decisive experiments in his second communication, to prove that the vessels of the bark are better adapted to the conveyance of sap from the leaves towards the roots, than in the opposite direction. And, from uniformly finding that the system of vessels in plants is not calculated to circulate the fluids which fill them indifferently in all directions, he is led to conclude, that, like the venous system in the animal economy, the vessels of the bark of vegetables are provided with very minute valves, which impede the motion of the sap in one way, and not in another. The inferences of former naturalists against this opinion, he ascribes to the authority of Hales's sentiments, or rather of his plates, which Mr Knight suspects of being founded, partly at least, upon an hypothesis, and not strictly drawn from an accurate and fair examination of the appearances. We willingly extract the following passage, in which our author applies some of his speculative deductions, to account for certain phenomena of daily occurrence in the physical world, and to explain the probable mode of operation which nature adopts in reaching several of her most remarkable ends.

'If it be admitted, that the sap descends from the leaves through the vessels of the bark, and that such vessels are, in their organization, better calculated to carry their contents towards the original roots than in the opposite direction, it will be extremely easy to explain the cause of the accumulation of wood, and the emission of roots above, instead of below, the base of the annual shoots. The vessels of the bark (the *vaisseaux propres* of Du Hamel) commencing in the leaves, were formerly traced by M. Mariotte, and subsequently by myself, (being ignorant of his discovery), to the extremities of the roots; and, when a cutting, or tree, is planted in its natural position, the sap passes downwards through these, to afford matter for new roots, and to increase the bulk of those already formed, having given proper nutriment to the branches and trunk in its descent. But, in the inverted cutting, or tree, these vessels become inverted; and, if their organization be such as I have supposed it, a considerable part of that fluid, which naturally descends, will be carried upwards, and occasion the production of new wood there, instead of below, the junction of the annual shoot with the older wood,

wood, as in the experiments I have described. The force of gravitation will, however, still be felt; and, by its agency, sufficient matter to form new roots may be conveyed to those parts of the inverted cutting, or tree, which are beneath the soil. Besides, if we suppose a variation to exist in the powers or organization of the vessels which carry the sap towards the root, we may also attribute, in a great measure, to this cause the different forms which different species or varieties of trees assume; for, if the fluid in these vessels be impelled with much force towards the roots, little matter will probably be deposited in the branches, which, in consequence, will be slender and feeble, as in the vine; and there is not any tree, that has been the subject of my experiments, in which new wood accumulated so rapidly at the upper end of inverted plants. To an excess of this power in the vessels of the bark, we may also ascribe the peculiar growth of what are called weeping trees; for, by this power, the effects of gravitation will be, in a great degree, suspended; and the pendant branch will continue healthy and vigorous, by retaining its due circulation. The perpendicular branch will, however, still possess some advantages; for, in this, gravitation will act on the fluid descending from the leaves; and these will, of course, absorb from the atmosphere with increased activity. A greater quantity of matter will therefore enter, within any given portion of time, into vessels of the same capacity; and this increased quantity may frequently exceed that which the vessels of the bark are immediately prepared to carry away. Much new wood will, in consequence, be generated, for [illegible] increased vigour given; and, the same causes operating through suc[illegible]ve seasons, will give the ascendancy we generally observe in the perpe[illegible]icular branch.' p. 185–187.

Upon the whole, we are disposed to consider Mr Knight's researches [illegible] extremely important. By a train of experiments, conceived in [illegible]reat elegance and simplicity, conducted apparently with all manner of accuracy and patience, applied with admirable coolness and precision, he has extended our knowledge of some very general laws in the physical world. He has discovered truths partly unsuspected by former inquirers, and partly at variance with their theories. He has thrown very great light upon the whole process of vegetation, and has applied, with complete success, the results of his investigation to the explication of several interesting operations of nature; exhibiting to our view, as each successive discovery never fails to do, new and striking proofs of that beautiful simplicity of arrangement which directs the whole of her works, and that Infinite Wisdom which has created and permittted nothing in vain. We exhort Mr Knight to proceed in his laudable inquiries, and to increase the obligations under which he has already laid the scientific world.

ART.

ART. VII. *The Bakerian Lecture. Experiments and Calculations relative to Physical Optics.* By Thomas Young, M. D. F. R. S. From Phil. Trans. 1804. Part I.

ON a former occasion, we addressed some remarks to the author of this paper; and took the liberty, also, of offering a few humble suggestions to the illustrious Body in whose Memoirs it is published. The long silence which he has since preserved on philosophical matters, at least through this channel of communication with the scientific world, led us to flatter ourselves, either that he had discontinued his fruitless chase after hypotheses, or that the Society had remitted his effusions to the more appropriate audience of both sexes which throngs round the chairs of the Royal Institution. The volume now before us, however, at once destroys all such expectations. The paper which stands first, is another Bakerian Lecture, containing more fancies, more blunders, more unfounded hypotheses, more gratuitous fictions, all upon the same field on which Newton trode, and all from the fertile, yet fruitless, brain of the same eternal Dr Young.

In our Second Number, we exposed the absurdity of this writer's '*law of interference*,' as it pleases him to call one of the most incomprehensible suppositions that we remember to have met with in the history of human hypotheses. He now comes forth, with what he plainly terms 'a simple and demonstrative proof,' 'from decisive facts,' of the same 'general law.' As this proof is, on many accounts, worth the trouble of noticing it, we shall endeavour to let our readers conceive as much as possible of a theory which, to ourselves, and all those we have conversed with, Dr Young has only darkly and most imperfectly revealed. We must premise, that our attention is attracted, not at all by the intrinsic value of this tract, but by its having somehow or other procured 'a local habitation and a name,' formerly reserved for whatever was most important and original in scientific discovery, by its appearing under the title of the Bakerian Lecture, and in the Transactions of the first philosophical Body in the world.

If a small flat object, as a piece of card, one thirtieth of an inch in breadth, is held in a small sun-beam admitted into a dark room, and its shadow be examined, it will be found to exhibit, besides the known fringes at its borders, other fringes in the middle, parallel and similar to the former, but of smaller dimensions. That these depend on *interference*, Dr Young says, must be admitted, from this fact, that if the portion of light which comes into the shadow, from one side of the object, is

intercepted by a screen, placed behind the object so as to receive either edge of its shadow, the whole fringes formerly observed in the shadow immediately disappear: and this is 'the plain and demonstrative proof, from decisive facts,' that the general law of interference is soundly imagined, legitimately deduced, and well established.

We question whether a more vague and unphilosophical attempt at induction was ever made, since experiments came into use. In the first place, if the fringes are formed by the interference of two portions of light, by which the author can mean nothing more than the union or mixture of those portions, either altogether, or at one point, it is obvious that, in the one case, the process of inflection has produced a very unexpected and novel effect, inasmuch as it is unaccountable how any such process should suddenly draw two minute portions of the passing diverging rays out of their course, almost at right angles to that course, and unite them, and then make them resume their former direction, and move on together, while all the light which goes to form the outside fringes is allowed to pass on in the line of its original divergence. We know of no body moving in such a trajectory. When any attraction of a neighbouring mass draws a moving body from its course, and makes it describe an arch of a curve round it as a centre, as soon as its attracting influence ceases, the body moves on in the tangent of that orbit. If, then, the two portions of light are inflected and drawn inwards, so as to meet from opposite sides, as soon as they have met, they must cross one another, and fly off in the tangent to the new trajectory which the inflection had caused them to assume. All this must be obvious to every one who thinks on the most popular idea of the centripetal and centrifugal forces. Yet, absurd as this mode of explaining the law of interference may appear to be, it is infinitely less inconsistent with the fact than the only other alternative, viz. that the rays from opposite quarters unite in one point only, and there form fringes. For, according to this supposition, the internal fringes should only be found in a sort of focus by inflection, and in no other point whatever. Secondly, how can either of these modes of explication account for a double set of fringes in the shadow, and a white division in its centre? For, if interference (whatever that term may mean) is the cause of coloured fringes, it should colour the whole interfering or uniting beam, and not leave part of it white; and if interference is necessary to the production of the fringes, there should only be one set in the centre of the shadow. Nay, since the interfering beams can only form one beam, there should only be one fringe, instead of many. But, lastly,

upon

upon what known principle of optics can it be conceived, that the very cauſe of whiteneſs, a mixture of rays, ſhould create colour, and that two beams uniting, in what way or by what new laws ſoever, into one beam, ſhould, by that union, become ſeparated into ſeveral coloured fringes, with dark intervals and a white centre? If Dr Young means any thing by his general law, he muſt intend to lay it down as a principle, that colour is produced by the mixture of two rays of light which come from oppoſite quarters. Now, if a body is held croſs the former, we ſhall have fringes alſo formed; and here the interference is not between rays from the oppoſite ſides of the firſt body, but between the higher and the lower portions of the ſame rays. But it is trifling to argue farther on this view of the ſubject. Are not all the parts of white light the ſame in conſtitution, all of the like qualities, and every portion of the ſame beam productive of the ſame effects? Does Dr Young mean to aſſert, that by having a piece of card placed in it, the different parts of a pencil acquire new and diſtinguiſhing properties, according to their bearings with reſpect to the card? Or, that he can make parts of the beam different, which are, to all intents and purpoſes, the ſame, by holding a card in it, and naming its ideal diviſions 'right hand' and 'left hand rays,' or 'eaſt' and 'weſt rays?' If his theory is worth a thought from its author (we make a low ſuppoſition of its value), it muſt follow, that we can always form coloured fringes, by cauſing two beams of white light to interfere. In other words, that, by doubling the quantity of light on any place, we can cover it with coloured fringes; or, which is the ſame thing, that coloured fringes are nothing abſolute, but a mere relative idea, like ſize and intenſity, denoting the increaſe of any given denſity of illumination. This is evidently an abſurdity, neceſſarily interwoven with the 'general law of interference;' and it is very needleſs to examine, at greater length, a doctrine thus immediately leading to a contradictory concluſion.

Having ſufficiently expoſed the nature of the deduction drawn by the author, it is unneceſſary, perhaps, to conſider the real import of his experiments. The fact, we believe, is, that the experiment was inaccurately made; and we have not the leaſt doubt, that if carefully repeated, it will be found, either that the rays, when inflected, croſs each other, and thus form fringes, each portion on the ſide oppoſite to the point of its flection; or that, by ſtopping one portion, Dr Young, in fact, ſtopped both portions; a thing extremely likely, where the hand had only one thirtieth of an inch to move in; and quite ſufficient to account for all the fringes diſappearing at once from the ſhadow.

The creſted fringes of Grimaldi are next impreſſed into the ſervice of the interfering law, by the ſtubborn and induſtrious imagination of Dr Young! When a body having an angle is held in a beam of light, and the internal fringes are received on a ſcreen, if the light from one edge is ſtopped, all the internal fringes diſappear; but if the law of interference were juſt, the inflection of the two contiguous edges ſhould not produce continued fringes, but only ſquare or rectangular ſpots of fringe, where the oppoſite inflecting beams croſſed. How the mixture of the oppoſite fringes at the angle, or the angular form as connected with the law of interference, can have any other effect, is entirely beyond our powers to diſcover.

We have judged it neceſſary, for the ſake of preſerving conſiſtency, to enter thus fully our diſſent againſt the theory of Dr Young, in every ſtage, in order to ſhow why we retain our original opinion of its merits, and remain unconquered by the new force at preſent diſplayed in its behalf. But, in truth, Dr Young is of a quick conception in hatching hypotheſes. Whether it be, that thoſe noxious things are naturally of rapid growth, like rank weeds, or that he is of a mind peculiarly 'nimble and forgetive,' we know not; but we certainly have no ſooner diſcuſſed one fancy, than up ſprings another. Thus, they who object to the theory of interference, have only to turn a page, and they find the theory of intervals; and, ſhould neither be to their liking, they need but go on a ſection farther, and the vibrations and undulations, new dreſſed up with additional miſtakings and touchings, are very much at their ſervice.

The notion of intervals is of this deſcription. Dr Young imagines rays of light to be very different in their qualities, at different parts of their courſe, or, as he calls it, in the language of poſtmaſters, of their route; that theſe qualities are oppoſite, and capable of neutralizing and deſtroying each other, when they meet; and that theſe oppoſite qualities ſucceed each other at equal intervals. The author farther imagines, that 'theſe qualities ſucceed each other alternately, in ſucceſſive concentric ſuperficies, at diſtances which are conſtant, for the ſame light paſſing through the ſame medium.' Dr Young then proceeds to demoliſh, at one blow, the whole Newtonian theory of light, and to ſhow, from Sir Iſaac's own admeaſurements, that his idea of the particles moving in conſequence of a projectile force, is altogether abſurd. This proceſs of rapid demolition is ſomewhat curious; and we extract it, as a ſpecimen of his way.

'From the ſimilarity of the phænomenon, we may conclude that theſe intervals (the intervals of oppoſite qualities juſt now expounded) are

are the same as are concerned [with those which are concerned] in the production of the colours of their plates; but these are shown, by the experiments of Newton, to be, the smaller the denser the medium; and since it may be presumed that their number must necessarily remain unaltered in a given quantity of light, it follows, of course, that light moves more slowly in a denser than in a rarer medium: and this being granted, it must be allowed that refraction is not the effect of an attractive force directed to a denser medium. The advocates for the projectile hypothesis of light must consider which link in this chain of reasoning they may judge to be the most feeble.' p. 12.

Thus, an hypothesis is advanced, amounting to a metaphysical absurdity, of qualities moving in concentric surfaces; then an analogy is made the ground of an inference, that the Newtonian phænomena of coloured rings are the same with those of fringes; next, a gratuitous assumption is made, of a certain fact being a *necessary truth*. From all which a conclusion is drawn, *longissimo intervallo*, against the 'projectile hypothesis,' as Dr Young is pleased to call it; and then, the author of all those presumptions and fancies, the person who has at once brought forward the groundless, imaginary, and clumsy doctrines of interferences and intervals, and supported with new applications the fanciful and contradictory notion of undulations, tells us with triumph—

'Hitherto, I have advanced, in this paper, no general hypothesis whatever.'

Which to prove, he adds the following notable paragraph:

'Since we know that sound diverges in concentric superficies, and that musical sounds consist of opposite qualities, capable of neutralizing each other, and succeeding at certain equal intervals, which are different according to the difference of the note, we are *fully authorised* to conclude, that there must be some strong resemblance between the nature of sound and that of light.' *Ibid.*

There is an attempt made in this paper to show the utility of the Doctor's theories, in their applications to practical purposes. It consists in grounding an explanation, not upon the theory, but upon certain facts common to this, as well as every other theory. In conformity to this practice, Dr Young bedecks his bare and clumsy hypothesis with some applications to natural phænomena. Thus, he says that his theory of interference 'should make us cautious in our conclusions respecting the appearances of minute bodies viewed in a microscope.' Why? Because, 'the shadow of a fibre, however opaque, placed in a pencil of light admitted through a small aperture, is always somewhat less dark in the middle of its breadth than in the parts on each side.' For this remark on shadows we certainly are not indebted to the theory of interference and undulations: It is as old as

Grimaldi; and is expreſsly deſcribed by every ſubſequent optician, eſpecially by Newton, and the French experimentaliſts, who, in the earlier part of the laſt century, applied themſelves to the examination of the phænomena of ſhadows, and, in general, to the laws of inflection—Mairan, Marriot, De la Tour, &c. But how does this obſervation apply to the appearances of objects in microſcopes?

'A ſimilar effect,' ſays our author, 'may alſo take place, in ſome degree, with reſpect to the image on the retina, and impreſs the ſenſe with an idea of a tranſparency which has no real exiſtence. And if a ſmall portion of light be really tranſmitted through the ſubſtance, this may again be deſtroyed by its interference with the diffracted light, and produce an appearance of partial opacity, inſtead of uniform ſemi-tranſpareney. Thus, a central dark ſpot, and a light ſpot ſurrounded by a dark circle, may reſpectively be produced in the images of a ſemi-tranſparent and an opaque corpuſcle, and impreſs us with an idea of a complication of ſtructure which does not exiſt. In order to detect the fallacy, we may make two or three fibres croſs each other, and view a number of globules contiguous to each other; or we may obtain a ſtill more effectual remedy, by changing the magnifying power, and then, if the appearance remain conſtant in kind and in degree, we may be aſſured that it truly repreſents the nature of the ſubſtance to be examined.'

Now, it cannot have eſcaped any of our readers, that the phænomena of microſcopes and the phænomena of fringes, and, in general, the phænomena of inflection, are entirely different: an object is ſeen in a microſcope moſt commonly by reflection; we look at the object itſelf, and not at the ſhadow; we examine its ſurface and colour, not merely its outline. In the caſe of the ſolar microſcope, and ſome others conſtructed on a ſimilar principle, we confine our view to the outline, for the ſake of a great magnifying power; and the effects of inflection upon the operations of ſuch inſtruments, is certainly no diſcovery of Dr Young and his 'interfering' theory. In the ordinary caſe, it is as abſurd to talk of ſhadows and inflections, as of gravitation or Glauber's ſalt.

There are, in the tract now before us, ſeveral inſtances of the beauties which we formerly pointed out as peculiarly characteriſtic of Dr Young's method of philoſophizing. We meet with examples of his undulatory and vibratory mode of writing, by touching and retouching his theories, giving up a fancy with the ſame eaſe with which he adopted it, and quickly thruſting another into its place. He had formerly created a medium ſurrounding denſe bodies, for the purpoſe of inflecting the light which paſſes by them. He now annihilates it, without any great ceremony; and ſays, (p. 12.) 'upon conſidering the phænomena

of

of the aberration of the ſtars, I am diſpoſed to believe that the luminiferous ether pervades the ſubſtance of all material bodies.' His *ſimile* for illuſtrating its manner of pervading bodies is very amuſing, from its want of all likeneſs. It paſſes, he ſays, 'with little or no reſiſtance, as freely, perhaps, as the wind paſſes through a grove of trees.' In illuſtrating the probability of the globules in a rainbow-ſhower being all nearly of the ſame dimenſions, he ſeems to run a kind of odd parallel between the operations of nature and thoſe of an apothecary—

'We meaſure (ſays he) even medicines by dropping them from a phial, and it may eaſily be conceived that the drops formed by natural operations may ſometimes be as uniform as any that can be produced by art.' p. 9.

Nor has Dr Young yet ſucceeded in training his mind to that becoming reſpect for the venerable name of Sir Iſaac Newton, which we once took the liberty to ſuggeſt as a matter of ceremony at leaſt, if not of propriety and decorum. In page 11. we find that wonderful man's views erected into a ſort of meaſure of narrowneſs and meanneſs, a kind of *zero* in the ſcale of enlarged conception; for Doctor Thomas Young, of the Royal Inſtitution, there actually makes mention of ſome perſons '*whoſe views are ſtill leſs enlarged*' than Sir Iſaac Newton's.

We now diſmiſs, for the preſent, the feeble lucubrations of this author, in which we have ſearched, without ſucceſs, for ſome traces of learning, acuteneſs, and ingenuity, that might compenſate his evident deficiency in the powers of ſolid thinking, calm and patient inveſtigation, and ſucceſsful developement of the laws of nature, by ſteady and modeſt obſervation of her operations. We came to the examination with no other prejudice than the very allowable prepoſſeſſion againſt vague hypotheſis by which all true lovers of ſcience have for above a century and a half been ſwayed. We purſued it, both on the preſent and on a former occaſion, without any feelings except thoſe of regret at the abuſe of that time and opportunity which no greater ſhare of talents than Dr Young's are ſufficient to render fruitful, by mere diligence and moderation. From us, however, he cannot claim any portion of reſpect, until he ſhall alter his mode of proceeding, or change the ſubject of his lucubrations; and we feel ourſelves more particularly called upon to expreſs our diſapprobation, becauſe, as diſtinction has been unwarily beſtowed on his labours by the moſt illuſtrious of ſcientific bodies, it is the more neceſſary that a free proteſt ſhould be recorded before the more humble tribunals of literature.

ART. VIII. *The Present State of Great Britain.* By Arthur O'Connor. Paris. Year XII. 1804. pp. 143.

THE origin and the object of this pamphlet may appear to some of our readers to render an apology neceſſary for the notice we propoſe to beſtow upon it; while the ſame circumſtances will probably render the preſent article more intereſting to others. The name, indeed, of the too notorious author; the ſituation in which his errors and his crimes have placed him; the uſe which he now makes of that ſituation; the publicity which this eſſay has received from the foſtering care of the French government; and the effect which it has undoubtedly produced on the Continent, are conſiderations, we think, ſufficiently ſtrong, to juſtify us in laying an account of it before our readers, even if it contained much leſs ingenuity and information than we regret to find employed for ſuch reprehenſible ends. The work is by no means deſtitute of talent; although it contains no traits of exalted genius, and no marks of profound or accurate thinking. Some of the views are even original; though every general poſition which is deduced from them evidently proceeds from the worſt of motives, and exhibits the painful ſpectacle of induſtry and ingenuity perverted to the moſt unnatural purpoſes. The author ſeems to have made himſelf maſter of ſome of the plainer doctrines in political economy; but wherever the ſubject is abſtruſe, or the motive to diſguiſe the true inference obvious, we ſee undeniable traces of ignorance or malignity. The ſtyle of writing is frequently eloquent; always popular; and, we fear, too well calculated to intereſt thoſe, whoſe minds may be prediſpoſed towards the author's principles. The very circumſtance of his being an Engliſhman by birth, is ſure to influence thoſe foreigners whom chiefly he addreſſes, becauſe they are likely to forget how utterly he is devoid of every thing but the name that belongs to this ſtill venerated character.

The attack upon our country, begun by Citizen Hauterive, an alien—an enemy—in the pay of our deadlieſt adverſary—during the rage of a furious war—is now reſumed, we think, with greater ability, and puſhed in a more plauſible manner, by a renegade Briton, exiled only by that mercy which ſpared his life, alienated by his crimes, and enliſted by his foul paſſions in the ſervice of the tyrant, who is aiming, by ſuch means as this, at the extirpation of the Britiſh name. In his native country, this author ſees only a power, created for the deſtruction of liberty, both at home and abroad; the enemy of happineſs in foreign nations,

nations, and of all the comforts and rights of its own people; the unwearied fomenter of wars, and the oppreſſor of every thing like peaceful induſtry. According to him, its conſtitution has become rotten with multifarious abuſe; incapable of ſupporting any virtuous or liberal ſyſtem; unfit for the hands of any but corrupt tools; unable to preſerve its own puny exiſtence, without endleſs wars; and protracting even this remnant of its days, only by an accumulation of burthens and of grievances, which muſt ſpeedily deſtroy it, in ſpite of every effort. In the natural circumſtances of this devoted country, and in the diſtribution of its induſtry and wealth, he finds perpetual food for his ſpleen and his prophecies. The commerce, which has made Britain the admiration, the envy, and the hatred of the world, is, in the eyes of this Pariſian Iriſhman, only a war-monopoly, precariouſly propped by a number of other monopolies, which preſs as much upon her inhabitants, as upon her neighbours and her enemies. The inexhauſtible mines of induſtry, and of art, which circulate their ſtores 'from Indus to the Pole,' through the deſerts of Africa, and the inhoſpitable regions of the Southern Pacific Ocean, and carry, by a force more reſiſtleſs than all the legions of Rome, the Britiſh name, over empires too powerful, and ſolitudes too vaſt, for the united ſtrength of all the Cæſars of Europe to penetrate;—all thoſe prodigies of labour and ſkill, by which the powers and privileges of the ſpecies have been augmented, in exact proportion to the growing riches of this nation, are degraded, by the apoſtate enemy of his country, into a perverſion of toil, a ſtupid miſapplication of talent, a fatal ignorance of true policy in the diſtribution of employment, a confuſion, rather than a combination of forces, in a machine ſo execrably conſtructed, that every ſtroke may be conſidered as likely to terminate its unnatural exiſtence. All the bleſſings which a bounteous providence has poured out on this ſoil—concentrating within its favoured bounds a far greater number of more choice goods, than are ſcattered over whole continents, in other climates—all vaniſh before the touch of Mr O'Connor's diſeaſed or proſtituted fancy, and ſhrink into nothing, in the eyes of him, who is fated or bribed to compare them with the reſources of the Imperial Republic. His is not the language of other exiles, who, preſerving a noble love for the ſweet ſpot of their birth and infancy, cling to it under all their misfortunes, and think only of its bleſſings and delights, whilſt they are ſuffering by its crimes. He is not one of thoſe emigrants, who can abſtract from the rulers, in remembering the land; and cheriſh an intereſt in its fates, the more lively, becauſe they are prevented from any participation: who, while they

they curſe the government that has driven them away from thoſe ſcenes, endeared, by a thouſand ties, to every good mind, can exclaim, '*Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes angulus ridet.*' It is for his adopted home, it is for the native country of his criminal deſires, that all this man's ſympathies are reſerved. In her alone he can find greatneſs with ſtability—power without foreign oppreſſion—natural bleſſings, joined to political advantages—and an energetic government, capable of wielding thoſe combined reſources, without engendering an atom of domeſtic tyranny. If theſe are really Mr O'Connor's ſentiments, we can pity the infatuation, malignant as it is, which has thus reverſed every conception of the brain, and coupled together the very ideas, which, in other minds, are confronted in eternal oppoſition. But compaſſion muſt give way to another feeling, if we find reaſon to ſuſpect that he wilfully 'believes a lie;' or, without believing, knowingly inculcates the foul falſehood on mankind, and impiouſly lifts up againſt the land of his fathers that voice, which her mercy has preſerved, to curſe her?

The corner-ſtone of Mr O'Connor's reaſonings and predictions, is the ſtate of the Britiſh finances. Like Sir Francis D'Ivernois, Mr Thomas Paine, Mr Morgan, and a multitude of ſuperficial thinkers, or intereſted declaimers, whom a war never fails to engender, both in France and England, he refers every evil that has befallen this country, or is likely to befal her, to the enormous amount of her public debts, and of the annual burthens which theſe debts render neceſſary. Like them, too, Mr O'Connor has entirely omitted the conſideration of all the circumſtances which render abſtract calculations applicable to the actual ſtate of affairs. Abſolute, and not relative poſitions, are familiar to him. Actual, exiſting ſums, are detailed and paraded, with tireſome repetition; while no view is taken of the thouſand modifications that reſult from circumſtances and ſituation. An eager look is directed towards the weight, but the eye is kept obſtinately ſhut to the mechanical powers of the engine; and, without once taking into calculation the neceſſities that have given riſe to the impoſition of ſuch burthens, the fact of their exiſtence is deemed ſufficient proof of their iniquity. Hence peremptory inferences are drawn, againſt the conduct of our rulers, and the durability of our ſyſtem, without any view to the circumſtances in which the former were placed by events beyond their controul, or any computation of the ſtamina which gives to the latter its life and vigour. As if a perſon, on ſeeing the lading of a huge waggon, were at once to condemn the cruelty of the driver, and to predict the death of the horſes; without inquiring, whether it was not deſtined to ſave the owner's property

property from fire and ſword, and without looking at the ſtrength of the team by which it was to be drawn. It was in this way that Sir Francis D'Ivernois perſiſted, year after year, to prophesy the inſtantaneous ſubverſion of France, from the ruin of her finances. The republic, in the mean time, laid waſte the faireſt portion of Europe, and roſe more and more formidable to Britain. The undaunted calculator prolonged the term of her duration until his next pamphlet could be printed, and then fixed a new and near date. The public at laſt began to diſtruſt this maſter in the art of figures—to wonder how a criſis could laſt for twelve years—and to ſuſpect that there was an omiſſion of ſome kind in the computation. In like manner, did Thomas Paine, by help of a numerical ſeries, calculate, ten years ago, the end of Great Britain. Since that period her commerce has increaſed, her flag has penetrated into new ſeas, and triumphed over all her ancient rivals; her domeſtic reſources have been conſolidated, and vaſt regions have been added to her diſtant territories. We will venture to foretell a like iſſue to Mr O'Connor's predictions, although we admit them to be ſomewhat more ingenious than either Sir Francis D'Ivernois' or Thomas Paine's.

In preſenting our readers with a view of his tract, we ſhall begin, by ſtating his arguments on the effects of the Bank reſtriction. We ſhall then review his poſitions reſpecting the funding ſyſtem, and take occaſion to premiſe a general view of the principles on which that grand improvement in modern policy reſts. We ſhall, in the third place, attend to what he calls 'the *conquering and monopolizing ſyſtem*' of Britiſh government, or her excluſive principles of commercial legiſlation; and conclude with noticing our author's declamations on the general policy of this country, both in her domeſtic and foreign relations.

I. We begin with the argument on the Britiſh ſyſtem of paper credit, as modified by the Bank reſtriction, becauſe it is the only point on which the author has any ſolid ground to ſupport him, and becauſe his deductions, though generally fallacious, from their extravagance, are both more ingenious, and more nearly allied to truth here, than in the other branches of the diſcuſſion.

According to Mr O'Connor, the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments at the Bank of England, which he denominates '*the failure*' of that Company, had the neceſſary effect of inundating Great Britain with paper of all deſcriptions. The only check, he informs us, is now removed, which can at any time ſet bounds to the natural deſire of increaſing the circulating medium. Every trader has an intereſt in iſſuing paper; and, merely by keeping by him

a ſtock of Engliſh Bank notes, conſiderably ſmaller than was neceſſary when only large notes were iſſued, he may confidently circulate any given quantity of paper. The neceſſity of paying in gold cauſed every iſſuer of paper to maintain a certain proportion between his iſſues and his capital, becauſe every one could ſee the difference between ſpecie and notes: but no one, Mr O'Connor aſſures us, conſiders the difference between one kind of note and another: on the contrary, private notes are frequently preferred to Bank paper. He proceeds, accordingly, to ſtate, that the notes of the Bank have been increaſed by ſeven millions and a half; and if five millions depoſited can maintain a circulation of fifty millions of private paper, he infers, that the real increaſe in the whole paper muſt have been *fifty-two and a half millions.* For this increaſe in the circulating medium, he obſerves, there has been no actual demand: On the contrary, he thinks it obvious, that the capital of the nation, having been diminiſhed by two hundred and twenty-three millions (the expences of the war ſince February 1797), and the national income being yearly diminiſhed by thirty-three millions, (the profits which the nation would otherwiſe have derived from the capital expended), there muſt be fewer commodities to circulate, and the iſſues of paper ſhould have been contracted inſtead of being extended. But farther, he aſſerts, that the quantity of paper in circulation is to be eſtimated not merely from the actual amount of notes iſſued by public or private Banks, but that the immenſe ſums veſted in bills of exchange are to be conſidered as in the ſame predicament, and tending, by their multiplication, to produc the ſame ruinous conſequences. Thus, gold and ſilver are now entirely baniſhed from our commerce; the circulating machine has become a uſeleſs, flimſy fabric of paper, inſtead of a ſolid and valuable engine of gold. This money cannot be exported; it muſt conſequently raiſe the prices of all articles at home. Britain, like Spain, may be underſold in all foreign markets; and her induſtry muſt ſtagnate, from the diſcovery of this exhauſtleſs paper mine, as that of Spain was deſtroyed, by the opening of a much more limited ſupply of the precious metals. Even if ſhe were willing to retrace her ſteps, ſhe muſt pay fifty millions for ſpecie, to begin with; and, after ſinking this ſum, an endleſs confuſion will ariſe, from the adjuſtment of contracts entered into under the paper regimen; ſo that we have only the melancholy aſſurance, that we can neither advance nor retreat, without inevitable ruin.

We ſhall admit the accuracy of theſe facts, prepoſterouſly as they are thus ſtated, in order to ſimplify the diſcuſſion; and we muſt ſtill deny every part of the concluſions, except only the inference,

inference, that an increaſed iſſue of paper, or any other circulating medium, being attended with a diminution of its value, will neceſſarily augment the nominal or money price of commodities; and the fact, that the Bank of England, and ſtill more the Bank of Ireland, have increaſed their iſſues of paper beyond their due amount, ſince the year 1797. The main part of the aſſertion maintained by our author, viz. the extent of private paper circulation, and the obligation which was incumbent on the Bank to diminiſh the amount of its circulating paper, in conſequence of the increaſe in the public expenditure, we utterly deny.

It is manifeſt, that ſo long as country bankers, and other private iſſuers of notes are obliged to pay in Bank of England paper, an effectual check is provided againſt their exceſſive iſſue. They can no more procure an indefinite credit in Threadneedle Street, than they formerly could obtain an unlimited ſupply of ſilver at Cadiz, and of gold at Liſbon:—Nay, more, the Bank will now be much more cautious than formerly, and will be leſs diſpoſed to lend its credit to private traders, in proportion as its own neceſſities are become more urgent, from the greater delicacy of the machine. But 'individuals,' it ſeems, 'do not conſider the difference between a private and a national bank note.' If there be any country bank whoſe credit is ſo good, that its paper is thought equal or ſuperior to the Bank of England's notes, then there muſt be equal or ſuperior confidence in the ſubſtantial wealth of its members, and in their integrity and prudent management. Such a bank is well entitled to iſſue paper; for it muſt neceſſarily have the power to perform the obligations incurred by the iſſue; that is, either to pay in bank notes, in the caſe of its having equal credit with the Bank; or to pay in gold or goods, in the caſe of its credit being ſuperior. What poſſible harm can reſult from a circulation ſupported by ſuch confidence as this? And how does the Bank reſtriction at all affect its amount or its nature? It frequently does happen, we are well aware, that, in diſtant parts of the country, ignorant individuals prefer paper on which they ſee the names of their ſubſtantial neighbours, to notes which bear names unknown to them. This is, however, only the effect of ignorance; for it is clear, that ſo long as thoſe private bankers can perform their obligations, by paying in bank paper, the ſecurity of their creditors can never be better, though it may be worſe than the ſecurity of the bank's creditors. So long, therefore, as the private trader is obliged to pay in bank paper, it is evident, that no danger can be apprehended from an over iſſue of his notes.

As to the circulation of bills of exchange, there is ſtill a greater

er abſurdity in ſuppoſing that their multiplication can ever have the effect of depreciating the circulating currency. Can any thing be more obvious, than the impoſſibility of a trader iſſuing more of theſe than he is able to pay? Muſt not his career be inſtantly ſtopped, if he overdraws his credit? Do men give value for bills, as they may do for bank notes, without conſidering well the ſecurity of the drawer and acceptor? Nay, is not a bill's ſecurity increaſed by every ſtep of its progreſs; ſince each indorſation adds a new ſurety, and diminiſhes the riſk of the indorſee? All this is ſo obvious, that we have only to marvel how a perſon of Mr O'Connor's acuteneſs could ſhut his eyes to it; and not perceive that the maſs of bills circulated can never exceed that amount which the credit of the drawers juſtifies, and the extent of their tranſactions demands. If he will read the admirable ſtatements of Mr Thornton, he will ſee the true foundation of credit explained, and will find the principles laid down, upon which even drawing and redrawing may become a profitable as well as a ſafe method of obtaining immediate credits.

It is equally obvious, that the increaſed expenditure of the nation, ſince the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments at the Bank of England, impoſes no obligation on that body to diminiſh the maſs of its circulating paper. If the nation, by expending thoſe ſums, had actually annihilated ſo much ſtock, then there might have been ſome ground for arguing, that a diminiſhed ſtock required a diminiſhed medium to circulate it. But the nation has only cauſed a portion of capital to change its place—to be withdrawn from a more profitable to a leſs profitable line of employment—from a channel in which it was rapidly increaſed, to one in which it was ſlowly increaſed, or not increaſed at all. Even the extreme caſe of profuſe expenditure, the waſteful conſumption of proviſions by the forces, only creates a blank in the yearly revenue of the land and labour—a waſte of the quantity added to the national ſtock—a retardation of the increaſe which it would otherwiſe have received. If any great blank has been created in the numbers of the people—if the warehouſes are empty, and rendered uſeleſs—if the harbours are filled up, and the fields laid waſte—then leſs capital will exiſt in the country than before, and a diminution of the circulating medium will be requiſite. But if the augmentation of the capital has only been prevented, then it will be quite enough if *no increaſe* of the medium takes place. And although we were to admit that the waſte of war actually diminiſhed the total amount of the national ſtock on one hand, there is a conſtant augmentation of that ſtock going on in every other quarter, which muſt more than fill up the blank. Indeed, no one can caſt his eye over the hiſtory of Britiſh commerce for the laſt fifteen

teen years, without being convinced that the expences of the war have been, in part at leaſt, provided for in the augmentation of the yearly revenue of the people; and that the whole capital of the country has been increaſed to a degree, which authoriſes an augmented iſſue of paper to circulate it, though not perhaps ſo great an increaſe as has actually taken place.

As to our author's declamation about the ſolidity and intrinſic value of a circulation maintained by ſpecie, and the flimſineſs of a paper ſyſtem, we apprehend this is exactly the old argument of the mercantile theory: for, to aſcribe any qualities to the precious metals, beyond that of their limiting the amount of the circulating medium, is preciſely the corner-ſtone of that exploded ſyſtem of political economy. If we revert to a ſpecie circulation, Mr O'Connor obſerves, we muſt pay for gold and ſilver; that is to ſay, we muſt repurchaſe what we formerly ſold. But this is ſurely no great ſtep to ruin, if we retain the equivalent which we then received. If we do not, then it is incumbent on Mr O'Connor to prove that we have conſumed it needleſsly and fruitleſsly; and unleſs he can alſo ſhow, that the bank reſtriction was the cauſe of this unneceſſary and unprofitable conſumption, his argument againſt that meaſure wants the very keyſtone, inaſmuch as it does not apply to the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments, but to ſome other part of our national policy.

There yet remains to be conſidered, under this head, our author's arguments againſt the conduct of the Britiſh finances, as connected with the Bank reſtriction. He lays it down as clear, that this meaſure alone has enabled the government to carry on the war. The circulating ſpecie in 1797, he ſays, was all taken by government, who thus gained fifty millions immediately, and allowed the Bank to ſubſtitute an equal amount of paper money. Then, each ſucceſſive year, the inundation of paper created an extreme facility of borrowing; and millions were raiſed by loan for the public ſervice, more eaſily than thouſands had been obtained before. The readineſs with which money was now obtained, inſtead of proving our proſperity, was a new demonſtration of our approaching ruin. And the riſe in the price of the public funds, which immediately followed the operation, muſt be regarded not as a proof of increaſing credit in the government, but of a diminution in the value of the circulating medium, in conſequence of the exceſſive iſſue of paper.

It is, however, not a little remarkable, that the increaſe in the quantity of notes in circulation did not take place immediately upon the Bank being reſtrained from making payments in ſpecie. On the contrary, the immediate cauſe of that meaſure was, the Bank's having drawn in its paper money, and the conſequent failure

ure of many country banks, private traders, and others, who reckoned on the aſſiſtance of the Bank of England. We may be aſſured, therefore, that for ſome time after the reſtriction, the amount of notes in circulation was much diminiſhed; at leaſt, of country bank notes. This muſt have ariſen from the tottering credit of all theſe bodies, and the natural heſitation of the community in taking notes now no longer convertible into caſh, as well as from the alarming ſtate of public affairs, and the unprecedented amount of the public expenditure during that memorable year.

The riſe which took place in the public funds, almoſt immemediately after that enormous expenditure, certainly can never be accounted for by any ſuppoſed depreciation in the circulating currency; becauſe the funds, which are ſuppoſed to have then riſen in value, conſiſt in nothing more than a claim for a certain revenue, to be paid in the very ſame depreciated currency with which the purchaſe was made. The real cauſes of this phenomenon, which Mr O'Connor was probably neither very able, nor very willing to diſcover, may be traced perhaps in the following conſideration. The funds had reached a point of unexampled depreſſion, in conſequence of various concurring misfortunes which then preſſed upon Great Britain. The expences of the year were inordinate, and they were provided for by two enormous loans. The country was conſtantly threatened with an invaſion, which the loſſes of our allies rendered every day more probable, and which a gale, or a fog, or a calm, might render inevitable. The market price of gold exceeded the mint price ſo much, that a continual exportation of bullion was going on, and ſpecie became every day more ſcarce. An alarm among the country banks and private traders induced the Bank to contract its credits and ſupplies. A mutiny, unexampled for magnitude, organization, and obſtinacy, raged in the fleet, now deemed our only ſtay againſt the enemy's attacks; and a ſerious rebellion was breaking out in Ireland. Things having now reached the loweſt point of depreſſion, a happy change began to dawn. The mutiny and the rebellion were both unexpectedly quelled. The fear of invaſion, always moſt anxious at firſt, ſubſided in a few months. The crops were favourable all over Europe and America, in an uncommon degree. The plan of redeeming a large part of the debt, by the ſale of the land-tax, was adopted, and immediately put in execution. The great experiment of ſubſtituting paper for gold was tried with unhoped for ſucceſs; but it would have inſpired ſufficient confidence, if, in two years, it was found not to be altogether ſubverſive of mercantile credit. Above all, the commerce of the country ſeems, in 1798, to

have

have received a ſudden and important extenſion, partly in conſequence of the ſtate of the continent, and partly from the ſucceſs of our arms in the Weſt Indies: And the ſurplus of capital thus produced, naturally went to the public funds in a very conſiderable proportion. This, indeed, is always the effect of war upon trading capital; and the ſame effect facilitated the raiſing of money by loans. It is to theſe obvious circumſtances of national proſperity, then, that we muſt aſcribe the happy change in our affairs, which increaſed, in an unexampled degree, the credit of the public funds—augmenting the value both of the loans formerly funded, and thoſe about to be contracted—at once raiſing the price of the ſtock already in the market, and facilitating the creation of new ſtock upon terms advantageous to the public. Theſe conſiderations lead us, by an eaſy tranſition, to the ſecond head of inquiry—the principles of the funding ſyſtem, and Mr O'Connor's errors and prejudices on this very important ſubject.

II. In every proſperous community, the yearly produce of the land, labour and capital of the inhabitants, makes a certain clear addition annually to the whole ſtock or wealth of the country. At firſt, the amount of the capital is ſmall, the profits high, and the yearly augmentation conſiderable. By degrees, the rate of this increaſe becomes ſmaller; that is to ſay, the profits of each ſeparate capital are diminiſhed by competition; but the whole clear gain is always increaſing: ſo that although individuals make a ſmaller average gain each ten years than they did the ten years before, the whole gains of the community are greater during the ſecond than they were during the firſt of theſe periods. This will appear perfectly evident, if we conſider how capital produces its returns. Suppoſe the ſtock of a community, like Holland, engaged almoſt entirely in commerce, and a little in agriculture, to conſiſt of eighty millions in trade, ten millions in manufactures, and ten millions in agriculture, and that the average rate of profit in all theſe branches of employment is ten *per cent.*;—a ſum of ten millions is netted the firſt year, of which we ſhall ſay that five go to ſupport the inhabitants, and the other five are ſtored up, ſo as to increaſe the national capital to a hundred and five millions. There muſt be found employment for this additional ſtock. A part of it will go to the land, a part to the manufactures, and the reſt to the commerce of the country. The increaſed competition in each branch will diminiſh the average rate of profit, and only nine and three quarters *per cent.* will be netted upon the capital next year. The activity and ingenuity of the people being now conſtantly at work to maintain a ſtruggle with the diminution of profits, and to keep up the total income in ſpite of

the lowered rate of gain, new lines of trade are ſtruck out, new improvements made in the fiſheries, new machinery invented, and waſte lands cleared. Thus the ſtock of the community goes on increaſing, and the part added gives an additional revenue, in ſpite of the diminiſhed rate of gain, until all the land is made the moſt of, all the manufactures improved as far as poſſible, and all the branches of commerce filled with capital.

New capital, however, is ſtill accumulated; and it is the tendency of new capital to puſh its way into new employments. '*Aut inveniam viam aut faciam*,' is the genuine language of a capitaliſt. But in a country like the one we are ſuppoſing, and it is exactly the caſe of Holland, there is a limit to this expanſive power of ſtock in the nature of things; and every increaſe of capital renders the difficulty of veſting it greater. At firſt, the ſurplus goes to the diſtant trader, the roundabout trader, and the various branches of the carrying trade: then it makes its way into the colonies or foreign ſettlements of the ſtate, by loan to the coloniſts, or by inveſtment in the colonial commerce: next, it emigrates thither in purchaſes, and perhaps carries along with it the proprietor himſelf. When impolitic regulations, or foreign conqueſts, or colonial diſſenſions and inſecurity, obruct its progreſs in this line, it goes into the ſervice of foreign ſtates, by loans to the governments who give the beſt ſecurity: next, it is veſted even in loans to individuals: it then goes over in purchaſes, and probably carries the proprietor along with it: laſt of all, it finds its way into foreign colonies. When all thoſe channels are full (if they can be filled), the capital muſt ceaſe to be accumulated; the habits of the people muſt be changed; they muſt ſpend, inſtead of heaping up; and the nation will become ſtationary, or more probably will fall into decay.

Such is the natural progreſs of national opulence; and, that the caſe is not entirely a ſuppoſititious one, may be proved by the example of Holland, which has gone through all the ſtages of the proceſs here pointed out, and has perhaps reached the laſt for ſome time paſt.

There is a very ſtriking analogy, it may be remarked, between the progreſs of wealth and the progreſs of population, in every part of their hiſtory. At firſt, when land is plentiful, the numbers of a people double in fifteen or twenty years; by degrees, the rate of increaſe becomes ſlower, but ſtill the numbers augment in a geometrical progreſſion. Emigration to the colonies begins to take place; the overflowing numbers then find vent in other countries; and, laſt of all, they remove to foreign and diſtant colonies. Still there is a boundary fixed by nature: and, that change of place will not prevent the full developement of this principle

principle of limitation, is evident from this consideration, that if we take the whole population of the earth for the subject of calculation, the effect of emigration ceases to modify the result, while the principle applies with the same force as before. What the increase of wealth has produced in Holland, the increase of population has produced in China. These two countries, the one from physical, the other from political and moral causes, offer to our contemplation the instructive spectacles of extreme cases in these important inquiries.

But the evils of increasing capital, like the evils of increasing population, are felt long before the case has become extreme; and a nation, it may be observed, is much more likely (at least in the present state of commercial policy) to suffer from increasing wealth, than from increasing numbers of people. Are there no checks provided by the constitution of human nature, and the construction of civil society, for the one, as well as for the other of these evils? Mr Malthus has pointed out the manner in which the principle of population is counteracted; and we apprehend that causes nearly analogous will be found to check the progressive increase of capital. Luxurious living, and other kinds of unnecessary expenditure—above all, political expences, and chiefly the expences of war—appear to us to furnish those necessary checks to the indefinite augmentation of wealth, which, there was reason *a priori* to suppose, would be somewhere provided by the wise regulations of nature.

Such of our readers as have condescended to follow us through the several steps of the preceding deduction, will now be prepared for the conclusion which we wish to suggest. It is, that in a wealthy state of society, there is much less mischief to be apprehended from the conversion of a certain portion of capital into revenue, while the accumulation is going on, than men have generally been disposed to believe. Let us suppose that the nature of man were not warlike; that no such expences had been necessary as Great Britain has been forced to incur during the course of the last century; and that, consequently, she had contracted no public debts. It is not easy to calculate the amount of the capital she would have accumulated during that period. The sum of five hundred millions is evidently not enough: every pound of that enormous sum would have been laid out at compound interest, and have accumulated, so as perhaps to double in the period to which we have alluded, even allowing for a vast augmentation of yearly expence, occasioned by a more rapid increase of population. With perhaps half as many more inhabitants—a thing always desireable on any account, she would now have possessed twice as much fixed and realized stock—a thing to be deprecated

eated on many accounts. We know how difficult it is, in the preſent ſtate of her wealth, to find vent for capital. How could double the amount be inveſted with profit? The cruelties, and other immoralities and miſeries of war, are here out of the queſtion; we ſpeak of money, not of men; and as numbers of people are now generally admitted to be no great bleſſing, abſtractly conſidered, we hope it will not be thought a ſtrained inference, from the foregoing ſtatements, to doubt if quantities of capital are of themſelves a great national good; and to ſuggeſt the poſſibility of a nation, in the predicament here deſcribed, falling back, ſince no community can be ſtationary for any length of time; or becoming a prey to poorer neighbours, and to the worſt of foes—its own internal ſeeds of rottenneſs and decay.

Let us now attend to the ſpecific mode in which the indefinite accumulation of capital is obſtructed or retarded by the different kinds of financial policy which have been adopted in different ſtages of ſociety. In the earlier periods of civilization, when a ſmall portion of ſtock has been accumulated, wars, the great article in the extraordinary expence of every nation, are carried on at little coſt; for thoſe happen to be the very ages in which the numbers of mankind are limited, and labour little ſubdivided. Each man of full ſtrength, therefore, contributes his ſhare to the public defence by actual ſervice; and the ſeaſon of warfare is confined to a particular part of the year. A country is indeed now and then ravaged, and uſeful hands are always cut off. The conſequence is, that many lives are loſt, much miſery occaſioned, and a great deal of partial poverty produced. The whole body of the nation, however, ſuffers only in this topical manner; and thoſe members which eſcape diſeaſe or amputation are perfectly ſound. One of the firſt effects of accumulated ſtock is a diviſion of labour; and perſonal ſervice gradually wears out. Taxation is introduced, and money, that is, revenue, is required to defray the ordinary, and ſtill more the extraordinary, expences of the ſtate. Theſe ſteps are gone through by different belligerent, that is, different neighbouring nations, in the ſame periods of time, or very nearly ſo; for it requires no proof to ſhow, that the nations which form, as it were, federal commonwealths, linked together by the relations of peace and war, are always running, with equal pace, the ſame career of improvement.

By degrees, wars become leſs frequent, perhaps, but much more expenſive, in the ſame manner that all other articles of expenditure, public and private, increaſe in coſtlineſs—ſubſiſtence, luxuries, education, government, judicatures, embaſſies, &c. &c.; and the ordinary revenue of the ſtate becomes leſs and leſs adequate to defray the extraordinary expences occaſioned, and ſuddenly occaſioned by the breaking

breaking out of hoſtilities. Thus, a nation which expends ten millions a year in its government and public works during peace, will be forced at once to ſpend thirty millions, perhaps, in one year of war. How ſhall this ſudden augmentation of expence be provided for? Only in one, or in all of three ways,—by ſaving ſo much out of the ordinary articles of expenditure—by levying three times the ordinary taxes—or by borrowing money to the amount of the additional ſums required. If any great ſaving out of the ordinary expences were practicable, it would be highly impolitic: it would diminiſh the revenue of the nation and of the public inſtantly; and injure the wealth, as well as the happineſs of the community, for generations to come. The only queſtion, then, is between the comparative merits of the other two ſyſtems of finance—a taxation which ſhall raiſe the ſupplies within the year, or a contract which ſhall procure the extraordinary ſums by loan. Which of theſe is the ſafeſt, the eaſieſt, and the moſt conſonant to the natural order of things?

The expences of every individual are proportioned to the *ordinary* ſtate of the ſociety in which he lives. He ſquares his enjoyments by his common rate of gain, and by the common amount of the contributions which he muſt pay to the public ſervice. The bulk of the community, the middle orders, on whom the chief weight of all taxes muſt ultimately fall, are peculiarly unable to increaſe their contributions on any ſudden emergency. The man, who could hardly pay fifty pounds laſt year, would have nothing to live upon, were you to take from him one hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds this year. He muſt either leave the country, hide his property, or encroach on his capital, or run in debt with a Jew. If he encroaches on his capital, he is leſs able to pay taxes next year, even to the ordinary amount; and no prudent government would liſten to a ſcheme, which ſhould make the whole individuals of the community run in debt, on their ſeparate, individual accounts, admitting that they could all give ſuch ſecurity as would induce money-holders to truſt them. Beſides, what becomes of the large claſs of annuitants in every country; labourers of every ſort, who have little or no ſtock on which to encroach, and can give little or no ſecurity to the lenders; and traders on commiſſion, whoſe gains are ſo little proportioned to their capitals, but whoſe contributions ſhould bear ſome proportion to their gains? We refer our readers to our review of Biſhop Watſon's intended ſpeech, for a ſtatement of the numerous difficulties which incumber ſuch a ſyſtem as this. (See Vol. III. p. 480, &c.) The proper fund of all taxation is not the general capital of the community, and conſequently not that part of the revenue which is neceſſary for the

support of the proprietor and his capital, and which, if touched, must throw the burthen ultimately on the capital. The only fund from which taxes can be safely drawn, is the revenue reserved for consumption; and the question is, How shall this be effected, so as to increase at will the public revenue, without injury to the wealth of the nation, or injustice to individuals?

The immediate effect of every war, civil or external, and in a less degree of all those other emergencies which happen to a nation, is to obstruct the ordinary employment of capital; to throw a quantity of stock, formerly profitably invested, out of its place, and to prevent the new accumulations of stock from finding new channels of investment. A great mass of capital is thus collected in the hands both of the mercantile and manufacturing parts of the community, shifting and floating about, ready for any speculation, or any profitable use whatever. This is, in our opinion, the part of the national stock which naturally seeks the service of the public: it can be employed in no other way, and should be used by the State. The owners are always willing to give the use of it to Government, for a certain premium; and when the crisis that occasions the extraordinary expenditure is past, they have the opportunity of reinvesting their capital in trade, partly as it may be gradually paid back to them by the State, partly as they may transfer their securities to a class of proprietors, always increasing in every wealthy country—the monied interest, who are constantly drawing together floating capital, by lucky speculations, and have no means of employing it, but in loans. The best creditor for all these descriptions of persons is the Government; at least, in ordinary cases, its security is the most tempting, and the most transferable; so that, upon any sudden call for their stock, they can transfer their security, and use their capital. In every country, arrived at a great degree of wealth, (and in such circumstances alone can the funding system be advisable), there are changes perpetually taking place in the channels of employment, and the situations of the capitalists. A tract of waste land at home is parcelled out for improvement; a new colony is added, by conquest or bargain; a new line of trade, or a new art is opened: all those kinds of changes produce a demand for stock, and cause it to be drawn from the floating mass of capital above described, or from the public funds which have arisen from that mass. But, at the same time, there are other changes going on, of an opposite description. The accumulation of capital at home and abroad, is always filling up certain channels of commerce, of agriculture, and of manufactures; changes of mode and of taste are checking or destroying the demand for certain articles; not

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to mention the direct tendency of national calamities, wars, plagues, fires, famines, shipwrecks, and the like, to produce similar effects. It must be observed, too, that after a nation has reached a certain pitch of wealth, the changes of the latter description are by much the most numerous and extensive of the two kinds. Hence the public funds afford a sort of entrepôt for capital, a deposit, where it is naturally collected in an useful employment (inasmuch as wars are necessary evils), ready, at the same time, for other services, and capable of being transferred in a moment to fill those blanks which accident may occasion. It is evident that the natural order of things prescribes such an arrangement as this; that it is the mode of raising large sums least noxious to the state; and that it directly throws the expences of the emergency upon the surplus revenue of the community; first, by the yearly interest paid for the use of the money borrowed; and then by the provisions for gradual repayment, which a wise nation will always make a part of its funding system. We have formerly had an opportunity of discussing this inseparable branch of the modern system of loans, and refer our readers to the review of Bishop Watson and Lord Lauderdale's tracts, for a statement of the nature and advantages of sinking funds. (See vol. III. p. 480, &c. and vol. IV. p. 375.) There is a striking similarity in the mode in which wars affect the capital of a country, and the effects produced by them upon its population. The same analogy holds here, which we formerly traced between the numbers and the wealth of a nation. The emergencies of public affairs produce the very men required by their demands, and the very sums of money by which those men may be hired by the state. The same capitals now continue to employ the same men as during peace. Formerly they were employed in manufactures and trade; now those channels are obstructed, and the stock is thrown into the public service, together with the men no longer useful in the peaceable arts. We have deduced, from this consideration, a proof of the absurdities of the balloting and militia systems, in a former article. The same view of the subject which justifies, or rather prescribes, the recruiting system, as the only safe means of filling the army, prescribes the funding system as the only safe mode of supplying the money which is to pay it. It does not follow, that, if no wars existed, both the men and the money might not be more productively employed. But we have already shown, that both population and capital, in the more refined stages of society, have a tendency to overflow; and that greater evils may arise from the superabundance, than from the deficiency of both commodities.

The result of these speculations may help, perhaps, in some

meaſure, to explain the failure of the narrow calculations of Price and D'Ivernois, and lead us to diſtruſt the ſtill darker predictions of the author now before us.

According to Mr O'Connor, we are now arrived at a point beyond which our burthens can be increaſed no more. We have accumulated five hundred millions of debt purely by means of the paper credit ſyſtem,—and every ſtep we advance farther muſt be in the gulf of bankruptcy; any continuance of the ſcheme muſt increaſe the depretiation of money, and the price of all commodities; we ſhall be underſold in every foreign market; nations, freſh in the vigour of youth, will profit by our decrepitude; ſtates that have no debts to weigh them down, will outſtrip us in every competition; our taxes will daily become leſs and leſs productive; our funds ſink in value; the intereſt ceaſe to be paid; new taxes become impracticable; univerſal confuſion and diſorganization enſue, and Britain fall proſtrate, without a ſtruggle, before France and America. We ſhall only obſerve, in paſſing, that if France is now in the vigour of youth, it is a youth gained out of decrepitude, far more abject than any that threatens us; and that, if we choſe to adopt the French modes of paying debts, viz. to iſſue aſſignats at par, and then buy them in at the price of waſte paper, all Mr O'Connor's arguments againſt our paper credit and funds would be completely done away. He exults in all his gaudy deſcriptions of French greatneſs. The republic (or whatever other name that fantaſtic government may aſſume) has loſt a little circulating capital; but it preſerves all its ſolid, fixed wealth, its lands, canals, houſes, rivers, foreſts—above all, its *rights* (*riſum teneatis!*) and its inexhauſtible ſtock of talents—the genius, induſtry, and mental acquirements of thirty-five millions of people!

'The poſt-office' (ſays he) 'and the means of facilitating intercourſe, but, above all, the living machinery, the genius which explores the powers and receſſes of nature, to abridge and embelliſh the productions of art; making ſcience tributary to the wants, the comforts, and the enjoyments of man; the mind which profits by theſe diſcoveries, and the dexterity and ſkill which apply them;—theſe are the parts of the great national fixtures which demand whole centuries to acquire—and theſe the revolution has preſerved and embelliſhed.' p. 79.

We can ſcarcely figure a more animated and exact deſcription of all that is of moſt value, which the revolution has ſwallowed up in its remorſeleſs abyſs. Bailly, Lavoiſier, Briſſot, Condorcet, Pichegru, Roland, are but a few of the great ſhades which inſtantly riſe up againſt this hireling panegyriſt.

III. Our author inveighs againſt the reſtrictions which Britain impoſes on her trade, eſpecially on her foreign and colonial commerce, with peculiar acrimony. She can never be really and ſubſtantially

ſtantially wealthy, until ſhe aboliſhes her Eaſt India Company, repeals her navigation act, and emancipates at once her ſlaves and her colonies. To our author's ear, it ſeems, a colony ſounds only like another word for every thing that can ruin and diſtract national proſperity. His ſyſtem of liberty extends all over the ſyſtem of commerce and navigation; and we really believe his advice, when ſtript of the *verbiage* that envelopes it, amounts to this—that Britain ſhould transfer her colonies and her fleets to the poſſeſſion of France. Above all, we muſt renounce every idea of conqueſt; we muſt live on our own territory, which he deſpiſes for its littleneſs, and ridicules for its inſularity; and we muſt not think of 'forcing our manufactures into the European, particularly the French markets.' In this branch of the argument, which is ſcattered over almoſt every chapter of the book, we find, mixed with much repetition and a good portion of nonſenſe, ſome reaſonings of conſiderable acuteneſs on the general ſubject of monopolizing policy. But the abſurdity of our author's practical applications cover the whole diſcuſſion with a moſt ludicrous guiſe, and in no point of view more notably ſo, than where he preaches up France as an object of envy, and her conduct as a pattern for imitation.

It ſurely is not unknown to this writer, that the French navigation laws are more ſtrict than our own, and that, if they have happily wanted the power, they have never been without the inclination to exerciſe a maritime controul over allies and neutrals as well as over inimical ſtates. Nor is it altogether fair to cry up for abſtinence from foreign intrigues and influence, the nation which has been indefatigable in fomenting all manner of diſſenſions, and ſyſtematically ſtirring up every people that betrayed any wiſh to revolt againſt their rulers. As for conqueſts, we own it is new to us to find any pretenſions urged for France on this ſcore: and we naturally look to Holland, Italy, Spain, above all to Switzerland and Egypt, for a juſtification of our ſurpriſe. The advice to aboliſh ſlavery in the Weſt Indies, is not ſurely recommended by the *example* of the French Emperor, and ſtill leſs by the *experience* of his predeceſſors. To defend the colonial ſyſtem, would be tedious, on general grounds. Suffice it to obſerve, that France ſhows nothing like a wiſh to abandon it; and that, to Britain, it is infinitely more natural and valuable than to France. But the accuſation of forcing our wares into France, is the moſt laughable, in one of Mr O'Connor's pretenſions to liberal views of political economy. He actually calls by this name the act of ſending a veſſel laden with Britiſh goods into a French port, and denominates the ſeizure of ſuch a veſſel a moſt juſtifiable act of the Government, to prevent England from

from forcing her manufactures into the territories of the Republic!' This requires no commentary.

IV. We have now only a few ſtrictures to offer on the topics of more general policy which our author introduces into various parts of his performance. Upon Iriſh affairs, it is proper that our readers ſhould hear Mr O'Connor ſpeak for himſelf. His argument is curious. The government of Ireland, before the Union, was bad. This he proves, by citing certain ſtrong paſſages from the ſpeeches of all who have been his Majeſty's miniſters during the laſt twelve years, in the debate on the Union. But, ſays he, what did the Iriſh Union propoſe for its object, but reform of the Conſtitution, or, if you will, a change? Now, no change could be to the worſe. Therefore, he concludes, from the confeſſions of miniſters themſelves, the rebels, as they are called, were juſtified. Such is the wretched ſophiſm of the reaſoning. As a piece of eloquence, his declamation is not without its merit; and it poſſeſſes certainly the charm of intereſting, and even affecting us, as all paſſages do in which the writer can ſay '*Pars magna fui.*'

'Is it in language to furniſh words more expreſſive than thoſe of theſe miniſters, of the radically vicious and oppreſſive ſtate of this Iriſh Conſtitution which the people of Ireland had made ſo many peaceable attempts to reform ſince 1784?—I aſk thoſe miniſters, Why have you ſupported this worſt of Governments againſt the wiſhes of the great body of the people, at the expence of 30,000 lives, by baniſhment, by fire, by torture, and by all the rigour of martial law? Convicted on your own confeſſions made in 1799, after all theſe horrors had been committed, I call on you, in the name of thoſe thouſands executed and maſſacred for your defence. You are arraigned in the opinion of every nation. Why, from 1784 to 1798, have you reared, ſtrengthened, and ſupported this worſt of Conſtitutions, "*producing miſery in one extreme, and oppreſſion in the other?*" All this blood, all theſe cruelties, all theſe agonizing ſufferings, have you brought home to yourſelves by your *confeſſions*; confeſſions, ſo full, that the mind of man cannot conceive a defence which ſhall waſh away the blood with which you are covered.

'If every other trace of theſe dark and gloomy ſcenes were loſt, and that theſe miniſterial CONFESSIONS alone remained, could the proſcribed and calumniated Iriſh deſire a more full exculpation from the accuſations of thoſe very miniſters, than thoſe *confeſſions* of the nature, the vices and the evils of the Conſtitution and Government they wiſhed to reform? Is it in language to furniſh a more unanſwerable refutation of all thoſe virulent invectives theſe miniſters and their adherents have poured out againſt the people of Ireland, than theſe *miniſterial confeſſions?*

'If the thouſands who now traverſe the different regions of the earth, exiled for having attempted to give their country a better Govern-

ment

ment than one "*which produced the extreme of misery and oppression,*" were questioned by the different Governments where they sought an asylum; if they were required to prove that they were not those turbulent, ungovernable men these ministers have represented them all over Europe—what document more satisfactory could they produce than these confessions of these ministers?—Nay, if the manes of the thirty thousand heroic souls who have fallen in the field or on the scaffold, without one single example of fear or weakness, had bequeathed to me the guardianship of their honour, and the office of rescuing their fair fame from the detraction and calumnies of these ministers, what inscription could I place on the column that, in the effusion of my heart, I would raise on their tombs, which could discharge the holy duty consigned to my care, more gloriously for them, or more ingloriously for their oppressors, than those *confessions* of his Britannic Majesty's late and present ministers?

'Thus far I have been obliged to take a view of the internal state of Great Britain and Ireland, in order to be able to judge of the stability of the system that has been pursued. I have studiously avoided entering into the merits of the Constitution; not that there is a man in either country who reveres the great and leading principles of that Constitution more than I do. I have been persecuted with all the weight and power of the Crown, for having attempted to subvert it—I have been imprisoned, for five years, in eight different prisons, for having attempted to subvert it—I am now in exile, for having attempted to subvert it:—And, in the face of Europe, I appeal to the *confessions* of his Britannic Majesty's late and present ministers, *whether it was the* CONSTITUTION *I did attempt to subvert.* My own conscience has never failed to acquit me in the tribunal of my own heart; and those confessions of his Majesty's ministers have acquitted me before the rest of the world. I never opposed these ministers for supporting the Constitution; but I opposed them for supporting what was not the Constitution; I opposed them for taking away some of the best and purest principles of that Constitution, and for adding some of the worst and foolest principles that go to its destruction.' p. 67–72.

We extract the following passage from the concluding advice which our author gives to the Government of Great Britain.

'I know my countrymen better than your ministers can know them. I have committed my life to the honour of millions: thousands have died; but not one has been found to betray me. Their unexampled good faith to each other, in contempt of torture and death, should instruct you, that there is not a people on earth whom the point of honour will carry such determined lengths; none on whom fear and compulsion can make less impression. Their hearts are as open to friendship, as they are steeled against intimidation or menace. Had your Government profited by what has passed in America; had it let the people of Ireland choose their own constitution and government; had it treated them as free men, as equals, as friends—Great Britain would

would have ſtood in a different poſition from the poſition ſhe ſtands in at preſent. But, alas! enlightened ſelf-intereſt is as rare amongſt nations as amongſt individuals.' p. 140.

Our author is peculiarly bitter in his invectives againſt what he terms the *Secret Cabinet*, 'the prime and ſole mover of our Government for the laſt forty years.' To this *junto* he aſcribes the preſent war; and has an odd kind of theory to account for it. He ſays the reaſons alleged were mere pretexts. He runs through them, and we think ſucceſsfully diſproves the chief of them. He is then ſo obliging as to explain to us the true cauſe of the war. It was—that the Secret Cabinet ſaw we were about to become bankrupt; and, to avoid the ſhame of ſuch a cataſtrophe preſenting itſelf in its own naked form, enveloped it with war as an excuſe!

We cannot quit this writer, without noticing his perverted mode of viewing whatever involves a contraſt between England and France. All the world has every thing to dread from our influence, our wickedneſs, and our power: and yet that influence is already at an end; that wickedneſs has rotted itſelf away, and muſt inſtantly moulder to fragments; that power is now a mere recollection! Such are the motives which ſhould and muſt, according to Mr O'Connor, arm all nations againſt this country. France, on the other hand, preſents no object of alarm even to her weakeſt neighbours; for it is her clear and true intereſt to live at peace with all mankind; to protect the weak, and not interfere with the ſtrong; to cultivate commerce, and leave it free as the air of heaven; to promote the developement of the moral energies, and we know not how many other Utopian fancies: Yet is this virtuous, forbearing, meek, ſenſitive plant of a nation, the moſt powerful that the world ever ſaw. Bounded by the ocean, which ſhe is fated to command; the mountains, whence ſhe can thunder over the world; and the rivers, which make her miſtreſs of chances and opportunities; ſtrong and rejoicing in her ſtrength; ready to overwhelm every oppoſing force, and cruſh all her rivals to atoms—'*Ingrediturque ſolo et caput inter nubila condit.*' Such are the elements of which Mr O'Connor's political reaſonings are compounded. We have only to refer our readers to the introductory remarks, as an apology for detaining them ſo long on this work—if, indeed, the importance of the general ſpeculations that have grown out of our examination of it have not already pleaded our excuſe.

ART.

ART. IX. *Tableau de l'Eſpagne Moderne.* Par J. F. Bourgoing, Envoyé Extraordinaire de la Republique Françaiſe en Suede, cidevant Miniſtre Plenipotentiaire à la Cour de Madrid, etc. 3me Edition, corrigée et conſiderablement augmentée. 3 Tom. 8vo. à Paris. An XI. 1803.

THE author of this work has enjoyed advantages which fall to the lot of few perſons who write books of travels. He made his firſt journey into Spain, in 1777, as Secretary to the French embaſſy; and remained in that capacity at the Spaniſh Court for eight years. This long and uninterrupted reſidence in the country which he has attempted to delineate, muſt have given him time to acquire a thorough knowledge of its language, literature, and inſtitutions, and to become familiarized to the manners and character of its inhabitants; which are not only very diſſimilar from thoſe of his native country, but more difficult to be appreciated juſtly by ſtrangers, on account of the natural reſerve of the Spaniards, and the political and religious reſtraints under which they live. His official ſituation, too, muſt have afforded him evident opportunities to collect an abundance of ſtatiſtical, commercial, and hiſtorical details with regard to Spain; the more valuable, becauſe they are leſs acceſſible in that than in other European countries, on account of the maxims of myſtery and ſtate ſecrecy to which its government ſtill adheres, though they ſerve only to keep it in ignorance of its own ſituation and reſources, and to expoſe it to be groſsly impoſed on by its dependants. He appears, according to the uſual practice of the diplomatic body in the reign of Charles III., to have lived very conſtantly at court, and had therefore the means of knowing intimately all who were diſtinguiſhed for talents or knowledge in Spain, during the moſt promiſing interval which has occurred in that monarchy for the laſt two hundred years. The duties of his office, and the conſtant attendance about the King's perſon, to which the embaſſador of France was at that time ſubjected, muſt be his excuſe for having viſited ſo few of the Spaniſh provinces; yet he contrived to eſcape long enough from the ſummer reſidence of the Court at San Ildefonſo, to make an excurſion through part of Caſtile and Leon to the ancient and celebrated Univerſity of Salamanca; in ſpring 1783, he made a longer tour to the city of Valencia; and, before his return to France, he viſited the commercial cities of Cadiz and Malaga, traverſing in his route the arid plains of La Mancha, and the once rich and cultivated provinces of Andalucia.

His ſecond journey into Spain was in ſpring 1792, as Miniſter Plenipotentiary of Lewis XVI., in which capacity he was reluctantly received

received by the Spaniſh Court. After the events of the 10th of Auguſt, he ceaſed to be publicly recogniſed as a foreign miniſter; but continued to tranſact buſineſs in private with the Spaniſh Government till February 1793, when he received a paſſport to return to France. He embraced this opportunity of reviſiting Valencia, and of paſſing through Cataluna in his way home. During this ſecond reſidence in Spain, he made an excurſion from Madrid to Zaragoza, in order to examine the famous Canal of Aragon.

His third journey into Spain hardly deſerves the name; ſince he penetrated no farther into the country than the French armies did, which invaded Cataluna in 1795.

Information collected under theſe advantages, matured by ſo many years reflection, and corrected in the three ſucceſſive editions through which this performance has already paſſed, excited in us very high expectations in favour of the work before us; and it would be doing injuſtice to M. Bourgoing not to confeſs, that he has given us more information on the government, internal policy, and commercial ſyſtem of Spain, and more entertaining details with regard to the capital and the royal *ſitios*, than any book of travels that has fallen into our hands; and that his work is, on the whole, not ill calculated to do away, or at leaſt to leſſen thoſe prejudices which his countrymen are known to entertain with regard to their ſouthern neighbours; and the more ſo, perhaps, that M. Bourgoing is not himſelf entirely exempt from theſe prepoſſeſſions, eſpecially on the ſubject of Spaniſh literature; and has therefore exhibited to his countrymen a portrait of their ancient rivals, leſs diſtorted indeed than that at which they have been accuſtomed to ſmile, but ſtill not ſo juſt as to offend their national vanity, by diſpelling entirely its illuſions upon this ſubject.

Some of the greateſt defects in M. Bourgoing's book appear to us to be the natural conſequences of the very advantages which he enjoyed. As the ſervant of the French government, he might think it his duty, and as a candidate for employment under it, he would find it his intereſt to ſay nothing with regard to Spain that could offend the Spaniſh government, or create a prejudice in its miniſters againſt the agents of France. This explains to us the tenderneſs with which he touches on the faults of the Spaniſh government, the ſilence which he obſerves on its arbitrary and cruel treatment of individuals, and the unqualified praiſe which he beſtows on every perſon that has influence in directing its proceedings. It may be reaſonably queſtioned, however, whether he has not allowed theſe prudential conſiderations to reſtrain him farther than was neceſſary. There are many

many defects in the internal administration of Spain, which are less the consequence of any spirit of injustice or oppression in the government, than the effects of its over-anxiety to promote the welfare of its subjects. Inflamed by this laudable and patriotic desire, instead of being contented with protecting the property, and giving free scope to the industry of the people, it is continually interfering with and regulating their private concerns; and, without regard to their present convenience, or much attention to their means of success, it never ceases to endeavour, by fiscal regulations, privileged companies, and royal establishments, to divert their capital and industry into those channels, which it conceives to be most advantageous to the public. On these topics M. Bourgoing is commonly silent; though the erroneous system to which we allude has been pointed out by many Spanish writers, whom he might surely have been permitted to copy without offence. But, in return for his silence on those abuses which are still protected by authority, and his reserve on the spirit of jealousy and persecution, of which so many men of talents are the victims, he has never missed an opportunity of bestowing his praise on the government, where it has shown a disposition to reform, nor failed to discover merits in those whom it honours with its confidence; he has even condescended to assume the tone of an apologist, when treating of the Inquisition; nor does he ever rise into indignation against the numberless vexations which this government tolerates or inflicts, or express himself with warmth on the narrowness and bigotry of its views, unless when complaining of its custom-house regulations, or expatiating on its infringements of the privileges conceded by antient treaties to the subjects of France.

Besides our general objection to M. Bourgoing's book, as deficient in extent and comprehension of views, as containing opinions dictated more by a regard to national interest than to truth or consistency, and as descending not unfrequently in the prosecution of this object to the shallow artifices and cajoling style of a diplomatic memorial, we have often to regret his want of taste and judgment in the selection of his materials; and, above all, to lament the defective arrangement in which he has placed them. His book, it is plain, treats of two distinct subjects. The first and least instructive, though most amusing part of it, contains the description of what he saw in Spain, his remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and the anecdotes he relates of what has passed at the Spanish court during the last and present reigns. The second comprehends the information which he has been able to collect with regard to the produce,

duce, manufactures, and commerce of the kingdom; his account of its laws and internal government; its taxes, public debts, and colonial policy; its military and naval eſtabliſhments. Who would believe, that ſubjects of ſo different a nature, addreſſed to readers of ſuch oppoſite deſcriptions, are ſo intermixed, that we paſs from the Alcazar of Toledo, to a diſquiſition on the marriage laws of Spain; that, under the article of Cadiz, we are to look for his general remarks on its cuſtom-houſe ſyſtem; and that the ſame chapter treats of 'literature, education, manufactures, highroads, canals, and patriotic ſocieties?' Such monſtrous aſſemblages are excuſable in a mere book of travels, where the journaliſt notes down the information which he picks up caſually upon the road, along with the ſtate of the weather, the impoſitions of his hoſt, and the noiſe that diſturbed his laſt night's repoſe, with other goſſiping of the ſame ſort; but, in a work calling itſelf a 'View of Modern Spain,' coming from the pen of a man of letters and a ſtateſman, arranged for the preſs, and maturely corrected in his cloſet, they can proceed only from the moſt culpable negligence, or from a head not over well qualified for the taſk. One inconvenience of this deſultory arrangement is, that, in order to render the aſpect of his political arithmetic leſs forbidding, he has ſtripped it of ſo many of the figures, that Cocker himſelf would be puzzled to reconcile the items with the total. His readers are certainly indebted to him for the trouble he has taken to enliven the ſubjects of finance, public debt, and bankruptcy: but we beg him ſeriouſly to reflect, that it is impoſſible to render calculations amuſing; and that the only merits to be looked for in ſuch matters are accuracy and perſpicuity.

Some farther defects that have ſtruck us in M. Bourgoing's work are to be explained, perhaps, if not excuſed, by the ſingular viciſſitudes of opinion through which his countrymen have been hurried during the laſt fifteen years; *all* of which he ſeems to have thought himſelf bound to follow, and, to the beſt of his ability, to defend. Thus, we find him in one paſſage declaiming in favour of the liberty of trade, and againſt monopoly; and, in the next, approving of public granaries; applauding the ſyſtem of encouraging domeſtic induſtry, by the impoſition of heavy duties on the export of the rude productions of agriculture; * and calling upon the citizens of every country to ſympathize with the zeal of the patriotic ſocieties of Spain, who have procured the revival of many obſolete laws againſt the introduction of foreign manufactures; † laws which the prejudices of an ignorant

* Vol. I. p. 323. † *Ibid.* p. 328.

norant age had dictated, and which the wants and intereſt of the people had ſuffered to fall into diſuſe. Hence, too, we are to reconcile his general declamations againſt ſuperſtition with his occaſional tenderneſs for its '*douces illuſions;*' * the violence of his outcry againſt the Inquiſition, with his extenuation of its horrors, and the feebleneſs of his arguments againſt its defenders; his hints about a confiſcation of eccleſiaſtical property, with his finding an apology for the riches of the clergy, in the alms which conſume ſo large a portion of their income; and his conſolation for their fanaticiſm, in the auſterity of their morals, and their enmity to the arts of luxury. ‡ M. Bourgoing has an unqueſtionable liberty to change his opinions, according to the ever-varying orthodoxy of his country; but, when old doctrines become heretical, they ought, for conſiſtence ſake at leaſt, to be expunged.

But, to proceed to the particular examination before us.—The half of the firſt volume is employed in giving an account of the author's journey from Bayonne to Madrid, and in deſcribing the capital and the royal *ſitios* of San Ildefonſo and San Lorenzo. The third volume begins with the deſcription of Toledo, Aranjuez, and ſome other towns in the neighbourhood of Madrid; and then proceeds to an account of the author's journies in Aragon, Andalucia, Valencia, and Cataluna; and concludes with ſome anecdotes relating to the rupture of 1793, and the war that followed between the French Republic and Spain. The latter part of the firſt volume, and the whole of the ſecond, are dedicated to an account of the government, courts of judicature, naval, military, and other public eſtabliſhments of Spain; to the ſtate of her arts, manufactures, and commerce; to the character and manners of the people; their literature and public amuſements.

As favourable ſpecimens of the author's talents for deſcription, we ſhall ſelect his account of the uncultivated waſtes of Andalucia, and his contraſt of Biſcay with Old Caſtille.

'They reckon fourteen leagues from Chiclane to Algeſiras. I performed this journey in a ſummer day, and on the ſame horſe; and I found the country leſs peopled than perhaps any other in the world, not altogether uncultivated. I rode indeed acroſs the plains, avoiding the circuitous paths, which would have carried me through ſeveral villages. But will it be believed, that, in this long journey, except *Vegir*, which I ſaw on my right hand, and *Medina Sidonia* on my left, I met with no other habitations than four or five groups of thoſe miſerable hovels, which they call *cortiſos*, and in which the labourers take up their lodging during a part of the year?'



* Vol. I. p. 59. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 353.

'Ten of the fourteen leagues lie acroſs the States of the dutchy of Medina Sidonia, and conſiſt only of open fields and paſture grounds. No where a veſtige, to indicate the reſidence of man. Not a fruit-tree, nor a pot-herb, nor even a ditch or roof, is to be ſeen. The great proprietor ſeems to reign here like the lion in the foreſt, forbidding all approach by his tremendous roar. In place of colonies of men, I met ſeven or eight large flocks of horned cattle and a few horſes. In ſeeing them without yoke or bridle, wandering at random in plains, to which the eye can diſcover no limit nor barrier, you feel as if, in the firſt age of the world, you beheld the animals independent of man, dividing with him the empire of the earth, and finding every where their undiſputed property.' Vol. III. p. 167.

To this melancholy, and, we can add, faithful picture of many parts of Andalucia, the following is a ſtriking and agreeable contraſt:

'It is impoſſible not to be filled with admiration, in traverſing the country which theſe Biſcayans have vivified, even without their ſovereign's encouragement; who with them exchanges the title of king for that of chieftain. The three provinces are the aſylum of induſtry and of freedom. In travelling over Biſcay, the ſpirit of the people ſeems to give animation to all around. Nothing can be more beautiful than their ſmiling hills;—nothing more brilliant than their cultivated vallies. In the courſe of thirty leagues from Bidoſſoa to Vittoria, you are not a quarter of an hour without the ſight of ſome village, or hamlet. The towns of Villa-Franca, Villa-Real, and Mandragon have an air of freedom and gaiety. What a difference between the aſpect of this and of the neighbouring country! I would not ridicule the Caſtilians, whoſe virtues I eſteem; but they are taciturn, auſtere, and dark in hue; the very image of poverty and *ennui*. In Biſcay, the complexion, the phyſiognomy, the character, are quite different. Eaſy, gay, hoſpitable, they appear to feel their good fortune, and to wiſh all thoſe to participate who witneſs their happineſs.' Vol. I. p. 21.

If we were called upon to point out any general fault in the deſcriptive part of M. Bourgoing's book, we ſhould take the frequent recurrence of thoſe affected and miſplaced effuſions of ſentiment, which have abounded ſo much of late in the works of the ſecond-rate claſs of French authors, miſled probably by the eloquence of Buffon and Rouſſeau, and encouraged by the temporary reputation of the German literature; but we are perſuaded that this taſte cannot long keep its ground among a people, diſtinguiſhed for the quickeſt and ſtrongeſt ſenſe of ridicule of any in Europe.

The following paſſage cannot be ſuffered to eſcape, without a more particular animadverſion:

'Will travellers reſort to Spain, to enjoy beautiful roads, traverſing arid fields, as in the two Caſtilles; or frightful ways in countries ſmiling

ing with culture and industry, as along the coasts of the kingdoms of Valencia and Catalonia; to find cities deserted and in ruins; a court little fertile in pleasure; few monuments; the arts in their infancy; a burning sky; and the Inquisition?

'Spaniards, our allies, our estimable neighbours, worthy of our highest regard, and more intimate acquaintance, continue to make roads, and improve your inns. Your country may then, at least, be resorted to with less inconvenience. But that travellers may sojourn in your country, and take pleasure in it, there are still wanting some advantages which nature has denied; and others which time and perseverance, it is to be feared, can alone accomplish.' Vol. I. p. 9.

The Inquisition, the court, and the plains of La Mancha, we shall abandon willingly to M. Bourgoing: nor shall we interrupt with our reflections, the pride and gratitude which the most high spirited people in Europe cannot but feel, in receiving this measured and condescending praise, with which it seems the descendants of Francis I. vouchsafe to encourage and animate the conquerors of Pavia. On the contrary, we congratulate them on the pleasing expectation, that their future labours will be recompensed by the punctual fulfilment of M. Bourgoing's promise, that, when they have made roads and inns good enough for Frenchmen to travel over and sleep in, their *allies* and *estimable neighbours* will now and then honour them with a visit, not to *sojourn* or to *take pleasure* in their country, but, by so distinguished a mark of favour, to stimulate them to further exertion. Yet, after all, we may be permitted to ask M. Bourgoing, what climate out of Italy can be compared to that of the whole Spanish coast along the Mediterranean? What country is the rival of Valencia in its particular mode of cultivation? Where shall we find such works for irrigation as at Alicante? Where such forests of palm-trees as at Elche? Where such singular monuments of architecture as at Seville and Granada? But the arts, it seems, are in their cradle in the country of Murillo and Velasquez; and all the monuments of antiquity, the aqueduct of Segovia, the bridge of Merida, the theatre of Marviedro, the Alhambra and Generalife, must be reckoned as nothing!

We must, however, in fairness to M. Bourgoing, quote another passage, where he shows himself better qualified to do justice to the merits of the Spanish character than one should suppose, from his frequent pathetic remonstrances with them on the subject of their connexion with France, or from the sort of arguments which he employs when he wishes to gain over their understandings. *



* See particularly vol. I. p. 107, where he tries to persuade the Spaniards,

'But that Spaniſh gravity, which has become proverbial, is very different from what is generally conceived. You find little indeed among Spaniards of that affability, that politeneſs, which anticipates your wiſhes. They accompany rather than precede you. But this ſevere outſide very often conceals a good and kind heart, which often diſcovers itſelf very unexpectedly. Strangers to the vain grimaces of French politeneſs, the Spaniards are economiſts of their profeſſions. Their ſmile of benevolence is rarely the maſk of duplicity; and the heart expands with the beaming of the countenance. How often have I been for a long time repulſed by the exterior of a Spaniard, to have my repugnance at laſt overcome, and diſcover a complaiſance not aſſumed but effective—a courteſy not of profeſſion, but of performance! The Spaniards want perhaps that urbanity, which a refined education inſpires; but which is often the veil of falſehood and contempt. Its place is well ſupplied by this unmannered frankneſs, this ſincerity which proclaims and inſpires confidence.' Vol. II. p. 290.

Before we take leave of the firſt part of M. Bourgoing's book, we requeſt his permiſſion to correct one or two ſlight miſtakes into which he has fallen. The ſurface of the *Pantano* of Alicante is about half a ſquare league; and therefore ſomewhat too large to be ſurrounded by a wall ſixty feet in height, and broad enough for three carriages to drive round it abreaſt.* The wall, which fills up the narrow interval between the mountains, that really confine this ſtupendous collection of water, is about 135 Paris feet in height; and was not built by the Moors, but by the Chriſtians in the time of Philip II. The treaſures of Montſerrate are not entruſted to the guardianſhip of the hermits; nor do the latter poſſeſs any conſiderable means of exerciſing hoſpitality to the ſtrangers or pilgrims, who, from motives of curioſity or devotion, frequent that celebrated ſhrine.† Both offices are diſcharged by the Benedictine monks, whoſe convent ſeems to have eſcaped the eye of M. Bourgoing, as he paſſed on to Barcelona, by its ſituation on the oppoſite ſide of the mountain. There is no tomb of the great Columbus at Seville; and the inſcription, which M. Bourgoing has copied incorrectly, is placed over the tomb of his ſon.‡ We are happy to be able to ſet M. Bourgoing right in two other points, in which he has been miſinformed. The works at the harbour of Tarragona have not been abandoned,§ but are going on, under the direction of Mr Smith, with every appearance of accompliſhing the object that was

Spaniards, that it will be for their advantage, that the French ſhould ſo improve the quality of their own wool, as not to import any from Spain.

* Vol. II. p. 173.
† Vol. III. p. 269.
‡ Vol. III. p. 98.
§ *Ibid.* p. 265.

was intended by them; and the canal of Caſtille is continued with great activity, under the ſuperintendance of M. Betancart.

Inſtead of a regular analyſis of the didactic part of M. Bourgoing's work, we ſhall content ourſelves with ſome curſory remarks on thoſe parts which appear to us to call particularly for animadverſion.

*Hidalgo.* It is a miſtake to ſuppoſe that perſons cannot be ennobled in Spain. * It is true, that a man cannot be created *Hidalgo de Sangre:* the King cannot give him noble anceſtors, if his forefathers were of the *eſtado commun;* but the King may create any one *Hidalgo de Privilegio,* in which caſe he enjoys the ſame legal privileges, as if he were *Hidalgo de Sangre.*

*Cortes.* The Cortes were aſſembled in 1789, not to ſwear allegiance to the preſent King, † but to take the accuſtomed oath to the Prince of Aſturias, as heir-apparent of the Crown. Galicia has not ſeparate ſtates; ‡ but the ſeven cities of Galicia, which have a right to ſend deputies to the Cortes, enjoy but one vote; and in the laſt Cortes, the deputies of Orenſe and Mondonedo took the oath in the name of the whole. Twenty-two cities of the provinces of Caſtille, beſides thoſe of Galicia, and ſixteen cities of the provinces of Aragon, ſent deputies to the Cortes in 1789. The nobles and clergy have had no ſeat nor voice in the Cortes of Caſtille ſince the reign of Charles V. The provinces of Aragon retained, till the ſucceſſion war, their Cortes and the whole of their ancient privileges, except ſome limitations of the power of the *Juſticia Mayor* of Aragon, made by Philip II., in conſequence of the affair of Antonio Perez. We cannot conceive upon what grounds M. Bourgoing has aſſerted, that the Cortes of Catalonia had not been aſſembled for two centuries before 1702. § We are confident, that there was not a ſingle reign during that interval (that of Charles II. excepted) in which they did not meet.

*Miniſtry.* It muſt be difficult to know the truth with regard to M. Bourgoing's aſſertion, that the Prince of the Peace, during his temporary diſgrace in 1798, and under Urquiſo's adminiſtration, never loſt for an inſtant the favour of the court: ‖ the common opinion is certainly the other way. The vanity of *Urquiſo* we have frequently heard cenſured; but the imprudence which (beſides court intrigues) is ſaid to have contributed chiefly to his fall, was having ſent to Rome a very ſtrong memorial againſt certain abuſes in the *Dataria* of the Papal court. He



* Vol. I. p. 172. † *Ibid.* p. 178. ‡ *Ibid.*
§ Vol. III. p. 42. ‖ Vol. I. p. 194.

may possibly have abused the favour of his master; but this is a fault which we observe M. Bourgoing censures only when it can do no more harm. *

*Administration of Justice.* Not only is torture not formally abolished in Spain, † but it is frequently practised at Madrid, in order to extort confessions of guilt from persons whose criminality is strongly suspected, without a legal proof of their guilt; and what is worse, the use of torture, in place of declining in Spain, is gaining ground. 'Unjust and partial judges,' says M. Bourgoing, 'are not more common in Spain than in other countries.' ‡ Whatever be the countries that have suggested this remark to M. Bourgoing, we pity them sincerely; but we cannot help thinking, that this is rather a light way of treating so serious a calamity. To be secured from injustice, was unquestionably one of the chief ends for which men gave up their natural liberties, and submitted to be governed; and it seems hard they should now be given to understand, that the object for which they made so great a sacrifice is unattainable.

*Revenues.* We regret that M. Bourgoing had not published the whole of Lesena's report, instead of the extracts which he has given. § The pretension of Lesena, that the Spanish revenue is collected at less expence than that of England, could be easily shown, even from his own statement of facts, to be unfounded. It is a curious fact, and shows how things are managed in despotic countries, where concealment is the great maxim of government, that the King having appointed a *junto* in 1802, to lay before him a state of the revenues of Spain, and of the expence of collecting them, these gentlemen had the audacity to present to him the old report of Lesena as their own, without changing a single figure, omitting only those passages, where Lesena appears, from Bourgoing's extracts, to have sung forth his own praises; judging rightly, that, since neither report would ever be published, the fraud would probably escape detection, either by the royal personage to whom it was addressed, or by his confidential adviser. Having seen a copy of the report of the junto in 1802, and compared it with the extracts given by Bourgoing of Lesena's report in 1789, we can assure our readers, that the statements are the same in both, without the smallest variation. It appears from these reports, that the clear revenue of Spain, in 1787, amounted to 5,883,435*l.* Sterling, after deducting the salaries of those employed in collecting it.

*Public*

* Vol. I. p. 201.
† *Ibid.* p. 344.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 338.
§ Vol. II. p. 25. &c.

*Public Debts.* M. Bourgoing's ſtatements upon this head are deficient, both in clearneſs and exactneſs. * A report, preſented to the King in the beginning of 1800, makes the capital of the national debt 44,481,991l. 3s. 4d. Sterling, and the annual intereſt of that part of it which bears intereſt 1,704,326l. Sterling.

*Bank of San Carlos.* More than two thirds of its capital have been lent to the Crown.

*Commerce of Grain.* We ſhould conclude, from M. Bourgoing's account, that the commerce of grain in Spain was tolerably free; † but the fact is, that no perſons, except the common carriers, are permitted to buy the grain of the country in order to ſell it again, without a ſpecial licenſe from Government.

*Colonial Trade.* To the ſtatements given by Bourgoing ‡ on this ſubject we may add, that the whole value of the imports from America into the Bay of Cadiz, from the peace of Amiens to 31ſt December 1803, amounted to 22,259,170l. 7s. 10d. Sterling, of which 14,594,724l. 8s. 6d. were in ſpecie, and the reſt in effects.

*Tobacco.* M. Bourgoing repreſents Galvez as having introduced the culture of tobacco into the kingdom of Mexico; whereas, he only introduced the royal monopoly of tobacco, the cultivation of that plant having been known there long before. §

*Wool.* M. Bourgoing's chapter on the Spaniſh merinos ¶ contains much intereſting information; but we confeſs that we have not been convinced by our author, not by his countryman M. Laſterye, who has written ſome very excellent tracts upon this ſubject, particularly, 'Traité ſur les bêtes à laine d'Eſpagne, an 7,' and 'Hiſtoire de l'introduction des moutons à laine fine d'Eſpagne, 1802,' when they maintain that the qualities of the Spaniſh wool are independent of the annual migration of the flocks. We have been aſſured of the contrary from the moſt reſpectable authorities, who ſtate, that the ſtationary merinos begin to degenerate in the fineneſs of their wool after a few generations, whatever precautions are taken to prevent it. We have frequently accuſed M. Bourgoing of partiality to the Spaniſh Government; but, on the ſubject of the meſta, he fails in doing it juſtice. After having dwelt ſo long on the oppreſſions of Eſtremadura, he ought to have mentioned the royal cedula of 1793, redreſſing many of the grievances of which he complains.



* Vol. II. p. 34. &c. † Vol. II. p. 161.
‡ Vol. II. p. 209. & Vol. III. p. 160.
§ Vol. II. p. 264. ¶ Vol. I. chap. 3d.

*Spaniſh Character and Manners.* On this ſubject, we are happy to beſtow on M. Bourgoing more unqualified praiſe than we have been able to confer on the other parts of his work. He appears to be ſufficiently impreſſed with the difficulty of ſelecting features in the Spaniſh character which ſhall be applicable to the whole people; but we think that he has been eminently ſucceſsful, and that he has done juſtice to the great and excellent qualities of the Spaniſh nation, without flattering their weakneſſes. The ſuperſtition which forms the chief, and, we had almoſt ſaid, the only ſhade in their character, he treats with as little mercy as it is diſpoſed to give; and, in the whole of this ſubject, he ſhows himſelf not inferior to his countrymen in the art in which they ſo much excel, of ſketching lively and animated pictures of manners and opinions.

*Literature.* Our limits will not permit us to enter upon the diſcuſſion which M. Bourgoing's ſtrictures on Spaniſh literature have a tendency to provoke. Much allowance is due to the ſeverity of his taſte formed on the finiſhed models of his own country; but when he concludes his enumeration of the preſent ſtock of Spaniſh literary productions with, 'mais d'ailleurs, pas un ſeul ouvrage vraiment philoſophique,'* we are inclined to doubt whether he has ever read the Memorial of Jovellanos *ſobre la ley agraria*, which he has referred to in the courſe of his work; and, if he has read it, we ſhould be glad to know to which of the philoſophical productions of his own country he would give the preference? But a work, of which Turgot might have been proud, requires not the paſſport of M. Bourgoing to be admitted into the circles of philoſophy.

Before we take leave of M. Bourgoing, we muſt be permitted to expreſs our doubts whether he ever read the works of the two Engliſh travellers which he criticiſes in his Preface. Of 'Swinburne's Travels' he might have found a leſs favourable, but not leſs juſt character, by the late Chevalier Azara;† and if he had read 'Townſend's Journey' with attention, we ſcruple not to add, that his deſcription of the provinces of Spain would have been more exact, and his admiration of her charitable inſtitutions leſs unenlightened.

ART.

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* Vol. I. p. 319.

† See Azara's Introduction to the Natural Hiſtory of Spain, by Bowles. Edition of 1789.

ART. X. *Voyage en Eſpagne, aux années* 1797 *et* 1798; *faiſant ſuite au Voyage en Eſpagne du Citoyen Bourgoing.* Par Chretien Auguſte Fiſcher. Traducteur Ch. Fr. Cramer. Avec un Appendice ſur la maniere de voyager en Eſpagne. Avec figures. Deux Tomes. à Paris. An IX. 1801.

THIS little work is ſaid to have obtained a conſiderable reputation in Germany, the native country of its author, on account of the natural graces of its ſtyle, and the livelineſs of its deſcriptions. That theſe muſt have been the cauſes of its extraordinary reputation, we are diſpoſed readily to believe; for, after having read attentively the French tranſlation before us, we ſhould have been puzzled to aſſign any cauſes for its ſucceſs—ſo completely have the fugitive merits of the original been ſuffered to evaporate in this attempt to transfuſe them into another language. We muſt, at the ſame time, confeſs, that there is a warmth of colouring and deſcription in ſome of the ſcenes brought before us by the author, that ſhows him not to be without talents or imagination. As a favourable ſpecimen of his deſcriptive powers, we ſhall ſelect his picture of the Spaniſh dance called *volero.*

'Le ſpectacle fini, la ſcène change en un appartement ſuperbe; l'orcheſtre recommence à jouer, les caſtagnettes ſe font entendre, et de deux coins du theâtre on voit ſortir un danſeur et une danſeuſe, tous les deux dans le coſtume gracieux d'Andalouſie, qui ſemble inventé pour la danſe. Ils s'avancent l'un vers l'autre en s'élançant, comme après s'être longtems cherchés. Déjà l'amant va pour embraſſer ſon amante, elle ſemble vouloir ſe precipiter dans ſes bras, mais tout-a-coup elle ſe retourne; le danſeur, d'un air a demi fâché, fait le même mouvement, et auſſitôt l'orcheſtre s'arrête. Ils ſemblent tous les deux indécis, mais bientôt la muſique, qui recommence de nouveau, ranime et preſſe leurs mouvemens. Alors l'amant plus ardent cherche à exprimer ſes deſirs; ſon amante l'accueille avec plus de tendreſſe. Ses regards deviennent plus languiſſans, ſon ſein palpite avec plus de force, ſes bras s'etendent vers lui. Vaine eſperance! timide, elle lui échappe encore; enfin, une nouvelle pauſe vient les enhardir. Alors la muſique plus vive donne des ailes à leurs pas. Ivre de plaiſir et d'amour, l'amant s'élance de nouveau vers ſa belle, qui tranſportée des mêmes ſentimens, vole avec ardeur à ſa rencontre. Leurs bras s'entrelacent, les levres de l'amante s'entr'ouvrent, et ſa pudeur expirante eſt prête à rendrer les armes. Ici l'harmonie fait entendre des ſons plus forts et plus rapides; alors le mouvement des danſeurs redouble de vivacité. C'eſt une ivreſſe, un vertige, on diroit qu'une ſeule et même volupté les anime l'un et l'autre; chaque muſcle ſemble appeler le plaiſir, et chaque pulſation accélérer le moment de la jouiſſance. Tout d'un coup la muſique ceſſe, et les danſeurs diſparaiſſent comme plongés dans la langueur delicieuſe de l'attente: la toile tombe, et les ſpectateurs ſortent de leur enchantement.' Vol. II. p. 199.

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Every one who has been at Madrid will recognife the fidelity of the following picture of the *Puerta del Sol*; and, to thoſe who have not, it will give a lively idea of the more ſtriking ſingularities in the appearance of the Spaniſh capital.

'Let us throw a *coup d'œil* upon the *Red de San-Luis.** What a varied crowd! what an inceſſant noiſe! Women clothed in black, and covered with veils; men in long cloaks; water-carriers; ſellers of fruit; ſuperb equipages; heavy diligences; light calaſhes; waggons dragged by mules, and groaning with their enormous loads; crowds of aſſes, with their pack-ſaddles and bells; troops of ſhe-goats to be milked from door to door. Further on, blind muſicians, ſinging *tonadillas* and *alguaciles*; a crowd of Galician porters; proceſſions adorned with chaplets; parties of ſoldiers, with their drummer at their head; funeral proceſſions, and ſinging of pſalms; the jangling of the bells from the clocks of the neighbouring churches; and, finally, the ſolemn proceſſion of the *Venerabile*.—The little bells of the choir are heard, and every one is on his knees; every mouth is dumb, every head uncovered, every carriage ſtopt:—This tumultuous maſs ſeems petrified. In two minutes, the accuſtomed turmoil is renewed.—An hour paſſes, and the crowd is diſperſed.—The porters range themſelves along the houſes, to take their *ſieſta* or afternoon's nap; all the ſhops are ſhut; the huckſters at the corners of ſtreets cover their ſtalls, to ſtretch themſelves by the ſide of the pavement.—The place is abandoned; the ſtreets, a moment before ſo noiſy, are dead; though ſometimes, perhaps, you may chance to ſee one or two ſtill on their feet. But the veſpers ſound, and all are alive again. In a quarter of an hour the ſtreet is filled with buſtle as before.' Vol. I. p. 182–187.

But, whatever merit the author may poſſeſs in the ſort of Flemiſh painting, for which we admit he has a talent, we cannot imagine how he ſhould have thought of entitling his work a ſupplement to M. Bourgoing's travels. That M. Bourgoing's travels admit of a ſupplement, we ſhall not deny. There are many intereſting ſubjects which did not enter into the plan of his book; his information upon ſome points is incorrect, his repreſentation of others biaſſed by prejudice, and his general views frequently unſound and inconſiſtent. But, without expecting from Mr Fiſcher any aſſiſtance upon ſuch points, we may aſk him, why, if he meant his work to ſupply the deficiencies of M. Bourgoing's, he did not at leaſt viſit thoſe provinces into which M. Bourgoing did not enter? Galicia and the Aſturias, Granada, Murcia, and the ſouthern part of Valencia, have been paſſed by neglected, by M. Fiſcher, as well as by Bourgoing, though they contain ſome of the moſt picturesque and intereſting objects, and are connected with ſome of the moſt important

* One of the ſtreets terminating in the Puerta del Sol.

ant inquiries that can engage the attention of a traveller in Spain.

Several things, indeed, ſurpriſed us exceedingly, in the peruſal of M. Fiſcher's travels. We remarked, that he ſeldom paſſed the night in a large town, preferring generally ſome miſerable village, a league or two diſtant. He appeared to have gone through Burgos, without entering the cathedral. He travelled from Madrid to Badajoz, without going out of his way to Aranjuez or Toledo. He twice traverſed the provinces of Eſtremadura, without viſiting its ancient capital Merida. He was carried through the ſtreets of Cordova, without ſtopping to look at its celebrated moſque. He paſſed within ſight of Montſerrate, without viſiting its convent or hermitages, though he muſt have known that Bourgoing had deſcribed them from report. But, above all, we were aſtoniſhed with the deſcription of a town in Cataluna, which we could find marked in no map of that principality, and deſcribed in no book of travels, not even by the laborious Ponz. M. Fiſcher deſcribes it in the following manner;

'We then arrived at the little town of *Larpagona*, ſeated on the brow of a hill, from which the eye looks directly down upon the ſea. The acceſs is very ſteep and inconvenient, but the view ſuperb. A ſmall mole, not quite finiſhed, is commanded by batteries, which ſtand above, on the point of the rocks, from the crevices of which, aloes ſhoot up. This little town is adorned with pretty houſes, and has altogether a neat and pleaſant appearance, although, with the exception of the noiſe of a number of coopers, it ſeems abundantly dull!' Vol. II. p. 268.

In vain did we ſeek for Larpagona, or for any town in Cataluna that anſwered to this deſcription; but at length, after many fruitleſs conjectures, and after conſulting with one of our brethren who had travelled once from Barcelona to Valencia, we decided that this little town muſt be the celebrated Tarragona, and that M. Fiſcher had been unconſciouſly treading on the ruins of the ancient Tarraco. True it is, that this opinion was not without its difficulties; for M. Fiſcher ſays nothing of the antique colonnade in the archbiſhop's palace, nor of the ruins of the Roman amphitheatre, nor of the palace, nor of the bath of Auguſtus, nor of the innumerable Roman inſcriptions and Roman arches which are to be ſeen in every ſtreet of Tarragona; but, while we were ſtill pondering over this ſubject, a paſſage in M. Fiſcher's appendix opened a new light upon us, and diſpelled at once all our difficulties.

In this appendix M. Fiſcher has given very minute directions for the uſe of his countrymen who may be inclined to travel in Spain, and he has ſpared no pains to vary his precepts, and adapt them to perſons of every deſcription. After recommend-

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ing to botaniſts and mineralogiſts to hire the *whole* of a carrier's mule, and to attach themſelves to a company of that uſeful fraternity, aſſuring them that this mode of travelling is as pleaſant and creditable as it is economical, he proceeds thus:

'It is ſomewhat different, indeed, when you hire only half a mule, and are forced to pace along in the ſtring on the loaded beaſt. Then you pay, as for luggage, in proportion to your weight; and as an *arroba* (twenty-five pounds) pays a piaſtre, a perſon weighing nearly a hundred and twenty pounds (five *arrobas*) muſt pay five piaſtres. But this manner of travelling is ſo inconvenient and mean, that it is the cuſtom in Spain to ſay with contempt of one who travels in this way, that he travels *por arrobas.*' Vol. II. p. 325.

After the peruſal of this paſſage, our ſentiments with regard to M. Fiſcher underwent a ſudden and total change. We were about to abuſe him for his indolence and want of curioſity; but after this hint with regard to his weight, and his mode of conveyance, we felt an involuntary admiration of his heroic fortitude, that could perſiſt ſo long, with a mode of travelling ſo incommodious and forlorn, to complete his journey. His apparent indifference about objects that intereſt other travellers, no longer ſurpriſed us; for, how could he diſmount from his mule, to examine curioſities upon the road, without deſtroying the equilibrium of the oppoſite baſket, overſetting the *bacalao* that balanced him, and ſtopping a row of perhaps a hundred mules, in the midſt of which he was moving ſlowly, but ſteadily along, half ſtifled with duſt, meditating and compoſing his travels?

But, in proportion as this diſcovery raiſed our admiration of M. Fiſcher's fortitude, it leſſened our confidence in the fidelity of his portraits; for, how could a traveller *por arrobas*, who is held in ſcorn even by the *maritornes* of the inns, make ſuch rapid progreſs in the intimacy and confidence of the Spaniſh ladies, as to be enabled, from his own obſervation, to expoſe, with ſo much ſtrength of colouring, their abandoned manners, their ſhameleſs effrontery, their haughty caprices and ſlaviſh ſuperſtition? Will M. Fiſcher permit us to inquire, whether this overcharged picture be altogether a fancy-piece, or deſigned after thoſe ladies who ſaunter a-nights about the poſt-office,* and with whoſe wit and talents, and recitation of Spaniſh verſe, he ſeems to have been ſo deeply enamoured?

Deſcriptions of ſcenery, and ſketches of events, occupy ſo much of M. Fiſcher's pages, that we ſhould be inexcuſable if we omitted to mention any one of the few ſubjects of a different ſort on which he touches. The one that ſtruck us moſt, was his account of

* Vol. I. p. 192.

of the contraband trade at Badajoz, at once ſo minute and particular, as to impreſs us with a thorough conviction, that we had diſcovered the true object of this out-of-the-way journey to that place. His account of the trade of Bilboa is leſs amuſing, and too ſuperficial to ſerve the purpoſes of either the ſmuggler or the economiſt. His receipt for making chocolate, we have no doubt, is extremely good; † and as to his catalogue of Spaniſh books, the only remaining ſubject we recollect, we freely confeſs, that we derived more benefit from it than from all the reſt of the performance.

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ART. XI. *Reſearches into the Laws of Chemical Affinity.* By C. L. Berthollet, Member of the Conſervative Senate, and of the National Inſtitute, &c. Tranſlated from the French by M. Farrell, M. D. 8vo. pp. 212. London, 1804.

THE labours of Berthollet have long been devoted to the cultivation of chemical ſcience. He appeared, at an early period, as the aſſociate of Lavoiſier, and contributed to eſtabliſh the modern ſyſtem, by the zeal and ability with which he engaged in its defence. He has enriched it by the diſcovery of ſeveral important truths; and ſociety is indebted to him for the moſt ſucceſsful application of chemical agency that has ever, perhaps, been made by a ſcientific chemiſt—that of the action of the oxymuriatic acid on vegetable colouring matter to the art of bleaching; an application by which the proceſſes of that art have within a few years been completely changed. The inveſtigations he has now brought forward are not leſs important. They are not confined to a few inſulated facts, but are directed to the firſt principles of the ſcience; they preſent to us new views of the laws of chemical affinity; and the diſcovery he has announced, if eſtabliſhed in its full extent, muſt materially alter our explanations of chemical phenomena. With ſuch claims of novelty and importance, we deem no apology neceſſary for giving ſome attention to this work.

When the phenomena of chemiſtry were firſt explained by Newton from the attraction exerted by the particles of different kinds of matter towards each other, he illuſtrated ſufficiently the general fact, that this attraction is exerted by any body towards a number of others with different degrees of force; and from this difference he deduced the theory of chemical decompoſitions. In the farther inveſtigation of this ſubject, it was obſerved that the

† Vol. I. p. 61.

the exertion of this attraction was liable to be influenced by certain circumſtances, by which its force is increaſed or diminiſhed. It was found that the aggregation of bodies has an important effect on the facility with which they combine, and that the application of heat modifies ſtill more powerfully the attractions of which they are ſuſceptible.

With the admiſſion of theſe circumſtances, Bergman, in his maſterly diſquiſition on chemical attraction, contended that that power is to be regarded as an uniform force, or that, when the aggregation and temperature are the ſame, it will always be exerted with the ſame ſtrength. The principle which Berthollet maintains is, that affinity is not this uniform force, but that its ſtrength is materially affected by the relative *quantity* in which one body is brought to act on another.

'It is my purpoſe,' ſays he, 'to prove, in the following ſheets, that elective affinity, in general, does not act as a determinate force, by which one body ſeparates completely another from a combination, but that, in all the compoſitions and decompoſitions produced by elective affinity, there takes place a partition of the baſe or ſubject of the combination between the two bodies whoſe actions are oppoſed; and that the proportions of this partition are determined, not ſolely by the difference of energy in the affinities, but alſo by the difference of the quantities of the bodies; ſo that an exceſs of quantity of the body whoſe affinity is the weaker, compenſates for the weakneſs of affinity.' p. 5.

The principle thus announced is apparently capable of being eaſily brought to the teſt of experiment. If the doctrine of Bergman be juſt, it ſeems to be a neceſſary conſequence, that of three ſubſtances preſented to each other, which have mutual attractions, the two which have the ſtrongeſt attraction muſt combine, to the entire excluſion of the third; and that no attraction exerted by this third can ever decompoſe the compound which the others have formed. If, on the other hand, the opinion of Berthollet, that the quantity of matter influences the force with which affinity is exerted, be founded in truth, it ſhould follow, that although one of theſe ſubſtances may have a ſtronger attraction to another than the third has, yet, by increaſing the quantity of the laſt, the force of affinity between the former two may be counteracted ſo far, that a partition of the ſubſtance to which each has an attraction may be effected.

For the details of the experiments which are brought forward by Berthollet, to prove that this is actually the caſe, we muſt refer to the work itſelf. It is ſufficient for us to remark, that a number of examples are given from the claſs of ſalts, in which a compound of two principles is decompoſed by a ſubſtance having

having an affinity to one of theſe, weaker than the affinity ſubſiſting between them, merely by bringing it to act on the compound in large quantity. Thus, ſulphate of barytes is decompoſed by boiling it in a ſolution of potaſh; ſulphate of potaſh by lime; oxalate of lime by potaſh; oxalate of lime by nitric acid; phoſphate and carbonate of lime by potaſh; and ſulphate of potaſh by ſoda.

Admitting the accuracy of theſe experiments, which ſtill reſts very much on the authority of Berthollet, it may be aſked, if they fully eſtabliſh the unlimited principle he has advanced? Of this, ſome doubt may perhaps be entertained; and we conceive that an objection may be made to them, drawn from a principle pointed out, and admirably illuſtrated by Bergman.

Bergman obſerved, that, in many caſes, a compound has an attraction to one of its ingredients, in proportions different from thoſe in which mutual ſaturation is the reſult; and that, in conſequence of ſuch attractions, it may actually be decompoſed by a ſubſtance having an affinity to either of its principles weaker than the affinity exiſting between them. From this principle, he explained the decompoſition of ſulphate of potaſh by nitric acid; ſulphate of ſoda by muriatic acid; and various ſimilar caſes. He obſerves,* that, in ſaline ſubſtances, there are thus exerted attractions ſometimes to an exceſs of acid, ſometimes to an exceſs of baſe; and he even adds, that perhaps ſuch attractions take place in all compound ſalts, though they have not always been obſerved.

In conſidering Berthollet's experiments, the queſtion may be fairly put, might not ſuch affinities have been exerted, and may not the decompoſitions have been owing to them, rather than to the mere circumſtance of quantity in one of the agents, as their author has inferred? When ſulphate of barytes is decompoſed by potaſh, may not the decompoſition have been effected, not in the mode Berthollet points out, by the ſingle affinity of the potaſh aided by its quantity, but in the mode in which Bergman would have explained it—by the joint affinities of the potaſh to the acid, and of the ſulphate of barytes to an exceſs of its baſe?

We are fully aware, that if this latter explanation be juſt, the decompoſition muſt always be partial, or the whole of the ſulphuric acid cannot be transferred from the barytes to the potaſh. Were the decompoſition, therefore, proved to be complete, it would certainly go far to eſtabliſh the theory of Berthollet. But, with regard to the fact on this point, though of ſo much importance,

* Diſſertation on Elective Attractions, p. 61.

importance, no ſatisfactory information is given; and we are rather inclined to ſuſpect, from the manner in which the following ſentence is expreſſed, that the experiment has not been made.

'If but a ſmall quantity of the decompoſing ſubſtance be employed, the effect will not be perceptible; but if, on the contrary, a large quantity be employed, as, for inſtance, if I had treated the ſulphate of barytes ſucceſſively with additional quantities of potaſh, and removed, by repeated waſhing, the diſengaged barytes, I ſhould have ultimately decompoſed the ſulphate of barytes almoſt entirely.' p. 12.

It appears to us, indeed, to be a neceſſary conſequence of Berthollet's own reaſoning, that a compound cannot be entirely decompoſed by a ſubſtance having a weak affinity to one of its principles, but that the decompoſition muſt always be partial; for, in proportion as this decompoſition proceeds, the influence of quantity aids the affinity ſubſiſting between its ingredients, and, at a certain ſtage, muſt be capable of counteracting the effect ariſing from the affinity and quantity of the decompoſing ſubſtance. If potaſh is boiled on ſulphate of barytes, and abſtracts part of the ſulphuric acid, the proportion of the barytes to the acid remaining in the compound is thus increaſed; its affinity to the acid, therefore, aſſiſted by its quantity, muſt become more powerful; and this muſt increaſe rapidly in energy, as the acid continues to be abſtracted, until it become ſufficiently powerful to put a ſtop to the decompoſition.

It appears to us alſo, from the principles Berthollet has aſſumed, that, in ſuch decompoſitions, the ingredient of the compound, which does not combine with the decompoſing ſubſtance, cannot be ſeparated in a pure ſtate;—that by boiling, for example, ſulphate of barytes in potaſh, no pure barytes can be procured. If we examine cloſely the reaſoning on which this new theory of affinity is eſtabliſhed, it will be found to involve the propoſition, that ſubſtances, having mutual attractions, muſt exert them, not merely when they are in determinate proportions to each other, but in every proportion; for how otherwiſe can the quantity of matter have any influence in adding to the energy of its affinity? If ſulphuric acid and potaſh have a tendency to combine with each other only in one determinate proportion, what advantage can be gained by preſenting them to each other in proportions different from this? If to a portion of ſulphate of barytes as much potaſh is added as is ſufficient to ſaturate the quantity of acid it contains, can any additional force be given to the affinity of the potaſh to the acid by adding a larger portion of it? The very aſſumption, that the acid has no attraction to the potaſh in this additional quantity, precludes ſuch a

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ſuppoſition. If the potaſh can combine only in a certain quantity with the ſulphuric acid, the preſence of any additional quantity muſt be altogether indifferent. But if it can combine in unlimited proportions with the acid, it is conceivable, that by adding a large quantity of it, ſuch an additional force may be gained to its affinity, as will enable it to abſtract the ſulphuric acid from the barytes. Now, if this be admitted, as we think it neceſſarily muſt, the concluſion equally follows, that the ſame unlimited attraction with regard to proportion muſt be exerted between barytes and ſulphuric acid; that, conſequently, if from ſulphate of barytes a part of the acid be abſtracted, the portion of baſe combined with it can never be evolved pure, but the whole muſt continue combined with the remaining acid.

We truſt that, from theſe obſervations, it muſt be apparent, contrary to what Berthollet has aſſumed, that the decompoſition of a compound, by a ſubſtance having a weaker affinity to one of its component parts, cannot, according to his own principles, be complete; and that, in ſuch decompoſitions, no part of that ingredient of the compound, from which the other has been partially abſtracted, can be evolved pure and uncombined. If theſe concluſions are admitted, thoſe who have attended to the preceding reaſoning muſt at once perceive with what advantages a follower of Bergman might oppoſe the doctrine of Berthollet. Nor can it eſcape obſervation, that Berthollet's experiments are confined to thoſe very ſubſtances in which Bergman ſuppoſed ſuch affinities to be exerted.

In a different part of his work indeed, Berthollet endeavours to ſhow that the reaſoning of Bergman on reciprocal affinity is fallacious, inaſmuch as it is founded on the aſſumption, that the compound ſalt has an attraction to an exceſs of one of its ingredients in a determinate proportion; whereas it appears from Bergman's own obſervations, that it can combine with that ingredient in a ſtill larger proportion or quantity than that which he thus ſuppoſed to be determinate. The obſervation we believe to be correct. But the fact may be admitted, without invalidating Bergman's reaſoning. It may be allowed, that the attraction of the compound ſalt to one of its ingredients is not limited to a preciſe or determinate quantity, without the concluſion following, that the attraction which it does exert to it, and which may vary in its intenſity in different proportions, may not contribute to the decompoſition of the ſalt, when it is acted on by a ſubſtance having an attraction to its other ingredient. Bergman affirms, too, as a fact, what is directly contradictory to Berthollet's aſſumption, that the decompoſition of ſulphate of potaſh can never be entirely effected by nitric acid; whatever quantity

of acid be employed, it always ſtops, when a third part, or a very little more, of the ſulphate of potaſh is decompoſed. It is eaſily conceivable, that the ſulphate of potaſh may have an attraction to ſtill more ſulphuric acid, than the exceſs it is combined with at the period when the decompoſition ceaſes, but that this attraction, diminiſhing in force in proportion to the quantity already combined, may not be ſufficiently ſtrong to aid farther the affinity of the nitric acid to the potaſh, ſo as to decompoſe more of the ſalt.

Theſe obſervations lead us to remark, that the actions which occur in ſuch decompoſitions are probably more complicated than they are repreſented to be in Berthollet's theory; and that this able chemiſt has obſerved them only under one point of view. When a compound is decompoſed by a ſubſtance exerting an attraction to one of its ingredients, he ſeems always to conſider the decompoſition as being effected altogether by the attraction exerted by the latter, aided by its quantity to one of the ingredients of the other, and to regard the affinity exerted between the ingredients of the compound as ſimply *oppoſing* its decompoſition. We are inclined to believe, that it may be viewed in another light; that it may be conſidered as cooperating with the other affinity, and *promoting* the decompoſition, to uſe the language of Bergman, by the attraction it may exert to one of its ingredients in a different quantity, or rather, to employ a more correct phraſe, by the varying ſtrength of the affinity, according to the proportions of theſe ingredients.

In making theſe obſervations, it is not our intention to diſpute the principle, that quantity of matter influences the energy of chemical affinity, but rather to ſhow that the opinion of Berthollet, as to the mode in which this principle operates, is doubtful, and that his reaſoning is not always ſtrictly conſiſtent. The principle, however, is important, not only in itſelf, but in the applications of which it is ſuſceptible; and it is this part of the work that appears to us to have the faireſt claim to originality. The influence of quantity had been to a certain extent previouſly eſtabliſhed. Bergman had demonſtrated it, by ſhewing that the force of attraction varies according to the proportions of the ſubſtances between which it is exerted; and various obſervations were afterwards made by which this truth was confirmed. The difficulty of the entire decompoſition of a compound, whether by expoſure to heat, or by the intervention of a new attraction, was known; the laſt particles which enter into combination, it was obſerved, adhere with an inferior force; and the law was hence eſtabliſhed, that the power of attraction is in an inverſe ratio to ſaturation.

But

But no chemiſt had attempted to trace the influence of this principle beyond the few facts from the obſervation of which it was deduced. Berthollet has extended its operation much farther: he has attempted to prove that various affections of bodies influence their attractions, by limiting the quantities of them which can be brought within the ſphere of action; and he has ſucceeded in ſhewing an exact correſpondence between his deductions and a great number of chemical phenomena. It would ſurpaſs our limits to give a full ſtatement of this part of the ſubject, or engage in much diſcuſſion with regard to it:—we muſt be ſatisfied with a ſlight ſketch.

The *inſolubility* of a ſubſtance, he obſerves, muſt be unfavourable to any action it is diſpoſed to exert as tending conſtantly to withdraw it from the ſphere of action. If it be employed as a decompoſing ſubſtance, its action muſt be limited to few points of contact, even when it has the aſſiſtance of agitation. Or, if it be acted on by a fluid tending to decompoſe it, it will, from the ſame cauſe, eſcape in a great meaſure from the action, and its decompoſition will be more difficult. If a ſubſtance evolved in conſequence of chemical action be inſoluble, it will ceaſe to oppoſe the decompoſition from which it has reſulted; or, if the product of a mere combination, it will, in ſome meaſure, determine the proportions in which its principles have combined. Great *ſpecific gravity* in an inſoluble ſubſtance will add ſtill farther to thoſe effects. The force of *cohęſion* exiſting in any ſubſtance, it is ſufficiently known, oppoſes another obſtacle to the exertion of chemical attraction; and may thus reſiſt either combination or decompoſition. Berthollet further conceives, that it determines the combinations of bodies in certain proportions—in thoſe in which precipitations or cryſtallizations are the reſult. *Elaſticity* has an oppoſite operation. By removing ſubſtances which are diſengaged in conſequence of chemical action, it abſtracts a power which is capable of reſiſting, with a certain force, the action of another; and, hence, it often renders affinities apparently weak, and cauſes decompoſitions to be more complete. *Effervęſcence* is ſuppoſed to have a ſimilar effect, though to a leſs extent.

The view which is given of double, or, as Berthollet terms them, complex affinities, is an inference from the ſame principles; it is very different from the commonly received notion; and is, perhaps, one of the happieſt applications of the theory. When ſolutions of two compound ſalts are mixed together, it often happens that an interchange of their principles takes place, and two new compounds are formed; and this has always been aſcribed to the different forces of affinity ſubſiſting among the principles.

Berthollet, however, denies that any such interchange takes place, except where a force of cohesion is exerted. He conceives that the principles of the compounds remain in equilibrium; the former salts do not exist in a distinct state, nor are new ones produced, but there is merely a combination of the four elements remaining in solution. But if the force of cohesion, with regard to any of these substances, be exerted, it will determine their combination, and the proportions in which they unite, and will therefore be the real cause of what, in the old theory, is ascribed to the predominance of divellent over quiescent affinities. Hence it is observed, that

—'if all the decompositions ascribed to complex affinities be investigated, it will be found that the prevailing affinity has been always ascribed to those substances which have the property of precipitating, or of forming a salt which can be separated by crystallization. For this reason it may be inferred, *a priori*, from a knowledge of the solubility of salts, which may be formed in a liquid, that those substances which are least soluble, and most apt therefore to precipitate, will be found to be the same as those to which Bergman and other learned chemists have attributed the strongest affinity in their tables.' p. 106.

Double affinities, exerted in the dry way, with the application of heat, receive an explanation equally ingenious, though less remote from the common opinion with regard to the influence of caloric on chemical attraction.

'If it be desired to know,' says Berthollet, 'the result of the exposure of two salts to the action of heat, it is only necessary to consider which of the two bases, and which of the two acids, have the greater volatility, if there be a difference; for the more volatile base and acid will escape, and enter into combination, and the fixed base and fixed acid will remain behind, and combine with one another.' p. 111.

We have no doubt that much of the reasoning with regard to the influence of these circumstances is just, and we admit the extensive and strict coincidence of these deductions with facts; but it may still be questioned, whether, with the ardour of a discoverer, Berthollet has not extended their influence too far. That differences exist in the force of attraction, exerted by different bodies towards others, is abundantly obvious. To what such differences are to be ascribed, is a problem we are at present unable to solve satisfactorily. That the sensible qualities of bodies, their elasticity, cohesion, &c. may give rise to them in part, may be admitted as sufficiently probable; but to assume these as the *sole* cause, is proceeding beyond the bounds of strict induction; and a slight examination of the tables of affinities must convince us that in many, nay in by far the greater number of cases, circumstances of this kind are

are insufficient to account for them entirely; and that we must admit the operation of causes more obscure, but probably more important. If Berthollet therefore means to contend, that all the differences observed in the strength of affinity are owing to the properties he has pointed out, he will, in innumerable cases, find his hypothesis deficient, and irreconcileable with fact. If he take more limited ground, and admit that there are other causes which affect the force of affinity, independent of those more obvious qualities, his reasoning is liable to the unanswerable objection, that he has made no allowance for such causes, and has consequently exhibited only a partial view of his subject. The apparent strength of affinity between the principles of sulphate of barytes, we are told, is owing to its insolubility and great specific gravity, which determine its formation, and render it difficult of decomposition by any substance capable of exerting an attraction to either of its constituent parts. But what proof is given of the justness of this conclusion, or what evidence have we, that there is not, independent of such causes, a strong affinity between sulphuric acid and barytes, arising from the figure of their particles, or other circumstances, not easily appreciated, but the operation of which we are, in innumerable other cases, forced to admit? Do we not find that this very compound, sulphate of barytes, is equally difficult of decomposition by any single affinity, in the dry way, where its insolubility or specific gravity can have no effect? or, is it not true, that nitrate or muriate of barytes, either of which is abundantly soluble in water, is likewise difficult of decomposition, by substances exerting an attraction to the acid, as by potash or soda, though such decompositions ought to be favoured by the comparatively sparing solubility, and the tendency to cohesion of the pure barytes? and do not these facts prove, that, independent of these circumstances, a strong attraction is exerted between barytes and the acids with which it combines? Nay, the inference would probably be just as correct, that sulphate of barytes derives its insolubility and strong cohesion from the strength of the attraction by which its principles are united, as that the strong attraction is owing to it being possessed of these properties. The carbonates are very susceptible of decomposition; and the separation of the acid from the base is easily rendered complete. The cause assigned by Berthollet, is the elasticity of the carbonic acid, which removes it when separated, and prevents it opposing the action of the decomposing substance. But, allowing the operation of this so far, we may repeat the question, where is the proof that it is the sole cause, and that nothing is to be ascribed to the real weakness of affinity between

the carbonic acid and the bases with which it is combined? and why, if the principle be just in its full extent, is not the same facility of decomposition to be observed in the muriates and fluates? Innumerable observations of this kind will occur, on reflection, to every chemist, and must lead to doubt of the justness of these applications, at least in the extent to which they are carried in this theory.

To the explanation of complex affinities, the same objections occur, with equal or superior force; for, with regard to these, still more weight seems to be given to these modifying circumstances, in determining combinations, than in single attractions. Differences in strength of affinity between different substances, exist, which cannot be ascribed to cohesion or similar properties, and these must necessarily operate, and in part determine the combinations which take place.

It cannot escape observation, too, that in ascribing to the circumstances of cohesion, insolubility, or specific gravity, any power of determining combinations, properties belonging to a compound, are assigned as causes of its formation. This is an absurdity, indeed, with which the chemist has become familiar, from the common theory of disposing affinity (which, we may observe, is, like Berthollet's doctrines, supported by a very extensive coincidence with fact); but it must still afford a sufficient refutation of any doctrine to which it is attached. Cohesion or insolubility in a compound, may have an effect in preventing its decomposition, or in counteracting its combinations with other substances. But it would not be easy to state a more glaring incongruity in terms, than that these properties, belonging to a compound when it does exist, should contribute to its existence, by promoting the combination of its constituent parts. The cohesion of a compound is not owing to any intimate union of its constituent principles, but to a force exerted between its *integrant parts*; and these parts must have been formed, or the principles must have been combined, before such a power could be brought to operate. Its insolubility belongs not to its elements, but is acquired in consequence of their combination, and cannot therefore be the cause by which that combination was effected.

We think it unnecessary to engage in the farther discussion of this subject, which rather requires an experimental investigation; and our limits will not allow us to notice some subordinate points relative to chemical affinity, which form part of the subjects of speculation in this volume. Of the general theory, we have spoken with some intecision; for, although we perceive objections to part of the reasoning by which its first principle is attempted

attempted to be eſtabliſhed, and are doubtful of the juſtneſs of its applications in the extent to which they are carried, yet we cannot regard it as altogether unſupported; and we are ſtruck with its coincidence with an immenſe number of chemical phenomena. Whatever may be its merit, it will probably be received by the chemiſt with reluctance; for its neceſſary conſequence appears to be, to unſettle what he has been accuſtomed to regard as the moſt fixed principles of the ſcience, and to render chemical action leſs uniform, and leſs capable of being appreciated with accuracy. The principle on which nearly the whole of chemiſtry has hitherto been ſuppoſed to reſt is, that different bodies attract each other with different degrees of force; that theſe forces are exerted with uniformity; and that it is therefore eaſy to predict their reſults. If the theory of Berthollet be juſt, it follows that ſuch uniformity of action does not exiſt, ſince it is in every caſe ſo much influenced, not merely by circumſtances in general uniform, as the coheſion or elaſticity of bodies, but by the variable circumſtance of the quantity in which they are brought to act on each other. This muſt introduce a ſource of error, againſt which it will always be difficult to guard; and muſt lead us to regard with diſtruſt much of what has hitherto been conſidered as indubitable fact. Yet, ſhould theſe new views be juſt, though they may be ſo far perplexing, they will not be without their advantages. In knowing that quantity modifies affinity, we gain poſſeſſion of a new power, which, in practical chemiſtry, may perhaps be often employed with advantage; and the knowledge of it will enable us to avoid the important errors that might reſult from conſidering affinity as an uniform force.

'Should it be regretted,' ſays Berthollet, to whom the poſſibility of the reluctance with which his ſpeculations might be received ſeems to have occurred, 'that this eſſay excludes the hope of being able to claſs the chemical power of bodies independently of the conditions which modify it; yet it muſt be acknowledged, that tables of affinity were mere memorandums of barren facts; and that they precluded the advantages reſulting from the conſideration of the moſt productive properties, by attending to which a great number of the reſults of chemical action may be foreſeen, and that action underſtood and directed, without having occaſion to recur to ſuppoſitions and particular principles.' p. 154.

To the theoriſt it will alſo occur, that theſe ſpeculations have a tendency to render more perfect the approximation of chemical to mechanical philoſophy, as they afford additional reaſons for inferring the identity of the great powers of attraction from which their phenomena ariſe; and perhaps they preſent to us

more clearly the prospect, however remote, of our being able to explain the actions of chemistry by the same laws that are known to govern the more sensible motions of bodies. In every point of view they are interesting; they may certainly claim the merit of originality; and no one will question the subtility of reasoning and extent of knowledge by which they are supported.

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ART. XII. *An Historical Review of Ireland, from the Invasion of that Country under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain on the 1st January* 1801. By Francis Plowden. 2 vol. 4to. nearly pp. 2500. With a postliminious Preface. Egerton, London, 1803.

IT is common in England to put prefaces *before* books, but the author of this work, aware of the privileges of his subject, has judiciously put his preface *after*. We have no objections to this inversion of accustomed order, provided the practice be confined to histories of Ireland. Mr Plowden's postliminious preface, however, is fraught with amusing matter. We do not recollect many scenes in comedy more piquant than the manual performance of a certain departed statesman, snatching a contradictory piece of his own orthography from the hands of the astonished historian; while the staid and solemn gravity of the premier affords a fine contrast to the light-fingered agility of his brother. There is nothing in the whole history half so picturesque as this closet scene in the preface.

The circumstances under which the historical review of Ireland was undertaken and executed, are such as palliate, if they cannot excuse a number of inaccuracies, and a general want of style, preparation, and dignity, which would otherwise afford decisive evidence of Mr Plowden's incapacity for the arduous task of an historian. Were the author to undertake (as we earnestly exhort him to do) a new and abridged edition of his work, we should humbly hint at some improvements, along with which and its present merit as an extensive compilation, it might become a popular and valuable performance. A main fault that pervades the whole, is the monotonous cry of *miserere* for the poor Irish; and, above all, for the unhappy and harmless Roman Catholics. The minuter errors, which run like veins through successive pages and chapters, are but diverging branches of this general and intolerable blunder. At every interval of narration, the tenderness of the reader is afflicted with those appeals to his heart; if he opens Mr Plowden at any given æra, he is sure to be assailed with this strain of lamentation; and if he shuts

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the book with full faith in its contents, it must be with a flood of tears. In history, as in the real scenes of many-coloured life, there is always room for a variety of moral remarks; and the historian ought unquestionably to provide himself with a considerable assortment, upon the supposition that the reader cannot moralize for himself. But here we have no remark but one, and, whether true or false, it is exhibited without relief or variety. Pity the poor Irish, is the only note in the gamut of his observations: it comes in like the melancholy cry of a wild sea-bird, that may keep us in low spirits for a while, but must ultimately lull us asleep. Indeed, the late hour to which our pensive historian will necessarily detain his peruser, will make it necessary to take some such refreshment, before he can get through volumes of such a size; and the reader of Mr Plowden will exclaim, in the words of Æneas, 'Quis talia fando temperet à lacrymis? at jam nox humida cœlo descendit suadentque cadentia sidera somnum.'

Another slight objection to the present state of Mr Plowden's performance, is the quantity of special pleading which it contains; a fault into which men of the law are peculiarly prone to fall; but in which the genuine historian seldom indulges, except in a foot-note or appendix. It is with perfect deference to Mr Plowden's general abilities as an author, that we offer those remarks; and with full assurance, that his readers will still respect in him (after all deduction) that honest zeal which has prompted him to plead the cause of his injured fellow believers, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and the independent spirit with which he has stood forward in the cause of justice and humanity. A better age, we trust, is near at hand, for the interest of that class of society whose cause he has taken up. But it is not our business to plead in their behalf.

The Historical Review of Ireland was undertaken (as we learn from the author's posthuminous preface) under the auspices of Mr Addington—'Nil desperandum Teucro duce.' The author had been able, from his knowledge of Irish affairs, as early as 1792, to predict to the then minister, the consequences that would result from refusing any longer to accede to the claims of the Catholics; and, as the opposers of Irish emancipation, and the recallers of Lord Fitzwilliam, are now generally allowed to have had their share in the merit of certain consequences that followed close upon the heels of that refusal, it is but fair to give Mr Plowden credit for sagacity in this prediction. Lord Fitzwilliam did undoubtedly pay the same compliment to our cabinet measures, in foretelling a civil war in Ireland to be the certain result of disappointing three millions of subjects in a promise

and order of theſe entertainments; from whence we may collect the earlieſt traces of heraldry that occur in hiſtory, and deduce that partiality for family diſtinctions, which to this day forms a ſtriking part of the Iriſh national characteriſtic. In order to preſerve order and regularity in the great number and variety of the members who met together on theſe occaſions, when the banquet was ready to be ſerved up, the ſhield-bearers of the princes and other members of the convention delivered in their ſhields and targets, which were readily diſtinguiſhed by the coats of arms emblazoned upon them: theſe were arranged by the grand marſhal and principal herald, and hung upon the walls on the right ſide of the tables; and upon entering the apartments each member took his ſeat under his reſpective ſhield or target without the ſlighteſt diſturbance. The firſt ſix days were not ſpent in diſorderly revelling and exceſs, but particularly devoted to the examination and ſettlement of the hiſtorical antiquities and annals of the kingdom: they were publicly rehearſed and privately inſpected by a ſelect committee of the moſt learned members. When they had paſſed the approbation of the aſſembly, they were tranſcribed into the authentic chronicle of the nation, which was called the regiſter or pſalter of *Tarah*. This ſingular caution, to prevent the introduction of any falſity or miſrepreſentation into their national hiſtory, would have furniſhed poſterity with the moſt authentic and intereſting relations of this ancient and extraordinary kingdom, had not the Danes, in their frequent ravages and invaſions of Ireland, during the 9th and 10th centuries, burnt all the books and monuments of antiquity that fell in their way. We have ſtill more to lament the ſhameful and fatal policy of our anceſtors, who, from the firſt invaſion of Henry Plantagenet down to the reign of James the Firſt, took all poſſible means of art and force to deſtroy whatever writings had by chance or care been preſerved from the deſtructive hands of the Danes. They imagined, that the peruſal of ſuch works kept alive the ſpirit of the natives, and kindled them to rebellion, by reminding them of the power, independency, and proweſs of their anceſtors. The public mind upon this ſubject has been long changed: two centuries have gone by ſince Sir John Davies ſaid, that, "had this people been granted the benefit of the Engliſh laws, it would goe infinitely farther towards ſecuring their obedience, than the deſtruction of all the books and laws ever publiſhed in this kingdom." We have happily lived to ſee a legiſlative union of the two countries, which will, it is truſted, by the natural workings of the Britiſh conſtitution, go further in three years towards the deſtruction of national prejudice and diſaffection, than a mere communication of laws did in three centuries.' *

The ſplendid efforts of the Iriſh literati under Ollam-Fodlah, are only generally noticed by Mr Plowden. That ſo few of their

* 'In the middle of the laſt century, Biſhop Berkeley obſerved, "though it is the true intereſt of both nations to become one people, yet neither ſeem apprized of this truth." Warn. Hiſt. p. 30.

their eſſays, hiſtories, and learned effuſions have come down to the preſent generation, is accounted for by the wicked irruptions of the Danes in the ninth and tenth centuries. In this apology for ſuch abundant ſcantineſs of aboriginal Iriſh literature, there is ſomething that ſtrongly reminds us of the Iriſh advertiſement: 'Loſt on Saturday laſt, but the loſer does not know where, an empty ſack, with a cheeſe in it. On the ſack, the letters P. G. are marked; but ſo completely worn out, as not to be legible.'

The Iriſh undoubtedly had abundance of literature in their early ages. But the Danes came among them; and as the Danes were great deſtroyers, *ergo* they deſtroyed a number of Iriſh MSS., of which a veſtige does not now remain. How periſhable is human glory, even literary glory, which plumes itſelf on the immortality of mental exiſtence! A thouſand years hence, perhaps, the luminaries of the preſent age will be as little known to poſterity, as the wits and philoſophers of the pſalter of Tarah are to us; and truly, if the document of their exiſtence be as ambiguous, we need not blame our deſcendants for incredulity. With regard to the Danes, however, who were ſo miſchievous as to burn all the libraries of the old Iriſh ſçavans, it appears that many writings in their northern penmanſhip have been found in Ireland; and as there can be no doubt that ſuch writings are the offspring of Iriſh genius, though written in a foreign alphabet, it appears that thoſe evil-minded invaders either were the writing-maſters of the Iriſh, or took notorial copies of ſome of their MSS. before they committed them to the flames. In addition to Colonel Vallancy's diſcovery of the old Iriſh lines in the Pœnulus of Plautus, Mr Plowden adduces as proof of the Carthaginian origin of the Iriſh, the ſimilarity of certain pieces of armour dug up at Cannæ, to thoſe which are found in the bogs of Ireland. If it were even poſſible to prove that thoſe pieces of armour are not Roman (and as the Romans fell at Cannæ in pretty conſiderable numbers, ſuch a ſuppoſition is not to be excluded), ſtill we think it a mean compromiſe, in Iriſh antiquarians, to derive their origin from the Carthaginians. Why not derive the Carthaginians from the Iriſh?—the one difficulty is not a whit greater than the other.

The Engliſh hiſtory of Ireland opens with Pope Adrian's famous bull; an article, by the way, which ſeems to have thriven and increaſed prodigiouſly in this fertile ſoil. In this bull his Holineſs has the kindneſs to make over all Ireland in a preſent to his dear ſon in Chriſt, Henry the II. of Ireland; and farther, he enjoins his dear ſon Henry to go over to Ireland, and root out the foul wickedneſs of the Iriſh, not forgetting to exact Pe-

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ter's pence in behalf of his holy mother church. The Irish, unwilling to pay an assessed tax to this newly appointed officer of the Pope's revenue, and having their own clergy to maintain already, independent of Peter's pence, resisted their invaders; but, whether from an improper defence bill, or a bad supply of volunteers and militia, or for want of a great man of the law to enforce volunteering, their defence did not succeed; and the English established themselves, never to be expelled. A handful of English having rooted themselves in a district denominated the Pale, exercised a most savage authority over the conquered as well as the surrounding natives. It appears that, for many centuries after the conquest, it was accounted no crime to kill 'a mere Irishman;' and that every pretext was used to encourage the extirpation of that unhappy indigenous breed. Rewards were even held out, as we should do to lessen the propagation of foxes or weasels. The Englishman of the Pale was allowed to put to death every thief, or alien, or mere Irishman (for the names were used promiscuously and synonymously) that he met with; and the captor was to enact, in one summary performance, the part of thief-catcher, judge, jury, and executioner. As it was easy to distinguish the native Irishman by the costume of his country; so the very dress, or rather the nakedness of the wretched native, became his death warrant; and for the crime of being taken with hair on his upper lip (the practice of shaving it being confined to the English), the Irishman usually had his head cut off. To avoid this disagreeable treatment, the native septs flew to arms, and fought as well as men, so wretchedly disciplined, and so divided among themselves, could be expected to fight: but of all the glory and chivalry, and boasted improvement, and regular government of the early Irish, not a vestige remains at this period of their history. They disappear at the æra of English invasion, like fairy scenes at the cock-crow, and leave us fairly to doubt if they ever existed, except in the brains of Irish antiquarians.

The period of the Reformation opens a third grand æra in Irish history. 'It has been too prevalent,' Mr Plowden observes, 'to lay indiscriminately to the account of that great innovation in our national church, the various struggles, revolutions, and convulsions that afterwards happened in the state, an error pregnant with incalculable mischief.' If it be an error, however, to ascribe those convulsions in the state of Ireland to religion alone, it certainly would be an equal error to exclude it altogether. But although it was the mutual hatred of the nations, and the savage spirit of the Irish chieftains, alternately submitting and revolting, as they were subdued or provoked anew by the race within the Pale (a race who are described as *ipsis hybernis Hyberniores*),

*larniores*), that kept alive eternal hoſtility; yet, if ſelfiſhneſs and pride inflicted reciprocal wounds upon the Iriſh, it was religious animoſity that made thoſe wounds rankle and grow incurable:—if the former cauſes gave vigour to the bow, the latter imparted venom to the ſhaft. The peculiar effects of the revolution, indeed, appear to have been to give a general, inſtead of a deſultory aſpect, to the civil commotions of Ireland. It converted their hoſtilities, from the feuds and inroads of families, carried on againſt the diſtricts of each other, into broad and extenſive war. It was now the war of a Catholic colony againſt its Proteſtant government, as, excepting a few adherents of the Engliſh government, the whole iſland ſeemed to be armed in defence of the faith of St Patrick.

The diſcontents of civil war were aggravated during the reign of Elizabeth, by a ſevere ſyſtem of religious intolerance. Natural as it might be for a Proteſtant government to hate that religion, which had ſo lately threatened deſolation to the whole Proteſtant world, yet the ſufferings of Ireland during Elizabeth are not to be excuſed upon any principle of juſtice or neceſſity. How far the miſdemeanours of her deputy Lord Fitzwilliam ought to be imputed to his royal miſtreſs, may indeed be queſtioned; but that Elizabeth knew well, from perſonal correſpondence with official perſons in Ireland, the ſad ſtate of her native ſubjects, is eſtabliſhed by records of the cleareſt nature. In a MS. letter, which is ſtill preſerved in Trinity College, Dublin, from an officer of the name of Lee to Queen Elizabeth, an open deſcription is given, of which we cannot doubt the authenticity; but of ſuch cruelties, as we ſhould have rather expected to find in the hiſtory of a Turkiſh, than of an Engliſh province. We refer the reader, who wiſhes to ſee this paper, to No. XI. of Mr Plowden's appendix.

The bitter fruits of oppreſſion appeared very ſoon and diſtinctly in the ſubſequent hiſtory of Ireland. Rebellion produced confiſcation. Proſcription and poverty drove the loſer of his houſe and eſtate into deſpair and inſurrection; and the execution of the rebel only rooted deeper in the hearts of the ſpectators a deſire to avenge their ſympathies and their wrongs. It is to theſe acting and reacting cauſes, to the cheriſhed and ſoftered ſpirit of indignation, increaſing and propagating its ſtrength from one generation to another, till fed by every feeling of national and perſonal pride, it grew to be the main paſſion, and as it were the religion of a barbarous man, that we are to look for the terrible event, which, at no diſtant period, laid the iſland deſolate with blood.

The reign of the firſt Charles preſents a ſtill ſtronger proof againſt Mr Plowden's inſinuation, that religious differences were not the chief ſources of the troubles of Ireland after the period

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of the Reformation. According to Mr Plowden's account of this reign, the ſole ſpring of diſcord was, the double conduct of Charles, and the bigotry of Ormond's hatred againſt the Catholics. It would be little to the purpoſe, upon this queſtion, to exculpate Charles from the crime (to call it by its worſt name) of giving a double commiſſion to Ormond and Glamorgan; but, at all events, whatever were the faults of Charles, his Lord-Lieutenant is impeached by no facts, and only by the ſuſpicions of his Catholic enemies. He had (we may concede to Mr Plowden) no very cordial affection for the Iriſh Catholics; but it was not the hatred of an oppreſſor, but of one who ſeverely ſmarted under their perjury and their breach of treaties. He was ſent to ſubdue them as traitors, after the horrible maſſacre of 1641; and, when he had laid them at his feet, he wiſhed to grant them generous terms; for, if we make allowance for the religious fury of the times, the terms which he offered them were extremely liberal. He wiſhed to make a league with them, and to bring in their whole ſtrength and enthuſiaſm to the aid of the royal cauſe. But Ormond's plans, and the peace of Ireland, were ſacrificed to the influence of the Iriſh prieſts, principally to the intrigues of Mr Dominic Fanning, and the fulminations of the Pope's Nuncio. Mr Dominic afterwards exhibited upon that inſtrument of deſtruction, to which all wicked prieſts ſhould be exalted. Unfortunately, the Pope's Nuncio was not brought to the ſame exaltation. But, is it poſſible to blame Ormond for the breach of the treaty of 1645, even although we could excuſe the Catholic confederates for breach of faith, on their plea of Glamorgan's commiſſion? Or, is there a ſhadow of proof, as Mr Plowden aſſerts, that Ormond connived at the treachery of his Sovereign? As to the private character of Ormond, it is given much more amiably, and in much truer colours, in the words of the venerable Clarendon, than in the work before us. For an anſwer to that unfounded charge of corruption on the Marquis's character, in the affair of ſurrendering Dublin, which was originally raiſed againſt him by his contemporary enemies, and has been ſince taken up by Mr Plowden, we refer the reader to Clarendon's Hiſtorical Review of Ireland, at p. 71, & 72.

Over the ſucceeding reign, under which Clarendon filled the place of Ormond as the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and the Catholic commander Lord Tyrconnel came over to England to perſuade his Sovereign to break through the act of ſettlement, for the purpoſe of putting the power and patronage of Ireland into the hands of his fellow-believers, Mr. Plowden paſſes in a brief and epigrammatic manner. At certain

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stages of his pilgrimage through a long history, the writer is often impelled to drive rapidly on, or invited to delay and expatiate, according as the scenes which lye before him promise cheer and entertainment to his civil and religious opinions. In the glorious Revolution of England, there is nothing hospitable to the wishes of a Catholic, and nothing, indeed, exhilarating to the feelings of an Irish historian who views that event in its immediate relation to Ireland alone. The words of Mr Burke are introduced by Mr Plowden on this occasion; * and no words, certainly, can have more weight and authority than those of that great man, who felt so deeply, understood so thoroughly, and pleaded so powerfully, the interests of Ireland. When he came forth in the proud maturity of his powers, 'like a giant to run his race,' his efforts and his eloquence in behalf of Irish commerce and emancipation, were such as should consecrate his memory as a patriot, and endear it to his native country. If he lived to be the prophet and apostle of a faith less congenial to liberty, let it be remembered what extraordinary circumstances of the moral world produced that obliquity of his genius from its once more liberal inclination. If he erred, it was the wandering of a mind dazzled with its own splendours, and which seemed, durst we use the similitude, like the throne of Milton's heaven, '*dark with excessive bright.*'



* 'By the total reduction of the kingdom of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and, in a great measure too, of the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effects of their fears, but of their security. They who carried on this system looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for their support in their acts of power. They were quite certain that no complaints of the natives would be heard on this side of the water with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries only served to augment their torture. Machines which could answer their purposes so well, must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed, at that time, in England, the double name of the complainants, Irish and Papists, (it would be hard to say singly which was the most odious), shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed, in all its force, to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular, just in proportion as it tended to harass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon as enemies to God and man, and indeed as a race of bigoted savages who were a disgrace to human nature itself.' *Burke's Letter to Sir Her. Lang. p.* 44.

The Britiſh Revolution brought to Ireland a conqueror of mild and tolerant principles, but whoſe better intentions unfortunately yielded to the anticatholic zeal of his Engliſh Parliament, who ſeemed to think there was no other way of making faithful ſubjects of the Iriſh Catholics, than by yoking them with penal ſtatutes and a ſyſtem of rigour.

'However glorious in the cauſe of civil freedom (ſays our author) were the exertions of our anceſtors at the Revolution, yet the unbiaſſed mind muſt neceſſarily doubt the purity of their patriotiſm, when it contemplates the Engliſh Parliament and Government oppoſing that very liberty in Ireland which they ſo zealouſly ſupported in England. The fermentation between England and Ireland became alarming. It was no longer a conteſt between a conqueror and an oppreſſed people, reclaiming their natural, civil, or religious rights. The bulk of the nation was ſo diſpirited and reduced under their ſufferings, that their feeble moans were ſcarcely heard on their own ſhores, much leſs acroſs St George's Channel: they exiſted only as the paſſive objects of perſecution. The conflict was with that very Proteſtant aſcendancy in Ireland, which it had been the primary policy of the Engliſh cabinet for the laſt century to eſtabliſh, and which now only had been effectually accompliſhed. It was impoſſible that civil liberty ſhould make the progreſs it did in England, and that Ireland ſhould be more than inſenſible of its bleſſings. The Iriſh legiſlature was called upon to ſurrender and renounce thoſe very rights which the Engliſh parliament had ſo glorioufly aſſerted. Mr Molyneux, one of the members for the univerſity of Dublin, a very popular character, was the moſt forward in the cauſe of Iriſh patriotiſm. In 1698, he publiſhed his famous book, intituled, "*The Caſe of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England ſtated,*" which greatly increaſed his reputation, influence, and popularity, within and without the parliament of Ireland.

'This book was written in a ſtrain of independent diſcuſſion and ſpirited aſſertion, to which Ireland had hitherto been a ſtranger. The author conſidered how Ireland originally became annexed to the crown of England; how far this connexion was founded in conqueſt; what were the true and lawful rights of the conquerors over the conquered; and whether thoſe rights, whatever they might be, extended to poſterity indefinitely; and, finally, what conceſſions had been made to Ireland, and what were the opinions of the learned who had handled the ſubject. He cloſed with ſtrong inferences in ſupport of a perfect and reciprocal independence of each kingdom upon the other. As, by the firſt act which the Iriſh legiſlature paſſed under William and Mary, they had eſpecially recognized, that "the kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial crown of England, and by the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom (Ireland), was declared to be juſtly and rightfully depending upon and belonging, and for ever united to the ſame," it was clearly impoſſible to reconcile the theory of perfect independence with the practice. The very exigencies of human policy required, that

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the predominancy of the power of England should, throughout every department of Irish government and legislation, command an ascendancy, against which the only remedy lay in an incorporate union. With reason, then, did the late Lord Clare assure the House of Peers on the 10th of February 1800, "that our ancestors saw the seeds of disunion in the connexion which at this time subsisted between Ireland and England."

'The English House of Commons took up the gauntlet with a high hand. A committee was appointed to examine Mr Molyneux's book, and to report such passages as they should find denying the authority of the parliament of England, and also what proceedings had taken place in Ireland, that might occasion the said pamphlet. On the 22d of June 1698, the committee reported the obnoxious passages, and stated, that on inquiry into the proceedings in Ireland which might occasion the pamphlet, they found in a bill transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, during the late parliament there, intituled, "A Bill for the better Security of her Majesty's Person and Government," that the whole of an act passed in England for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths, was re-enacted with some alterations; and that, in the same bill, the crown of Ireland was styled the imperial crown of Ireland. Upon this report, the house resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that the book published by Mr Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the King and Parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependance that Ireland had and ought to have upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They resolved also, "that the bill lately transmitted from Ireland, whereby an act of parliament made in England expressly to bind Ireland is pretended to be re-enacted, had given occasion and encouragement to forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book." The house, in a body, presented an address to the King, enlarging, in terms of great indignation, on the book and its pernicious assertions, and on the dangerous tendency of the proceedings of the Irish parliament, beseeching his Majesty to exert his royal prudence to prevent their being drawn into example, and to take all necessary care that the laws which directed and restrained the parliament of Ireland in their actings, should not be evaded; and concluding with an assurance of their ready concurrence and assistance, in a parliamentary way, to preserve and maintain the dependance and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of England. The King answered, "that he would take care that what was complained of should be prevented and redressed as the Commons desired." Thus were the parliaments of the two countries at issue.' (Vol. I. p. 202—205.

The firm consolidation and sway of the English party in Ireland, is dated by Mr Plowden from the commencement of the reign we have just mentioned. From this time, the Churchmen

and Presbyterians drew more nearly and cordially to each other, against those whom they styled their common enemies, *i. e.* the Catholics. And yet, illiberal as their Protestant conquerors might have been, and dreadful as that *imperium in imperio*, the government of Dublin castle, certainly was, we may see through the darkest descriptions of Mr Plowden, that the Irish began, immediately after the Revolution, to catch and embrace the enlightened principles of the sister kingdom, and to cherish a love of liberty and of letters akin to the civilization of England. By that Gordian entanglement of good and evil which is visible in all human events, the domination of England over Ireland has introduced, at particular periods, more than the common desolations of conquest and oppression; but if we look to the progress of Irish civilization, numerical increase, industry, and the interminable vistas of improvement which are open to her future days, he must be a bold calculator of possibilities who will assert, that Ireland would have risen to a better state than her present, under any native and separate government. It is but two hundred years since our good King James the First was obliged to force his Irish subjects to harness their horses at the plough; and so obstinately were the accomplished descendants of Milesius attached to the system of their own Board of Agriculture, that it required very severe penalties to keep them from tying the plough to the horse's tail. And, much as we may censure the subsequent oppressions of the Catholics, when penalties were become as unnecessary as they were impolitic and unjust, yet, so dreadful must have been the reversed picture of events, had James the Second triumphed over his Protestant opponents in Ireland, and secured, by Catholic loyalty, the independence of his Irish kingdom, that no friend to human nature can lament his defeat. We do not accuse our author of doing so: but we are astonished at his unqualified assertion, that James, after playing the tyrant and the coward in England; after abjuring, as well as breaking the British Constitution, was still *de jure* and *de facto* King of Ireland. He was not King of one inch of British dominion, after breaking his coronation oath. He had not two coronation oaths, one for England and another for Ireland: he had but one, which he broke; and, in so doing, abjured the crown of both kingdoms. A King of England who could do so, was not to be suffered to erect the standard of arbitrary power at the head of any portion of his subjects: he was to be rooted out of Ireland, if he fled there to maintain the divine rights of tyrants and of Popes, as much as if he had fled to the island of Jamaica to fight for the divine right of planters to burn and devour their fellow-creatures.

Popery continued to be dreaded in England, when it might have

have been ſecurely hated and deſpiſed. Under the reign of Queen Anne, that prevailing paſſion dictated the ſevere penal laws againſt the Catholics, of which Mr Plowden, it muſt be owned with juſtice, complains; but the ſeverities of our forefathers, if denied an apology, ought to be traced to their proper cauſe. The memory of the Iriſh maſſacre; the memory of the French maſſacre of Proteſtants; the gun-powder plot, and the late tyrannies of James, made people of the reformed perſuaſion naturally apprehenſive for their ſafety, ſhould the holy mother church ever ariſe from her overthrow to be the miſtreſs of theſe realms. It was impoſſible for a pious Chriſtian, with the lanthorn of Guy Fawkes in his imagination, or freſh from peruſing the bill of fare of the inquiſition, not to anticipate the carving and cooking of human fleſh that was likely to take place, if the old lady of Babylon ſhould once more ſit down to her wonted entertainments. At this day of advanced improvement, when popery has learned humility from defeat, and Catholics themſelves have grown tolerant, we might not, perhaps, have fed the mother church with all the dainty refinements of her ancient perſecution; but it is probable ſhe would have long continued to regale herſelf with the plain roaſt and boil of Smithfield and St Bartholomew. Popery, however, like the lion with his nails pared and his teeth drawn, grows harmleſs in a ſtate of ſubjection. 'Babylon was now fallen,' aſſuredly to riſe no more; and hence the injuſtice of proſcribing a religion, when its bigotry had become no longer a proper object of apprehenſion. Retaliation is unworthy of men, when clemency can conquer by reconciling. Who can hear without horror, (as is related by our author, and, though diſputed, not diſapproved), that, as late as 1723, an act was paſſed by the Parliament of Ireland for catching and caſtrating all Iriſh prieſts, as if that unhappy race of animals had been capable of perpetuating their faith and their ſpecies by one and the ſame means.

It is curious to trace the progreſs and decline of that dread and deteſtation of popery, which once made ſo great a figure in our hiſtory. For a century after the Reformation, it ſeems to have electrified the whole Proteſtant community, and exerted its influence even over the moſt enlightened ſtateſmen. It fell next, by the laws of gravitation, upon the leſs exalted intellects of aldermen and country ſquires, who uſed to toaſt, in large bumpers, the downfal of the Pope and Pretender. By a farther declenſion, it was afterwards found to ſettle among genuine methodiſts and devout old women; and, ſo late as the Popiſh riots of 1780, a number of enlightened theologians, the ſailors of Leith and Wapping, ſallied out upon the reſpective capitals of the two kingdoms, to drive hereſy from its quarters, with cud-

gels in their hands. Laſt of all, about the beginning of the preſent century, Mr Addington, doing gentle violence to his own humble ambition, turned the prime miniſter out of his place for preſuming to emancipate the Papiſts of Ireland!

Through the three Hanoverian reigns of his hiſtory, which, in point of volume, form by far the moſt conſiderable part of the book, our author purſues the conteſts of the Iriſh oppoſitioniſts with the miniſterial majority in Parliament, with a fervent partiality to the former ſide. Of the ſtate of the Catholics during the reign of Primate Boulter's influence, he gives the following picture:

'The Catholics, broken down by oppreſſion, ſcarcely claimed the rights of exiſtence, and were occaſionally made the paſſive inſtruments of the other parties, according to the exigencies of their ſeveral temporary projects, and were too often made objects of new rigour and perſecution, for the ſole purpoſe of withdrawing the attention of their opponents from meaſures which the particular parties wiſhed to carry. Several meaſures of the Britiſh cabinet with reference to Ireland, immediately tended to convince the whole of the Iriſh nation, that the proſperity, welfare, and felicity of that kingdom, had but little ſway in determining their conduct towards it. Hence the Tory party, which ſtill perſiſted in their old principles, to reſiſt the Whig adminiſtration, being joined by thoſe who threw their eyes on the real ſtate of their country, and exerted their efforts to advance its proſperity, the whole of the old and the new party acquired (and perhaps not undeſervedly) the common appellation of Patriots. This was the party which Primate Boulter always affected to term the diſcontented, and not unfrequently the King's enemies; and of whoſe ſucceſsful oppoſition to the meaſures of thoſe whom his Grace termed *the King's ſervants, and conſequently friends*, he complained.'

The loyalty of the Iriſh Catholics during two ſucceſſive rebellions againſt the family of Hanover, is urged by Mr Plowden as a proof of their claims to the indulgence of a Proteſtant government. During the firſt days of the latter Sovereign, the affairs of Ireland are drawn in the darkeſt colours. The memorable ſcarcity of the years 1728 and 1729 was aggravated by the ſtagnation of trade and manufactures. Wretchedneſs, riots and emigration, formed the chief events in the hiſtory of Ireland during theſe and many ſucceeding years; but the latter part of the reign preſents a fairer ſcene. The triumph of a native Iriſh and patriotic oppoſition on a queſtion of great national magnitude, breaks in like the day-ſpring of Iriſh independence on the middle of the laſt century. An honourable teſtimony is given by Mr Plowden to the tolerating diſpoſitions of George the Second and his miniſter Walpole; and here the reader receives, at laſt, the bleſſed intelligence, that his unhappy friends the Catholics had a temporary

rary breathing from their ſufferings. It was not only under the halcyon days of Lord Cheſterfield, but alſo under the Dorſet and Devonſhire adminiſtrations, that a milder ſyſtem was begun to be obſerved.

'We are now arrived' (ſays Mr Plowden) 'at that period of the Iriſh hiſtory at which Mr Burke obſerved the Engliſh in Ireland began to be domiciliated, and to recollect that they had a country. The Engliſh intereſt at firſt, by faint and almoſt inſenſible degrees, but at length openly and avowedly, became an independent Iriſh intereſt, full as independent as it could ever have been in the perſons of the native Iriſh. The new Lord Lieutenant, when he met the Parliament in 1747, complimented them on his Majeſty's continuance of his paternal regard to a dutiful and loyal people, and recommended a continuance of the ſame good conduct and vigilance which, under God, had prevented the communication of ſo dangerous an infection (*i. e.* the Scotiſh rebellion) to that kingdom.'

From the above period through the reſt of George the Second's, and a great part of his preſent Majeſty's reign, the hiſtory of Mr Plowden appears to us amuſing in matter, and animated with the juſt zeal of a conſtitutional Whig. When he conducts us to the important victory of the Iriſh orator Grattan over a venal and arbitrary intereſt in the Iriſh Parliament, and to the events which have ſince been denominated the Iriſh Revolution, viz. the extended eſtabliſhment of the volunteer aſſociations, and the declaration of legiſlative independence by the Iriſh Parliament; the progreſs of his narrative, though impeded by materials either heavily ſuperfluous, or by no means ſufficiently abridged, is yet regular and perſpicuous in arrangement.

The reſt of the hiſtory, allotting nearly a thouſand quarto pages to the later years of his preſent Majeſty, is more diffuſe than copious. Copies of letters, addreſſes and reſolutions; copies of heads of bills; copies of entire debates in Parliament; liſts of voters, and tranſcripts of proteſts, with ſundry formulas of the confidential oaths, &c. of Orangemen, Defenders, and Peep-of-day Boys, compoſe this voluminous ſketch of the affairs of Ireland for fifteen years back. Such a compilation may be uſeful as a ſource of reference or information to future hiſtorians, but will never anſwer the inſtructive and dignified uſes, any more than it can deſerve the exalted name of *Hiſtory*.

ART. XIII. *Surgical Observations, containing a Classification of Tumours, with Cases to illustrate the History of each Species; an Account of Diseases which strikingly resemble the Venereal Disease; and various Cases illustrative of different Surgical Subjects.* By John Abernethy, F. R. S. Honourary Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, and of the Medical Societies of Paris, Philadelphia, &c. Assistant Surgeon to St Bartholomew's Hospital, and Teacher of Anatomy and Surgery. 8vo. pp. 263. Longman & Rees, London. 1804.

WHOEVER thinks of the importance of the science of medicine, and has seen, in practice, the baneful effects of imperfect theories or mistaken principles supported in the writings of medical men, must enter into the consideration of these subjects with some fervency of discussion; and if no personal animosity lurk under an apparent zeal, the public ought to regard, with great indulgence, an ardour, without which the science can neither be improved (so many and disagreeable are the obstacles) nor the practice of the profession followed with sufficient attention to the patient. On the present occasion, where we see in an author the utmost plainness in manner, the greatest zeal for the improvement of surgery, and an uncommon degree of success in this laudable pursuit, there can be no place for severity of criticism. But we are sure, that Mr Abernethy will be better pleased with a free inquiry into the subject of his work, than he would have been with obsequious and unqualified praise. We make use of his own words, when we say, 'that he is not unwilling to lay himself open to criticism and censure when he has the view of bringing a difficult and interesting subject before the public;' though we would observe, that censure is a term which can never be applied with justice to the author of these 'Observations.'

The first part of the present volume contains a treatise on Tumours. Here the reader will be disappointed, if he expect a very satisfactory arrangement. The manner in which the subject is treated, confirms us in the idea, that Mr Abernethy is one of those authors who are more anxious to appear original, than careful to reduce their remarks into their proper place in the general system of knowledge. But on this subject we shall be more particular immediately.

He next treats of diseases which resemble Syphilis. This will not fail to interest many; and occupies a large proportion of the volume.

The rest of the work consists chiefly of a kind of appendix to Mr Abernethy's former works. The subjects are—Injuries of the Head; Aneurism; the Operation of Puncturing the Bladder; the

to

*tic Douloureuse;* the Removal of Looſe Subſtances from the Knee Joint.

We ſhall not endeavour to extract the matter of theſe Obſervations, to enrich our Review, and ſuperſede the peruſal of the work; but, ſtrenuouſly recommending the book to the attention of our readers, ſhall confine our criticiſm to ſome of the moſt prominent and characteriſtic doctrines and caſes which it contains.

I. To one unacquainted with the frequency and the danger of tumours in the human body, the principal ſubject of the preſent volume will not perhaps appear very intereſting; but, in the mind of a ſurgeon, the ſubject has great importance. He knows how much tumours are neglected in their firſt ſtage, how the patient reconciles himſelf to their gradual increaſe, how full of danger they are in the end, and to how miſerable and lingering a death many of them inevitably lead. He will therefore look forward with eagerneſs to the peruſal of theſe eſſays, as likely to reſolve many of the difficulties which embarraſs him in practice.

Before we enter upon this part of the publication before us, we ſhall ſhortly explain what, according to our conceptions, a treatiſe on tumours ſhould embrace.

The ſubject preſents an extenſive field for obſervation; much is yet to be done by anatomical inveſtigation; there is great ſcope for phyſiological diſcuſſion; and much remains to be ſettled by the reſults of extenſive practice. Hitherto, the ſmall number of well marked caſes has ſerved only to open new views of facts, and further ſources of uneaſineſs and apprehenſion. In the preſent ſtate of our knowledge, (even after the peruſal of the work before us), the obſervations relative to the ſtructure of tumours are not ſufficiently minute to ſanction a perfect and ſcientific arrangement of them on the principle of their internal ſtructure. While, therefore, we acknowledge the merit of the preſent publication, we conſider the imperfections, of which we are bound to take notice, as imputable, not ſo much to the author, as to the general neglect in which the ſubject has been left, and the want of ſufficient materials for a leſs exceptionable ſyſtem.

In inveſtigating the nature of tumours, three diviſions of the ſubject appear to be neceſſary. *Firſt,* The external characters are to be ſtudied: and by theſe external characters only can tumours be uſefully arranged. Theſe characters are diſtinguiſhable in the form, conſiſtence, and colour of tumours; in their elaſticity or hardneſs; in the degree of looſeneſs or adheſion of the ſkin which covers them; in the degree of inflammation, venous vaſcularity, diſcolouration of their ſurface, or ulceration; in the pain or ſenſation in the part affected; in the conſtitutional peculiarities; the time of life;

life; the slowness or rapidity of the growth of the tumours, &c. An arrangement founded on this principle, would make our information immediately applicable to practice. The *second* division of the subject would convey a knowledge of the internal structure and the peculiarities in the vascular state of the part; which, ingrafted as it were on the living body, retains a function somewhat independent. Under this head of the inquiry, the nature of those tumours which we have been previously made acquainted with, from the external appearance, would be investigated, many unforeseen dangers would be discovered, and a rational foundation laid for practice, and for improvement in knowledge. A *third* head of the inquiry would form the most indispensable part of the work—including the connexion between the anatomy and the subject of operations, the means to be employed in the extirpation of tumours, and the occurrences apt to embarrass the surgeon during operation.

These being our ideas of what might have been done, the ground of our principal objection to the present paper will readily appear. The work has unquestionably great merit, and contains many good practical remarks; but we feel ourselves called upon to make a very free comment on the foundation of our author's arrangement of tumours, and on some of his insulated cases and observations.

Let us not be considered as too eager antagonists to Mr Abernethy, because we venture to arrest him on the threshold, and challenge even his first definition. We oppose him in the very outset, because the principles which he there assumes embarrass him throughout his progress, and involve him in manifold difficulties and contradictions. We find our author defining tumours to be 'such swellings as arise from some new production which made no part of the original composition of the body.' It seems to us to be a fundamental error to found a definition upon opinion merely; on a theory which may be delusive, and certainly will not be universally received. Mr Abernethy is deceived if he considers this as a definition, and equally mistaken if he conceives that the character here given distinguishes the permanent tumour from an occasional swelling.

But we do not apprehend that the error rests with the definition; for we are immediately involved in a very difficult inquiry into the growth of pendulous tumours. The author places himself here under the guardianship and authority of Mr Hunter; and explains the formation of a pendulous tumour in the peritoneum, by supposing that the blood having first been thrown out and coagulated, the vessels had afterwards shot into it, and deposited the matter which formed the tumour. 'There can be little doubt' (he continues)

tinues) 'but that tumours form every where in the same manner. The coagulable part of the blood being either accidentally effused or deposited in consequence of disease, becomes afterwards an organised and living part, by the growth of the adjacent vessels and nerves into it.'

In opposition to this account of the formation of tumours, we offer these remarks. A tumour is produced by a change and increase of the vascular action of a part; in consequence of which, there is either an accumulation of matter similar to the original conformation of the part, or matter is formed and secreted by this centre of diseased action, not only unusual in quantity, but different in nature, and entirely foreign to the original matter of the body. In illustration of this, let us suppose, that an ill conditioned sore is allowed to remain for some time on the head, or in a limb; we find the glands, in the course of the lymphatics, become painful, and swell; by and by they diminish in size, and cease to be painful; but they remain hard or indurated. Although these circumstances are in time forgotten, the natural function of the gland is destroyed. It is no longer pervious to the lymph; a new action is gradually ingendered; it becomes painful, and swells a second time; it forms, in fact, the nucleus of a diseased action, and the gland rises into a tumour. Mr Abernethy will say, that in such an instance as this, the gland has become the matrix in which a tumour is formed; and thus a very ridiculous question arises—whether this be the same gland, or a new part? We presume that the change of action was the commencement of the disease; and, as the effect is evidently produced by the action of the vessels of the gland, it is surely wrong to define a tumour to be a new part. If Mr Abernethy means that the fluids or solids, effused or secreted in the interstices of the original gland, and which really form the bulk of the tumour, consist of new and foreign matter produced by this new action of the vessels, we may readily allow the explanation to be true in some instances. But how is such a fact, in the form of a definition, to help us in distinguishing betwixt a tumour and a simple swelling, or such extravasation as may be produced by inflammation or a bruise? how does it 'exclude all simple enlargements of bone, joints, glands,' &c.?

In truth, we shall often see a hand, or even a whole limb, when bruised and highly inflamed, degenerate from its natural action, and form a mass of disease. What, for example, is the hand painted in Ruysch's XIV. table (*Epist. Anat.* prob. IV.), but the hand degenerated into an irregular tumour? Unless we deduce the commencement of the tumour from the time of the change in the natural action we shall find the utmost difficulty in

in determining in what a tumour is to be distinguished from simple swelling. We should define a tumour to be a change of vascular action, which produces an unnatural conformation of the part, and a progressive accumulation of adventitious matter—'qui contra naturæ leges eveniunt, ideoque veros morbos producunt.' *Astruc, Tract. de tum.* p. 1.

The growth of tumours, when the centre or nucleus of disease is once formed, is equally against the hypothesis of Mr Abernethy. A gland in this diseased state, or, if you will, a tumour, is a congeries of vessels, which have partaken of some change of action. When the sphere of this diseased action is increased, and the surrounding parts, become diseased, it is in consequence of the branches of the vessels which supply the tumour, and which run into the neighbouring parts, taking upon them the same disposition. Accordingly, when, in this situation, the tumour is cut out, and no apparent disease remains, the vessels left will quickly engender a new tumour. Another proof of the importance of taking into consideration the peculiarity of the vascular action, in investigating the nature of tumours, is to be found in the ulceration which attacks the contiguous skin. Here the rapid destruction of the surface is but a new form of the disease; or rather the disease is altered in its effect by the nature of the part acted upon; changed by operating on the surface, instead of operating in deep parts. Or again, when the tumour breaks out into an open ulceration, and when, instead of an accumulation of matter, there is now a wasting both of the tumour and the original substance, is it not apparent, that the leading feature in all these phenomena is the change which the vascular action has undergone? and that to pay attention to the changes in the nature of the action of the part is much more important, than merely to consider tumours as 'productions which made no part of the original composition of the body?' Accordingly, diseased action will sometimes be propagated along the course of the lymphatics towards the body; sometimes by contiguous sympathy equally all around; sometimes it will be found peculiar to parts of similar structure, as the glandular viscera, the skin, the adipose membrane.

Notwithstanding these objections to the leading view of Mr Abernethy's premises, we willingly assent to his conclusion, that the nature of a tumour depends upon its own action and organization; and that, like the embryon, it merely receives nourishment from the surrounding vessels: that a tumour once formed seems to be a sufficient cause of its own increase: that the larger it becomes, the more it stimulates, and of course contributes to its own growth.

We shall venture one other observation on Mr Abernethy's introductory

troductory view. It regards the capſule, or ſurrounding membrane of a tumour. Both here, and in a ſubſequent part of the work, we conceive him to be wrong, in aſcribing the formation of the capſule entirely to the preſſure, in conſequence of the increaſing ſize of the tumour. Preſſure, without ſome degree of inflammation, would cauſe abſorption merely; but ſome action being at the ſame time excited with the preſſure and moulding of the tumour, firſt a kind of ſtool is formed, and then more diſtinctly a ſac. This is not a ſubject without intereſt. There are not wanting caſes in this book, which ſhow the neceſſity of judging accurately, whether the capſule be merely a condenſed cellular membrane, or whether it partakes of the diſeaſed action. Mr Abernethy very properly draws the attention of ſurgeons to this ſubject; but he treats it too briefly.

We now follow our author in his claſſification of tumours. Tumours, he obſerves, form an order of local diſeaſes, and they have theſe two genera, *ſarcoma* and *incyſted tumours*. Under the firſt head many varieties are marked; under the ſecond we are preſented with ſome irregular remarks only. We muſt acknowledge ourſelves totally at a loſs how to proceed here. Some idea may be conceived of our difficulty, from theſe words of our author: 'I have not, however, been able to deviſe any better mode of denominating theſe tumours (viz. than their internal circumſtances); for all the ſpecies muſt agree in the external characters, thoſe of an increaſe of bulk and a fleſhy feel.' Upon this opinion, we muſt obſerve, that the only hope we entertain of the inveſtigation into the ſtructure of tumours being uſeful, is, that it may lead to a knowledge of their external ſign and character; for how elſe is this knowledge of the anatomical conformation of tumours to be a guide to the operating ſurgeon? When the external character becomes a ſign of a particular ſtructure, and connected with this ſtructure, we have the knowledge of a certain train of conſequences: and then only can the anatomical inveſtigation prove uſefull. We truſt, therefore, that Mr Abernethy is deceived, in ſuppoſing that tumours admit of no diſtinction but from their anatomical ſtructure.

We are afraid that, in Mr Abernethy's mind, the caſe books of St Bartholomew ſuperſede all other authorities: we regret that he did not preface his obſervations with ſome critical remarks on the ſyſtems of preceding authors; and we think that his failure (where he has failed) is to be aſcribed in a great meaſure to his neglect of what had been done by others before him. But although we entertain this unfavourable opinion of Mr Abernethy's claſſification of tumours, we value his book very highly as a collection of caſes. We recommend, in a particular manner, the peruſal of the obſervations

ſervations under the head 'Medullary Sarcoma.' Indeed, through the whole of this part, there will be found many obſervations worthy of the author's reputation, and highly uſeful in practice.

II. In the diviſion which treats of diſeaſes reſembling ſyphilis, Mr Abernethy has proceeded on the idea, that the partial and limited obſervations of any one ſurgeon cannot afford a ſufficient baſis for general rules of practice; and that ſurgeons are likely to err, if they draw inferences from their own practice only. We are indeed aware, that moſt ſurgeons have a favourite rule of practice, from which they never deviate. Some are too ſcrupulous in expecting all ſyphilitic ſores to be accompanied by thoſe unequivocal ſymptoms, which are marked as the diſtinguiſhing characters of the diſeaſe; while others regard all ſores in certain circumſtances as venereal. No doubt, this undeviating adherence to rule, prevents all accurate and minute obſervation, and, by checking inquiry, is prejudicial to the improvement of the ſcience.

In regard both to the original and ſecondary ſores, Mr Abernethy holds ſome opinions not commonly entertained. He has been induced to believe, 'that the venereal poiſon can be conveyed into the conſtitution, and contaminate it through the medium of a ſore, the general action of which is probably not venereal.' Again, 'that the irritation of venereal virus may excite extenſive ſurrounding diſeaſe which is not venereal.' Againſt both of theſe opinions we would proteſt; and we regret that our limits will not allow us to enter upon the extenſive and minute diſcuſſion which a refutation would require.

In illuſtration of the latter of theſe opinions, Mr Abernethy brings the inſtance of the eryſipelatous inflammation, which precedes the venereal ulcer in the throat, and that of the general rheumatic pains in the limbs and contiguous joints, which uſher in a node. Theſe ſymptoms he conceives to be produced merely by the local venereal action, and not to partake of the diſeaſe. From obſervation we ſhould be induced to reaſon differently. Moſt diſeaſes, before they become ſtrictly local, are more general, or even conſtitutional; and before ſettling into a ſecondary ulcer, the venereal action is more extenſive: but having fixed upon a part, the general ſurrounding action is enfeebled by the accumulation of the diſeaſed action to a point. Thus, ſyphilis in the ſyſtem has a tendency to ſeize on the membrane of the throat, and its firſt effect is a general bluſh of inflammation, which, by and by, ſettles into a ſmaller ſpace, and produces ulceration: And ſo alſo, the more general and painful affection of the limb precedes the formation of the node. The node is not the occaſion of

of the rheumatic pain in the limb and joint. These are the effects of the disease; but the pains presently cease to be wandering, and fix into a confirmed local disease.

The most valuable part of this treatise of syphilis consists of a set of cases, resembling in their general character lues venerea, but which were cured without mercury. These cases are curious and very interesting; yet, for obvious reasons, we shall not detail their circumstances. They point out to us, that we must not trust to the appearances of the primary and secondary effects of the disease, but attend particularly to the time and sequences of symptoms.

III. We shall now proceed to select from this volume one or two cases, which we conceive to require animadversion.

Under the title 'Pancreatic Sarcoma,' we have Mr Abernethy's description of an operation, in which the effect of negligence in leaving a bleeding artery was very remarkable; and we must also say, that the remark which it draws from our author is no less curious.

After the extirpation of a tumour under the base of the jaw, and which appears to have been one of the lymphatic glands lying on the facial artery, the surgeon (not Mr Abernethy) had neglected to tie this artery, which had been cut; the wound was put together by a ligature and adhesive plaster. Soon after, the patient was alarmed with a sense of suffocation; and Mr Abernethy acknowledges, that he would actually have suffocated, if assistance had not been immediately given. It will be sufficiently evident what had happened. The artery had bled profusely, until the accumulated blood had compressed the throat, or thrust down the epiglottis, so as nearly to produce suffocation. How much more are we called upon to hold up such negligence to censure, than to criticise a slip or error in the composition of a sentence! We recollect to have heard of this artery having been taken as an example, to show how the surgeon may be deceived in the small quantity of blood it throws out during an operation, and have been cautioned as to the powerful effects of its action, when the patient, no longer faint from the immediate effects of the operation, is put into the warm bed.

Our author's observation on the accident is this,—that so far is the confined blood from compressing the bleeding artery, that 'it seems to be a stimulating cause exciting an hæmorrhagic action in the vessels.' To explain the appearances in question, however, we really do not think that any thing more can be necessary, than merely to recollect the difference between the condition of an artery exposed in an open wound, when the secondary branches cease to bleed for a time, and its condition when buried in the warm

warm parts, by bringing together the lips of the wound: the difference betwixt the ſtate of the circulation, when a patient has loſt blood, and is cold and faint from an operation, and when he is laid warm in bed with all his fears quieted. Our indignation is not raiſed by the recital of this caſe alone, but from having too often been witneſſes of the effects of ſimilar careleſſneſs. When a patient becomes faint, from loſing a quantity of blood during operation, the veſſels ceaſe to jet out the blood. It is ſuppoſed to be only an *oozing*, forſooth! The wound is cloſed—pins and ligatures are put through the ſkin;—by and by the blood flows in dangerous quantity through the dreſſings;—every thing is to be undone, and the torment of a new operation to be undergone. The ſurgeon who allows 'one drop of Chriſtian blood' to flow at ſuch a time, ſhould loſe 'the prop that doth ſuſtain his houſe.'

The next caſe in this volume, to which we ſhall call the attention of our readers, is a very intereſting one.—A man was gored in the neck by a cow, ſo that the internal carotid artery, and many branches of the external carotid, were torn. Notwithſtanding the ſize of the veſſels which were torn, they did not immediately bleed. The wound was therefore bound up, and the man conveyed to the hoſpital: before the wound was opened, an aſſiſtant compreſſed the trunk of the carotid artery ſtrongly againſt the lower cervical vertebra, which, upon opening the wound, was found to prevent the hæmorrhagy. Preſently, however, and upon the motion of the patient, the blood guſhed from the bottom of the wound ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch quantity, as to prevent an accurate examination. The man complained greatly of the preſſure, and was diſtreſſed with a ſenſe of ſuffocation. The attempt to ſecure the leſſer arteries was abortive. The patient ſeemed to be ſuffocating: his extremities were cold, and his pulſe ſcarcely to be felt. Things being deſperate, Mr Abernethy made an inciſion betwixt the trachea and carotid artery, and, introducing his finger beneath the artery, was enabled to compreſs it betwixt the finger and the thumb placed on the integuments of the neck.

Mr Abernethy now paſſed a ligature round the common carotid, to ſerve as a tourniquet; and, after an examination of the wound by diſſection, he preferred the drawing permanently of the firſt ligature, to the tying of the branches ſeparately. Next morning it was found that the patient had been delirious and convulſed during the night—the pulſe about 130, and hard—the ſtrength declining through the day—at 10 o'clock, the ſecond night, he died in convulſions, 30 hours after the ligature was made on the carotid artery. On diſſection, the brain was obſerved to be conſiderably inflamed, with effuſions on the ſurface, and

and a gelatinous ſubſtance under the tunica arachnoides. The moſt curious circumſtance appeared in the different ſtates of the two ſides of the body. The right ſide was paralytic, or approaching to it, while the left was more convulſed than paralytic.

On this intereſting caſe, ſeveral remarks may be offered. In the firſt place, we may venture to doubt, whether the carotid was here at any time effectually compreſſed by the aſſiſtant; for it will be obſerved, that even this large veſſel, the internal carotid artery, had been ſo affected by the violent laceration (not a cut), that it had little tendency to bleed;—accordingly, we find that the firſt ſimple dreſſings ſtemmed the bleeding; and theſe dreſſings being ſo near the throat, could not be very tight. In this ſtate of the veſſel, then, the preſſure of the aſſiſtant's thumb could compreſs the artery; but when the artery was rouſed to action, and the blood flowed, the attempt at compreſſion was found to cauſe an intolerable ſenſe of ſuffocation, and the ſtruggling of the patient prevented the artery from being compreſſed. If ſuch a caſe ſhould occur again, and it ſhould be aſcertained that the carotid was wounded, or the flow of blood ſuch as to prevent its ſource from being ſeen, we would ſuggeſt, (with much diffidence however), whether it might not be better to compreſs the bleeding wound, while a ſmall inciſion being carried down upon the neck, not laying open the artery, but merely penetrating through the platyſma myoides, the finger and thumb might be admitted among the looſe cellular membranes, when, the beating artery being felt, might be eaſily compreſſed. We hazard this ſuggeſtion, becauſe we know how very unmanageable a ligature is upon a great artery, when it is uſed as a tourniquet. The ligature is firſt drawn tight, and then there is no bleeding; it is afterwards ſlackened, to diſcover the orifice; but inſtead of the blood flowing gently, it guſhes out with force, and the wound is filled, ſo that nothing can be obſerved. After two or three unſucceſsful attempts, it will generally happen, as it did here, that the ſurgeon in deſpair draws the original ligature.

We are tempted to make one obſervation more on this caſe. We cannot diſpel the ſuſpicion, that if this patient had ſurvived the immediate danger, the ligature would have cut through or ulcerated the artery. We do not perceive why Mr Abernethy did not cut the carotid, as he would have done the femoral or iliac artery, after tying them. The ligature being in this caſe ſo near the heart, within perhaps five inches of it, the impulſe muſt have been very great, eſpecially as the courſe of the blood up into the carotid is direct from the heart. It will be obſerved,

ART. XIV. *Letters on Silesia, written during a Tour through that Country, in the Years* 1800, 1801.* By his Excellency John Quincy Adams, then Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of Berlin, and since a Member of the American Senate. In Two Parts. London, Budd. 1804.

THE eldest son of the late President of the United States, is the writer of these letters, which were addressed to his brother, Thomas Boylston Adams, Esq. at Philadelphia. We are told, in an advertisement from the London Editor, that they were not originally intended for public view; but the younger Mr Adams, at the request of some gentlemen of distinguished taste, to whom they were shown, permitted them to be printed in the Port-Folio, a miscellaneous paper, published in the metropolis of the United States. From that paper they are now for the first time collected into a volume. It is divided into two parts; the first containing a journal of the tour, with miscellaneous notices and descriptions; the second presenting, in another series of letters, a sketch of the history and statistics of Silesia.

We indulged some expectations from the title of this book, which have been disappointed, though they seemed very natural. The travels of an ambassador are an unusual gift to the public. The son of the American President, must have a motive to political studies, as well as advantages of political education, such as would eminently qualify one who had any activity or turn for speculation, to examine the circumstances of a national system. And the dutchy of Silesia forms a subject of statistical description, which, at the same time that it is far from being complicated or very extensive, abounds in valuable details, and suggests several important topics of general discussion. The European reader, however, who has an acquaintance with common books, will not receive any farther information, or any new conclusions, from these letters of Mr Adams. It may be said, that they were not written for general instruction. But the talent of observation does not display itself only upon occasions of ceremony and public audience; when it is possessed,

* There is a mistake in this part of the title, which has been affixed by the London publisher; for the tour occupied only about six weeks in the summer of 1800. Some of the letters in the second part, which give an abstract of Kloeber's book, are dated in 1802, but all from Berlin.

possessed, it will be constantly active. Accuracy and fulness in the statement of particular facts, comprehensive exactness in the deduction of theoretical reasonings, cannot indeed be very fairly demanded, except where an author comes forward expressly with a formal treatise. But one who has powers of original reflection, and an eye for the discrimination of details, as well as for the larger views which they open into general knowledge, will carry those habits about him daily, and shew them to advantage in his most unprepared discourses. The present letters are not without some appearances of labour, and the last part bears the form of systematic preparation. We must therefore account in the other way, for their want of originality, and for the absence of almost all those speculations, inferences, and suggestions, which render the pleasures of the traveller an important contribution to the labours of the philosopher and the statesman. It may appear somewhat hard to subject a work which does not offend by any pretensions, to a comparison with the excellent standards of its kind; but when we held it in our hand, we could not help thinking of the American Presidency, and of the state of learning in that powerful and prosperous commonwealth. The state of knowledge, and the general condition of a people in other important respects, may sometimes be represented fairly enough by an individual specimen, provided we meet with an instance divested of extreme circumstances. And the application of this remark would lead to a subject of more interest, than can be attached to the merits or demerits of Mr Adams's letters.

After all, however, we might have found his book easy and pleasant enough, if we had not set out with expectations perhaps unreasonable. A route through interesting countries will suggest reflections, though we have nobody at hand to discuss them; and the queries that start themselves may be satisfied on the next opportunity. There is even a pleasure in running over the names of places where we have travelled before, and in tracing the road from one stage to another. And though this author is neither lively nor very instructive, he shows some qualities which make him a tolerable companion for a very short tour; except, perhaps, when he falls into the description of natural scenery, in which he is apt to be tedious. It is not, to be sure, quite so high a recommendation of a book, as it is of its author, that it manifests an amiable temper, unaffectedly full of those common-places of justice and kindness which compose the most valuable, though the most ordinary, of all characters. There abound through these Letters the sentiments of a calm, inactive benevolence; that quiet admiration of order, that indolent sympathy with the appearances

of public prosperity, that settled and tranquil attachment to freedom, which are worked into the constitution of every man of virtue, who has the fortune to belong to a free and prosperous community. Mr Adams has many recollections of his native country; but his feelings about it more resemble the loyal acquiescence of a subject, than the personal interest and ardour of a republican; and it is the name alone which recals us from the thoughts of a lazy good old monarchy, to the youth, enterprize, and faction of the United States.

One of the chief objects of his tour, he expressly observes, was to obtain information respecting the manufactures of the countries through which he passed; and he frequently recurs to the idea, that America might import from them many articles, for which she at present pays much higher prices to England; such as glass from Bohemia, linens from the mountain towns of Silesia, and even broad-cloths from Grünberg. He is not unaware, however, of the great superiority of English workmanship, nor, of what operates still more effectually, the superior magnitude of English capital. The natural power of this capital is augmented, with respect to America, by a circumstance which he states very candidly, though it cannot be new to many of our readers. He admits, p. 62, that he scarcely ever knew an European merchant trading with America who did not complain of bad payment; and, p. 163, that all the merchants in the mountain-towns, who had made the experiment of consigning linens directly to America, had for this reason desisted from the speculation. The general fact, indeed, is too notorious to be questioned; and it is not unimportant that it should be recorded, for the historian of some future age, who shall trace the revolutions of foreign trade, the vicissitudes of national wealth, and the changes of dynasty which commerce shall have undergone.

On the linen manufacture of Silesia, Mr Adams is neither very full nor very distinct; and the subject is too well known to require that we should make any extract from his collections. Though the survey of manufactories was one of the principal objects of his tour, he does not seem to have furnished himself with the preparatory knowledge that is indispensably requisite; for he is ignorant of the elementary principles of all the chemical arts; and rarely refers to the topics that form the very rudiments of political economy. The omission of every notice, even the slightest, with respect to agriculture, is too remarkable not to strike every reader; as if that did not form the most important feature in all political arrangements; and as if a system for the reproduction of the rude materials were not to be found in a country which fabricates a great staple for exportation, and which

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is described (p. 267.) as doubling its number of inhabitants within a shorter period than any other district of the old continent.

The only remarks, in the course of the Letters, that partake at all of useful speculation, relate to that interesting question which every district of manufactures calls to mind,—Whether the general prosperity of the people is most favoured, when the fabric is spread over the country among independent workmen, or organized into a few great establishments. Mr Adams appears to be upon a right track for the investigation of this subject, when he observes, that, under the former system, there will be *less accumulation*, and *more circulation* of wealth. Not that we are prepared to consider this as ascertained, or to acquiesce in it as a decision of the question; but it is one of the aspects in which we think that question ought to be examined; and the distribution of national wealth among the various orders of the people forms a view more separable from that of its aggregate increase, than it has usually been considered by the most eminent economists. The problem is one of great nicety, however, and probably involves several solutions, according to the circumstances that may happen to be combined in various cases. Mr Adams states his opinion in the following passage, written from Grünberg.

'This town contains about seven thousand inhabitants, who derive their subsistence from two sources, from the manufacturing of broad-cloth, and from the cultivation of the vine. The first is carried on in a manner which it should seem might serve as an example for our own country. Here is no large capitalist at the head of an extensive manufacture, and employing, at wages which will scarcely keep soul and body together, a large number of workmen, whose labours only contribute to accumulate his enormous wealth. But here are between six and seven hundred looms, which furnish comfortable subsistence to as many families. The wool is partly raised in the neighbourhood, and partly imported from Poland. There are several fulling-mills, which belong to the guild or corporation of the manufacturers, and are used in common by them all; but the spinning, the carding, the dyeing, the weaving, the drying, the pressing, the napping, in short, the whole process, from the shearing of the fleece to the sale of the cloth for the tailor, is performed by each separate manufacturer for himself. It is possible, (for I cannot dispute the principles of Adam Smith respecting the *division of labour*), that by the separation of all these single operations, the same quantity of industry might produce a greater quantity of manufactured materials; but it is very doubtful whether it would produce a competent subsistence for so many individuals. Where the system of subdividing labour *ad infinitum* is established, each individual workman is but an infinitesimal fragment of a vast body. One man, ten men, fifty men, combining all their faculties together, cannot pro-

duce any thing: unless there is a manufacture upon an immense scale, there can be none at all. The single workman is thus placed altogether dependent on the great capitalist, and must of course become his drudge. Thus, hundreds of laborious men will be compelled to groan and sweat under a weary life, for the sake of adding thousands more to the thousands of one merchant. But, where all the operations for the production of a manufactured work can be performed by one man, or by a small number of men, each single workman will be of more consequence in himself, more independent of his employer, and more certain of subsistence; the profits of manufacturing will be distributed in smaller portions, and to greater numbers; there will be less accumulation and more circulation of wealth.' p. 15–17.

And he afterwards writes, from Hirschberg,

'Here we find again the same system of manufactory which we had remarked with respect to broad-cloths at Grünberg, the system which will unboubtedly be the most suitable for the imitation of our own country, when it shall become a manufacturing land, as indeed it already prevails among us to a certain degree.' p. 61.

Our readers will have no occasion for us to show them, that all this is very feeble and loose speculation. And the inference in the last extract is an instance of that heedless temerity in projecting or transferring systems of regulation, which is not likely to be so practicable in this case, as it has fatally been found in others. There is a description in one of the subsequent letters, the original of which might have been expected to suspend our author's theoretical opinion, as well as his recommendation to the statesmen of America.

'We passed through the little town of Gottesberg; and before almost every house saw women, boys, and girls, industriously employed in knitting worsted stockings, of which that is the principal manufacturing place. Thus, upon almost every mile of our passage, we behold industry with a different, and always with an useful occupation. But it is always a great alloy to the satisfaction we receive from this prospect, that it is accompanied with that of wretchedness. The poor people who are thus continually toiling, can scarcely earn a sufficiency for their bare subsistence, and are subjected to various heavy oppressions. The manufactories of linens, in particular, which raise large fortunes to the merchants who export them from the cities, scarcely give bread to the peasants, who do all the valuable part of the work.' p. 156, 157.

The contrast which this real picture presents to that drawn from theory in the first extract, is quite suitable to those which we have often found in other travellers who have touched the same inquiry, particularly in the tours of Mr Arthur Young. The only difference is, that the counterparts are sometimes reversed from their present position, the fancy piece being distressful and bleak, and the landscape from nature cheerful, active, and luxuriant. No example can more forcibly remind political reasoners

reasoners of the old neglected precepts of logic, to observe well; to observe long, and to observe all.'

We should say nothing of the language of these Letters, if we had not a little praise to bestow. Some finery, perhaps, might be objected to, in the heavy raptures that too often recur, while Mr Adams is climbing the giant mountains; but the picturesque seems doomed to profanation; it is etherial ground, and should be kept sacred; 'yet the dull swain Treads on it daily, with his clouted shoe'n.' The style of Mr Adams is in general very tolerable English; which, for American compositions, is no moderate praise. A few national peculiarities, perhaps we might still venture to call them provincial, may be detected; but it is, upon the whole, remarkably free from those affectations and corruptions of phrase which overrun the productions of that country—even those in which we should least expect them, the enlightened state papers of the two great Presidents. If the men of birth and education in that other England which they are building up in the west, will not diligently study the great authors who purified and fixed the language of our common forefathers, we must soon lose the only badge that is still worn of our consanguinity. A spurious dialect, it is probable, will prevail, even at the Court and in the Senate of the United States, until that great commonwealth shall become opulent enough to break more distinctly into classes, and to invite the refinements of art, instead of that luxury which is more compatible with the occupations of industry. In a work coming from a diplomatic character, we cannot overlook the unbecoming manner in which a colleague from this country is spoken of, p. 255. To retail the anecdotes of a living family, is repugnant not only to good manners, but to rules of a higher order. Mr Adams has presumed, likewise, to speak of one of the most accomplished noblemen of England, with a petulance and illiberality which cannot often be exceeded in the lowest circles of common scandal. A story of a more public nature, which is given in the same part of the volume, may be new to most of our readers.

'Mr E—— is, in person, and at times in manners, one of the most accomplished gentlemen I ever knew. He was extremely civil to us last autumn, though I had occasion afterwards to know that his civilities did not then proceed from any cordial kindness towards us; but that, as Americans, he saw us at first with embarrassment and dislike. These sentiments, in the course of our intercourse with him at that time, I believe, gradually wore away; and as they had probably proceeded from the supposition that his name was odious to Americans, owing to the transaction at Berlin relative to Mr Lee's papers during the American war, I found him now designedly and repeatedly recurring to that subject in his conversation. After observing that it was now a circumstance

stance that might with full freedom be talked of as a mere historical occurrence, he solemnly declared that the seizure of Mr Loe's papers was not made by his orders; that it was entirely the act of an officious servant, who thought to do him a service by it; that when the papers were brought to him, he did look over them indeed, and found among them only two of any consequence; one the draught of an unfinished treaty with Spain, and the other a letter from Frederick the Second, or one of his ministers, promising that if any great power in Europe would set the example of acknowledging the independence of the United States, he would be the first to follow it. I am inclined to believe that this account is true; and I was pleased to see the anxiety with which Mr E—— wished to remove the imputation of having premeditated that act of violence.' p. 256–258.

The second part of these Letters is described, in the title, as containing a complete geographical, statistical, and historical account of Silesia; together with a detail of its political constitution, military, civil, and ecclesiastical establishments, seminaries of education, literature, and learned men. This, however, must be the quackery of the London bookseller; it is about as faithfully descriptive as the advertisements of the ever memorable Mr Christie. The second part of the book, however, will be entertaining to those who are not yet acquainted with Silesia; as it gives, in a rapid sketch, some interesting particulars on several of the foregoing topics. They are confessedly collected from Kloeber's account of Silesia before and since the year 1740; as the information scattered through the Letters that compose the Journal, is acknowledged to have been taken chiefly from Zöllner's Tour in 1771. A very hurried outline of Silesian history precedes a statement of the financial and ecclesiastical arrangements which Frederic introduced after his conquest. One or two circumstances only are mentioned with respect to the political condition of the different ranks of the people; but there is an excellent letter on the system of education. That upon the literature of Silesia mentions three eminent men: Opitz, the father (as he is considered) of German poetry, the 'Swan of Bober,' who died in 1639; Wolff, once a mighty name, whose mighty works have long ago been deposited in the catacombs; and Garvè, whose elegant translations and judicious criticisms have proved so serviceable, upon the Continent, to the reputation of our Scotish moralists.

We shall conclude our notice of this volume, with an extract of the greater part of the letter, which we have already mentioned, on the seminaries established in Silesia for the education of the people. The picture it presents is, in almost every respect, satisfactory; and we give it at length to our readers, not only on account of the curious particulars to be found in it, but

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from the hope that an example, so successful in the result, and so honourable to its authors, may in some parts of our own country prove auxiliary to those reasonings which have hitherto been found equally unanswerable and ineffectual.

'Besides the University at Breslau, and the Academy of Nobles at Liegnitz, there are what we call Grammar-Schools, where Latin is taught in almost every town of the province, and usually in connexion with some church or convent. But the arrangements and regulations of the trivial schools, as they are here called, schools destined for that elementary instruction which ought to be diffused over the whole mass of the people, particularly deserve your attention; because you may perhaps, as a native of New-England, entertain the prejudice, that your own country is the only spot on earth where this object is rightly managed, and where the arts of reading and writing are accomplishments almost universally possessed.

'Probably, no country in Europe could so strongly contest our preeminence in this respect as Germany; and she, for this honourable distinction, is indebted principally to Frederick II.; to the zeal with which he pursued the purpose of spreading useful knowledge among all classes of his subjects; and to the influence of his example, and of his success, even beyond the limits of his own dominions. To enter upon this topic, with the details of which it is susceptible, might perhaps not amuse you, and would lead me too far from my subject; I shall, therefore, confine myself to the measures he adopted, and the system he introduced, in this particular, into Silesia.

'At the time of his conquest, education had seldom been made an object of the concern of governments; and Silesia, like the rest of Europe, was but wretchedly provided either with schools or teachers. In the small towns and villages, the schoolmasters were so poorly paid, that they could not subsist without practising some other trade besides their occupation as instructors; and they usually united the character of the village-fiddler with that of the village-schoolmaster. Even of these there were so few, that the children of the peasants in general throughout the province, were left untaught. This was especially the case in Upper Silesia. Frederick issued an ordinance, that a school should be kept in every village, and that a competent subsistence should be provided for the schoolmaster, by the joint contribution of the lord of the village and of the tenants themselves. The superintendance of the schools was prescribed as the duty of the clergy.

'But, in order that this ordinance might have its due execution, it was necessary to form the teachers themselves, properly qualified to give useful instruction. This was effected by the persevering intelligence and zeal of a man, by the name of Felbiger, an Augustine monk, belonging to a convent at Sagan; a man, says a Silesian historian, whom a great part of Germany must thank for a revolution, not less important, though of slower progress and milder character, than that which, two centuries and a half earlier, was accomplished by another monk of the same order—by Luther.

'Felbiger,

'Felbiger, after spending some years at Berlin, to obtain a perfect knowledge of the best method of instruction practised in the schools there, returned to Sagan, and made the convent to which he belonged a seminary for young ecclesiastics, and candidates as schoolmasters, to acquire the knowledge of the improved mode of teaching. Several other institutions of the same kind were, in due time, established at Breslau, Glatz, and other places, upon his principles, and conducted by persons whom he had formed. To defray the expences necessary for the support of these seminaries, a fund is raised, consisting of one quarter's salary, which every Catholic curate is obliged to pay upon being first settled in a parsonage.

'With each of these seminaries are connected certain schools, where the young candidates for the clerical or teaching office are obliged to attend, and observe the practice of the method, the theory of which they learn at the seminaries themselves. The clergy are required, no less than the teachers, to go through this process; because the superintendance over the teachers is intrusted to them. No young man can be admitted to either of the offices, without an attestation of his qualifications from one of the seminaries.

'After all these preparatory measures had been carried into effect, an ordinance was published in the year 1765, prescribing the mode of teaching, as adopted in the seminaries, and the manner in which the clergy should superintend the efficacious establishment of the system. The regulations of this ordinance prove the earnestness with which the King of Prussia laboured to spread the benefits of useful knowledge among his subjects. The teachers are directed to give plain instruction, and upon objects applicable to the ordinary concerns of life; not merely to load the memory of their scholars with words, but to make things intelligible to their understanding; to habituate them to the use of their own reason, by explaining every object of the lesson, so that the children themselves may be able to explain it, upon examination. The candidates for school-keeping must give specimens of their ability, by teaching at one of the schools connected with the seminary, in the presence of the professors at the seminary, that they may remark and correct any thing defective in the candidate's method. If one school suffices for more than one village, neither of them must be more than half a German mile distant from it, in the flat country; nor more than a quarter of a mile in the mountainous parts. The school-tax must be paid by the lord and tenants, without distinction of religions. In the towns, the school must be kept the whole year round. It is expected that one month shall suffice to make a child know the letters of the alphabet; that in two it shall be able to join them; and in three, to read. The boys must all be sent to school, from their sixth to their thirteenth year, whether the parents are able to pay the school-tax or not. For the poor, the school-money must be raised by collections. Every parent or guardian who neglects to send his child or pupil to school, without sufficient cause, is obliged to pay a double school-tax, for which the

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guardians shall have no allowance. Every curate must examine, weekly, the children of the school in his parish. A general examination must be held annually, by the deans of the districts, of the schools within their respective precincts; and a report of the condition of the schools, the talents and attention of the schoolmasters, the state of the buildings, and of attendance by the children, made to the office of the vicar-general, who must transmit all these reports to the royal domain offices. From these, orders are issued to the respective landraths, to correct the abuses, and supply the deficiencies indicated in the reports. This system was at first prepared only for the Catholic schools; but it was afterwards adopted, for the most part, by most of the Lutheran consistories. Its truly respectable author, Felbiger, was, in the sequel, with the consent of Frederick, invited to Vienna by the Empress Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II., who appointed him director of the normal schools or seminaries in all the Austrian dominions. His regulations have been introduced, and are acted upon, in almost all the Catholic countries of Germany.

'In Silesia, they had at first many old prejudices to contend with. The indolence of the Catholic clergy was averse to the new and troublesome duty imposed on them. Their zeal was alarmed at the danger arising from this dispersion of light to the stability of their church. They considered alike the spirit of innovation, and the spirit of inquiry, as their natural enemies. Besides this, the system still meets resistance from the penurious parsimony and stubborn love of darkness, prevailing in some parts of the province. Many villages neglect the support of their schools; many individuals, upon false pretexts, forbear sending their children to school, for the sake of saving the tax. The compulsive measures, and the penalties, prescribed by the ordinance, are used seldom, and with reluctance. The benevolent design has not been accomplished to the full extent of which it was susceptible; but, as far as it has been accomplished, its operation has been a blessing. That its effects have been very extensive, is not to be doubted, when we compare the number of schools throughout the province, in the year 1752, when they amounted only to one thousand five hundred and fifty-two, with that in the year 1798, when they were more than three thousand five hundred. The consequences of a more general diffusion of knowledge are attested by many other facts equally clear. Before the Seven-years war, there had scarcely ever been more than one periodical journal or gazette published in the province at one time. There are, now, no less than seventeen newspapers and magazines, which appear by the day, the week, the month, or the quarter, many of them upon subjects generally useful, and containing valuable information and instruction for the people. At the former period there were but three booksellers, and all these at Breslau. There are now six in that capital, and seven dispersed about in the other cities. The number of printing-presses and of bookbinders has increased in the same proportion.'

ART.

ART. XV. *An Act to Regulate the Importation and Exportation of Corn, and the Bounties and Duties payable thereon.* 30*th July* 1804. 44. *of the King, cap.* 109.

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*Cursory Observations on the Act for ascertaining the Bounties, and for regulating the Exportation and Importation of Corn.* By a Member of Parliament. London, Stockdale. 1804. pp. 16.

THAT part of the new Corn Law, in which the Legislature has reverted to the system of bounties upon exportation, after having in a great measure abandoned it for a period of thirty years, appeared to us to bear so hard upon an established and salutary doctrine in political œconomy, that we looked with eagerness for an opportunity of entering with our readers into a discussion of the measure. Hitherto, however, there has been no *publication* upon the subject, except the statute itself; and we owe too profound a reverence to parliamentary black-letter, to subject it to the prophane license of Edinburgh criticism. One little tract, the 'Cursory Observations,' was circulated in London, we understand, by one of those most respectable gentlemen with whom the bill originated; but as it was not regularly published, it does not fall within our reach. It was probably considered by the rest, as the whole case they could make out; stated very briefly indeed, but with neatness, great fairness, and all the strength that their view of the argument was possessed of. In the course of our Journal, our readers have been so much accustomed to find the notice of a book nearly lost in dissertation, that they will perhaps hardly be sensible of an innovation upon our plan by a dissertation without any book for its text. If an apology however be necessary, we must take it from the importance of the occasion. Opinions, as well as compositions, have from the first been the object of our humble endeavours to assist the public judgement; and we should not have entered so minutely as we have often done into the examination of the latter, if we had not our eye always fixed on those systems of useful knowledge, which they contribute to form. We shall therefore make no farther introduction to the following investigation, except to mention, that the writers whom we have principally in view, when we speak of advocates for the bounty, are Dr James Anderson, who, in his Letters on National Industry, has given an elaborate argument in its defence; Mr Mackie of Ormiston, in East Lothian, whose letters to Colonel Dirom display much acuteness, as well as practical

tical information; and Mr Malthus, the ingenious and enlightened author of the Eſſay on Population. *

The law, which gave a bounty on the exportation of corn, will always be famous in the economical hiſtory of Great Britain, whatever may be the final opinion as to its merits. It originated under an adminiſtration, the ſplendour of whoſe meaſures is reflected even from their errors. And though, in framing that law, they were probably quite unconſcious of the invention and deſign to which it has ſince been aſcribed, yet, if we view it in a particular aſpect, through the medium of thoſe reaſonings which have ſince been conſtructed in its favour, it may be made to appear a bold and original deviation, not only from the policy that had long prevailed, but from prejudices that are very natural on ſuch ſubjects. In this light, accordingly, it appeared to the beſt writers and ſtateſmen of England, throughout the firſt part of the laſt century: they mentioned it always with admiration; as an inſtitution that had been planned in wiſdom, and the ſucceſs of which was complete; to be ranked with the act of navigation, the laws for the woollen ſtaple, or Queen Elizabeth's proviſion for the poor; an inſeparable part of that peculiar ſyſtem, to which England was indebted for her ſuperiority over all other nations. Theſe vague and confident praiſes of the bounty had long been eſtabliſhed among the idioms of parliament, even before ſome circumſtances in the later hiſtory of the corn-trade were attended to, which ſeemed to furniſh a very plauſible confirmation of them. The diminution of the average price, and the progreſſive increaſe of exports, within the period at the beginning of which the bounty had been inſtituted, preſented no doubt a very deceitful coincidence; and, at a time when the analyſis of national wealth was unknown, it was natural enough to believe, that the cauſe of theſe curious facts could be no other, but that remarkable law which juſt preceded their appearance. Theſe ſentiments, with regard to King William's corn-law, were adopted by our admirers upon the continent. The bounty became a theme of panegyric in all their political treatiſes. Though a moſt artificial expedient, it was applauded even by the economiſts of France, in whoſe profound writings

* To this laſt gentleman, we owe many apologies for having delayed ſo long the account of his original and important work; and for anticipating, as in this article, the examination of a detached part of it. It is as well to confeſs at once, that the perſon, into whoſe hands it was put, has diſappointed us, from indolence or other occupations, of a ſenſe of the difficulty and extent of Mr Malthus's ſpeculations. We have reaſon, however, to hope that it will make its appearance in our January Number.

writings all devices were reprobated, that might check the ſpontaneous order of nature. In the mean time, opinions more conſiſtent with the tenor of their other ſpeculations were ſpreading in this country, among well educated men of practice, as well as philoſophical inquirers; and Parliament at laſt began to enforce ſome of thoſe principles, which, many years before, had been expounded in the lectures of Adam Smith. The act of 1773, which was conducted through the Houſe of Commons by Mr Burke, effected a virtual repeal of the bounty, though it retained the language, and ſeemed even to confirm the purpoſes of the former law, in compliance with thoſe prejudices which it was eaſier to betray than to conquer. Dr Smith has ſaid of this ſtatute, what was ſaid of the laws of Solon, that, though not the beſt in itſelf, it was perhaps the beſt which the intereſts and temper of the times would admit of. He probably bore in mind, when he uſed theſe expreſſions, the anſwer which Mr Burke had made to him, on being reproached for not effecting a thorough repeal: that it was the privilege of philoſophers to conceive their diagrams in geometric accuracy; but the engineer muſt often impair the ſymmetry, as well as ſimplicity of his machine, in order to overcome the irregularities of friction and reſiſtance. In the ſame ſtrain, Dr Smith has likewiſe ſaid of that ſtatute, that it might perhaps in due time prepare the way for a better; and thoſe who had moſt imbibed the ſpirit of his philoſophy, acquieſced very confidently in this expectation. But, by another coincidence of circumſtances, ſtill more accidental perhaps than the former, the changes in the price of corn, and in the balance of the corn-trade, have been preciſely reverſed, ſince the repeal of the bounty, from changes which have taken place ſince the time of its enactment. Prices have riſen, and the balance is turned againſt us. Thoſe perſons, who had been moved in favour of the bounty by the firſt part of this experience, as it ſeemed, could not help feeling the ſecond to be irreſiſtible: if the original trial furniſhed a probable concluſion, this converſe of the experiment, yielding the ſame reſult, ſeemed to eſtabliſh it to demonſtration. The courſe of theſe facts appears, accordingly, to have made a great impreſſion on ſeveral ingenious and well informed minds; the bounty has once more found advocates in ſome political writers of great merit, and in ſeveral ſtateſmen, who are fortified by their general principles againſt artificial ſchemes of commercial police; and a ſtatute has been paſſed, which, it is expected, will work all the miracles and bleſſings that are ſuppoſed to have been accompliſhed by the old law. Although we have long been ſatisfied about the wiſdom of unimpaired freedom in every branch of the corn-trade, foreign as well as inland, we have been prompted, by our reſpect

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for those persons, and by the importance which is attached by them to the subject, to examine very carefully the reasonings with which they recommend the revival of the bounty. In the course of this examination, we were led to perceive that Dr Smith's deductions are not perfectly correct; but in the practical conclusion, we were again brought to coincide with him, and with the statesmen who are understood to have framed, upon his principles, the act of 1773.

The earliest topics that were used in praise of the bounty, were its great encouragement of British shipping, and the gold it brought home to pay the balance of exported corn. These have not been brought forward this time. So much we owe to the diffusion of knowledge. There are arguments and views of policy that were deemed irrefragable by the best understandings in the generation before the last, of which the refutation is now become even colloquial. It is a reflection that yields encouragement to the free scrutiny of other opinions, which appear no less susceptible of refutation. We are still told, *first*, that a bounty, by forcing a production of corn greater than the annual consumption of the home-market, provides a reserve against years of deficient crop: *Secondly*, That it secures an adequate profit to the farmer: *Thirdly*, That it brings the prices of corn, which usually fluctuate so much, to a greater steadiness and uniformity: And, *lastly*, That it makes this uniform price rather lower than it otherwise would be. Upon these four propositions it may be observed, that the promised steadiness in the price of corn must be derived from that surplus of produce which is to be reserved in years of a bad crop. Now, this surplus of the average produce above the annual consumption, must be the result of an enlarged encouragement of tillage; and this encouragement, which operates by augmenting the profits of the farmer, must ultimately consist in an increase of the price of his commodity. So far, then, as the argument depends upon the first three of those alleged advantages, it resolves itself into this single proposition, that the bounty gives the farmer a real advance upon the price of his corn. When it is stated, in the fourth place, that it has likewise the effect of lowering the price of corn to the consumers, it is the money price only that can here with consistency be understood; a diminution of which is no doubt compatible with an advance of the real price. It appears, therefore, that when we examine what effects a bounty must have upon the commerce and growth of corn, our subject of investigation is precisely the effect of that bounty upon the real price, and upon the money-price of corn. Dr Smith, accordingly, who has decidedly pronounced an opinion very dif-

ferent from the foregoing, maintains it by propoſitions directly the reverſe of thoſe which we have enumerated: that it can have no effect in equalizing prices, becauſe there is no ſurplus to be reſerved in years of ſcarcity: that there can be no ſuch ſurplus, becauſe the bounty gives no additional encouragement to agriculture: that it can give no ſuch encouragement, becauſe it occaſions no advance of the real price of corn: and, laſtly, that its effect is to raiſe, not to lower, the average money-price of that commodity. In order to aſcertain where the truth lies between ſuch contradictory opinions, it will be neceſſary to trace, more minutely in detail than has hitherto been done, the influence which a bounty on corn muſt have upon its exchangeable value; whether that be expreſſed in money, or, in what is called the real price—the aggregate of other commodities that are purchaſed with money.

Let us ſuppoſe, in a country, where the returns of the farmer are of courſe adequate and no more than adequate to replace his advances with a profit proportioned to the profits of other capital, that a bounty were granted out of the public revenue directly upon the *production* of bread-corn. Its immediate effect would evidently be, to lower both the money-price and the real price to all purchaſers in the home-market. A part of the old price, inſtead of being paid by the purchaſer himſelf, would now be paid for him by the public; and while he paid ſo much leſs, the farmer would receive altogether the ſame ſum as before. The farmer would no doubt be willing enough to keep up the market price to its original rate, that he might thus increaſe his receipts by the whole of the bounty. But the ſame power of competition, which had before adjuſted his profits, would continue to adjuſt them to the ſame rate, by reducing his receipts from the private purchaſer in proportion to his new receipts from the public. Notwithſtanding this bounty, therefore, the profits of the farmer would, by the operation of the principle of competition, ſubſide towards their former level. They would for ſome time, indeed, be kept from ſinking quite down to this level, by the force of competition that would act in the oppoſite direction. For, in conſequence of the real price of grain being lowered to the conſumers, their power of purchaſing this article would for the time be augmented, whether they had other commodities or their labour only to give in exchange; and thus the limits of the effective demand for grain would be widened, by a greater waſte in the uſe and preparation of it for food, a nicer palate as to the quality, and ultimately by an increaſed number of conſumers. The effect of ſuch an increaſed demand for grain, proceeding from any other cauſe, muſt evidently be, to enhance a little its real price: the

the effect of this increaſed demand, proceeding from an artificial reduction of the real price, would be, to prevent that reduction from being wholly completed, to prevent the market price from being lowered quite ſo much as by the whole amount of the bounty. The difference would be received by the farmer, in addition to the adjuſted rate of his profits, and would of courſe operate as a new encouragement to tillage. It is evident, however, that this encouragement could laſt no longer than the increaſed demand in the home-market, from which it originated; and that could not ſubſiſt long, becauſe, while the general circumſtances of the nation remain the ſame, no reduction of the real price of corn can be permanent. The wages of the labouring conſumers had been adjuſted before, by the principle of competition, to a rate proportioned to thoſe general circumſtances; and the ſame principle would continue to adjuſt them again to that rate, by lowering the money-price of labour, and, through that, of other commodities, to the money-price of corn. Thus the whole effect of this bounty on production, would terminate in a reduction of the nominal or money-price. The real price would ſoon be raiſed, and the profit of the farmer ſoon lowered, to their former level; and the interval would ſpeedily elapſe, during which a new encouragement had been afforded to agriculture. At the cloſe of that interval, both the abſolute number of the people, and the groſs annual produce, might be found a very little increaſed. The relative condition of the labouring orders, in reſpect of opulence and comforts, would be found unchanged. And to defray the bounty, there would ſubſiſt a tax, probably very burdenſome, certainly quite unneceſſary, and it would ſubſiſt to no other purpoſe but to effect a prepoſterous inverſion of the natural order of things.

If it ſhould be deemed expedient to renew that ſort of encouragement to tillage, which has now been deſcribed, it might no doubt be renewed by a freſh addition to the bounty; which would operate over again the ſame ſeries of effects, leaving in the end the money-price ſtill lower, and the tax ſtill more burdenſome. And ſuch ſtateſmen, as may have a predilection for artificial ſchemes of this ſort, will eaſily ſee the ſuperior artifice of meting out the bounty in ſmall portions from time to time, in order that, with the ſmalleſt amount of bounty, there may be obtained the greateſt number of theſe intervals of encouragement to agriculture.

If, on the other hand, it ſhould be felt deſirable to get rid of ſuch a bounty as this, and to reſtore the commerce of grain to its natural courſe, ſuch a ſtep could not be taken without a great deal of temporary inconvenience; for that ſeries of effects

which took place after the enactment of the bounty, would be preciſely inverted by its repeal. The ſudden enhancement of the money-price would abridge, for the time, the wealth and comforts of the labouring conſumers; and the reſtriction of their demand, reducing the profits of farming below its natural rate, would for the time diſcourage agriculture. And this would continue until the advance of the money-price of corn communicated itſelf to the money-price of labour, and, through that, to the money-price of other commodities. It is unneceſſary, for our preſent purpoſe, that we ſhould attempt to trace any farther the conſequences of a direct bounty upon *production*.

A bounty, granted out of the public revenue, upon the *exportation* only of corn, will operate according to the ſame principles; but, from the different manner in which the bounty is then applied, its effects will be conſiderably different. It will produce no *immediate* change of prices in the home-market. The national conſumer will continue to pay what he did before, no part of this payment being made for him by the public: there will be no diminution to him of the real price of corn, conſequently no enlargement of conſumption and demand, and therefore no new encouragement on this ſide to agricultural inveſtments. But every foreigner, who ſhall purchaſe part of the exported grain, will pay ſo much leſs for it, as the bounty amounts to, than he otherwiſe would have paid. Whether he will purchaſe any part of it or not, will of courſe depend upon this condition, that the price of the exported grain, reduced as it is to him by the bounty, is at the moſt not greater than the price of other grain in his market. Now, the price at which the exported grain could be ſold in the foreign market, independently of a bounty, may either be equal, or leſs, or greater, compared with the price of other grain in that market. If equal, the bounty will enable the exporter to underſell the foreign dealer by the whole amount of that bounty. If leſs, he would be able, without a bounty, to underſell him by the whole difference of the prices; and the bounty will enable him to underſell by the ſum of that difference and the bounty added together. If the price, at which the exported grain could be ſold in the foreign market independently of a bounty, is greater than the price of other grain in that market; then, to enable the exporter to underſell the dealer in that other grain, the bounty muſt be more than ſufficient to compenſate the difference of the prices; and a bounty may no doubt be made large enough to do more than compenſate that difference. In all theſe caſes, too, it is to be obſerved, the exporter will actually underſell the foreign dealer by very nearly the whole difference, by which he

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can afford to underſell him. He would be willing enough to do it by as ſmall a portion of that difference as poſſible, in order that the remainder might be added to his profits; but the force of competition, as upon all other occaſions, will reſtrict his profits very nearly to the loweſt rate at which he can afford to trade. They will not be brought quite down to this rate, however; the exporter will not be forced to underſell the foreign dealer by quite the whole difference by which he could afford to do it, in conſequence of a competition that will act in the oppoſite direction. For, by the reduction of the real price to the foreign conſumers, their effective demand will be enlarged; and this enlarged demand will prevent that reduction, which the bounty has a tendency to effect, from being wholly completed. The difference will be received by the exporter in an addition to the adjuſted rate of his profits; and, the extenſion of foreign demand being communicated to the home market, will raiſe at home both the price of corn and the profits of farming. By raiſing the profits of farming, it will operate as an encouragement to huſbandry; by raiſing the price of corn to the conſumers at home, it will diminiſh for the time their power of purchaſing this neceſſary of life, and thus abridge their real wealth. It is evident, however, that this laſt effect muſt be temporary: the wages of the labouring conſumers had been adjuſted before by competition, and the ſame principle will adjuſt them again to the ſame rate, by raiſing the money-price of labour, and, through that, of other commodities, to the money-price of corn. The bounty upon exportation, therefore, will ultimately raiſe the money-price of corn in the home market; not directly, however, but through the medium of an extended demand in the foreign market, and a conſequent enhancement of the real price at home: And this riſe of its money-price, when it has once been communicated to other commodities, will of courſe become fixed.

This fixed advance of the money-price at home will neceſſarily affect the price at which the exported corn can afterwards be ſold in the foreign market. It will of courſe diminiſh that difference, whatever it is, by which the exporter can underſell the dealer in foreign grain. That difference, however, may ſtill be large enough, with the aſſiſtance of the bounty, to allow the exporter ſtill to underſell that dealer; and to occaſion, in the ſame manner as before, a farther extenſion of demand. This will be followed, as before, by a ſeries of effects, ultimately terminating in a farther advance of the money price at home. And this ſeries will be conſtantly renewed, until the advance of that money-price becomes ſo high, as to cover the whole differ-

ence by which the exporter was before able to underſell other dealers abroad. By a new bounty, however, granted in addition to the former, a new range may be created for the repetition of another ſeries of the ſame effects. But, whatever limit we ſuppoſe to the amount of the bounty, its complete and ultimate effect will always be found to be a correſponding riſe of the money-price in the home-market, both of corn, of labour, and of all commodities. In the interval that muſt each time elapſe, before wages are equalized with each ſucceſſive riſe in the price of corn, there will be a certain degree of new encouragement held out to huſbandry, and ſome diminution in the wealth and comfortable ſubſiſtence of the labouring conſumers. That encouragement to huſbandry will not be followed by any increaſe of the number of the people, becauſe the additional production is excited by a foreign demand. And this diminution of the comforts of the labouring people, from being temporary, may become almoſt a permanent diminution, if the ſucceſſive advances of the price of corn ſhall follow each other without interruption, and ſo keep always ahead of the ſucceſſive advances in the wages of labour.

If it ſhould be felt expedient to remove ſuch a bounty as this upon exportation, and to reſtore the commerce and production of grain to their natural order, ſuch a repeal would be attended with ſome temporary inconveniences. The ſudden deſtruction of that part of the foreign demand, which had been forced by the bounty, would throw an exceſs upon the home-market, and would reduce the profits of farming for a time below their actual and juſt rate. The national conſumers would for a time be more eaſily and plentifully ſupplied; until, by the abſtraction of capital from tillage, the ſupply of corn was once more accommodated to the real demand, and the profits of the farmer raiſed again to their natural rate.

If, in the preceding analyſis, we have deduced with accuracy the operations of the principle of competition, a correction muſt be made in Dr Smith's argument upon the bounty. When we conſider, indeed, the patient, circumſpect, and compreheaſive care which the reaſonings of that great author almoſt always evince, and the hazard there is that, in a proceſs of ſome length and intricacy, we may have overlooked one or more neceſſary ſteps, it is not without much diffidence that we preſume to attempt ſuch a correction. At preſent, however, he appears to us not to have completed this inveſtigation with his uſual ſucceſs.

In the firſt two editions of his Inquiry, the form of the inveſtigation is conſiderably different from that which appears in all the ſubſequent editions. In theſe, he ſtates and anſwers ſeparately

parately two arguments that had been alleged by others in favour of the bounty—the extenſion of the foreign market, and the enhancement of price to the farmer. But in the firſt two editions of the work, there was no notice of any alleged extenſion of foreign demand, but only of the ſingle argument founded on the enhancement of price. By omitting all conſideration of the foreign market, he excluded that to which we have traced the operations of the bounty as commencing in the firſt inſtance. In ſeparating the extenſion of the foreign market and the enhancement of price, from each other, and treating them as quite diſtinct, he overlooked that neceſſary connexion which we have endeavoured to point out between them. In both caſes, his error appears to have conſiſted in too haſtily aſſuming, from thoſe whom he was about to refute, that a bounty on exportation would occaſion *immediately* a riſe of the money-price in the home-market: an aſſumption which betrays itſelf explicitly, when he comes to ſpeak of it as 'a very moderate ſuppoſition, that a bounty of five ſhillings the quarter upon exportation, may raiſe the price four ſhillings in the home-market.' This aſſumption is evidently the foundation of his ſeparate anſwer to the alleged enhancement of price, in which his general remarks are quite accurate, ſo far as they reach, but are inadequate to the inference, which he founds upon them, that the bounty can have no effect in raiſing the real price of corn; inaſmuch as he has overlooked that *interval* which elapſes, as we have ſhown, between the enhancement of the money-price of corn, and its communication to the money-price of labour and other commodities. In his ſeparate anſwer to the alleged extenſion of foreign demand, he does not expreſsly deny the fact, but affirms that, in every particular year, this is at the expence of the home-market, and endeavours to ſhow that the bounty reſtrains alſo the gradual extenſion of the home-market, by its enhancement of the price. But in affirming that the quantity exported in every particular year, were it not for the bounty, would remain in the home-market, he evidently takes it for granted, that this quantity, though there had been no bounty, would ſtill have been grown: now, this is the very queſtion upon which he undertakes to prove his particular opinion. In endeavouring to ſhew, that the enhancement of price, occaſioned in the home-market by the bounty, muſt reſtrain the population or the induſtry of the country, he proceeds upon the above mentioned aſſumption, that the bounty occaſions an immediate riſe of the money-price of corn, and therefore muſt either reduce the ſubſiſtence of the labourers, or, if wages riſe, the ability of their employers to give them work. If that riſe of money-price, however, is conſequent,

as we have shewn, to an extension of demand in the foreign market, it will at first increase the ability of those employers; and though it will likewise reduce at first the subsistence of the labourers, their wages must soon rise to their true rate; and this rise in the money-price of labour will only reduce the ability of the employers to its former level.

If these criticisms on the reasoning of Dr Smith shall appear well-founded to such of our readers as have bestowed on his work the study it merits, from all who are serving their apprenticeship to the science, or to the practice of commercial policy, they will at once perceive, that we have derived, out of the work itself, the means of correcting its imperfections.

Some of the errors, into which the advocates for the bounty have fallen, are more palpable, and proceed from an imperfect acquaintance with the fundamental principles of political economy.

In the *first* place, they have quite misunderstood Smith's important doctrine, that the variations of the money-price of corn are communicated ultimately to that of labour and other commodities. He has not perhaps stated this general truth, nor deduced the reasoning by which we are led to it, in a form perfectly unexceptionable; but his application of it to the operations of the bounty is quite legitimate. They have insisted, some of them at great length, that the price of commodities and labour is liable to be affected by many other circumstances, besides the price of corn. This is unquestionably true; but is surely not incompatible with Dr Smith's proposition, which, so far as it enters into his reasonings about the bounty, goes no farther than to assert, that every change it may occasion in the money-price of corn will communicate itself, first to the money-wages of labour, and, through them, to the money-price of all other articles; and that thus the real price of corn will be maintained the same, notwithstanding a nominal variation. Without a just apprehension of this fundamental truth, it is impossible to reason with accuracy upon the subject.

In the *second* place, they seem very imperfectly aware of the manner in which the principle of competition operates upon profits, and upon exchangeable value. And on this account, many of the remarks, which they have made, are inconsistent as well as unfounded. They have uniformly supposed, as Smith appears likewise to have done, that the sum of the bounty is immediately added to the former money-price even in the home-market: at the same time, they contend that the average price in that market will be lowered. It is their opinion, that the real price of corn will upon the whole be rendered cheaper to the consumers, and that

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the same real price will be maintained permanently higher to the farmer; though these two positions are in direct terms contradictory of each other. When Mr Malthus, who is by far the most intelligent advocate for the bounty, observes that 'it lowered greatly the price of corn, by producing a growth considerably above the wants of the actual population,' he evidently forgets, that a greater growth can only be occasioned by a greater demand, will always be adjusted to that, and, keeping the supply and the demand always in the same ratio, will in other words keep the price always at the same rate. And when this writer speaks of 'the experienced difficulty of lowering wages when once they have been raised,' he seems to have forgotten, for a moment, that very part of the great principle of competition upon which his own researches have thrown so much light; and, in fixing his eye upon an irregular movement at some part of the large machine, to have quitted his steady view of that uniform motion in which all the retarding and accelerating forces are found to have balanced one another. But the advocates for the bounty have betrayed a much less pardonable inattention to the necessary action of this principle of competition, when they conceive, as some of very high authority * have done, that the average price of grain in the home-market may be so low as not to yield a 'fair and reasonable' profit to the grower. We shall afterwards point out the share which this very erroneous prejudice may be supposed to have had, in recommending the late legislative attempt; but it would be endless to submit, at this time of day, to the formal refutation of an error so palpable and so antiquated. We shall notice only one mistake more, into which the theoretical writers appear to have fallen. Both Dr Smith and his antagonists have pronounced, that, in years of extraordinary abundance, the bounty will prevent the money price of corn in the home-market from falling quite so low, as it would fall if there were no bounty. In this position, Smith is quite consistent at least with himself, because he uniformly maintains that the bounty can have no effect in rendering the annual produce larger than it otherwise would be. But the same consistency cannot be allowed to those, who both assert this position, and assume that the bounty does increase the produce, and occasions a surplus growth above the annual consumption. For this surplus, it is to be observed, will, in a year of extraordinary abundance, partake of the extraordinary increase; so that over and above the usual home supply, there will in such a year be reaped not only the extraordinary increase upon

* Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting the Corn Trade, ordered to be printed 14th May and 14th June 1804.

upon that ſupply, together with the uſual ſurplus for exportation, but likewiſe the extraordinary increaſe upon that ſurplus. Of theſe four portions of the crop, therefore, not only the ſecond, but the fourth alſo, will be thrown as an exceſs upon the home market; and the price in that market will conſequently be lowered much more by the whole of this exceſs, than it would have been by the former part of it alone.

In the reſult, therefore, our idea of the operations of a bounty upon export differs a good deal from both the opinions which were ſtated at the outſet of this inveſtigation. We conceive that it may, in a particular manner, afford ſome temporary encouragement to tillage; and thus, to a certain degree, force the production of a ſurplus, which may be reſerved for the home market in deficient years. By preventing, in thoſe years, the temporary price from riſing ſo high as it otherwiſe would, it may be conſidered as reſtraining a little on one ſide the occaſional fluctuations of the price of corn; but, by overſtocking the home market in plentiful years ſtill more than it otherwiſe would be overſtocked, it muſt be conſidered as giving a ſtill greater range to the fluctuation of the temporary price on the other ſide. Whether or not it approximates one extreme point of variation more or leſs towards the ordinary price, than it removes the other, and whether or not it thus contracts or extends the whole range of occaſional variation, is a queſtion which it might be difficult to ſolve, but which is probably of greater curioſity than importance. While this is the influence of the bounty upon the temporary changes of real price, its effects, we conceive, upon the nominal price of corn, is to raiſe and keep it higher than it otherwiſe would be.

If that ſort of encouragement to tillage, which we have here admitted, ſhould be deemed a ſufficient benefit to recommend to a great nation the eſtabliſhment of a bounty, it muſt ſtill be remembered that, though it may indirectly ſecure a more certain ſupply of corn, it neceſſarily retards, upon the whole, the growth of national opulence and induſtry. It forces a part of the national capital into a branch of trade, which is neceſſarily a loſing one, and which does not return the whole of the capital that is employed in it. Defence, however, it has been ſaid, is of more importance than opulence: * and an independent ſupply of ſubſiſtence lies at the foundation of the means of defence. The general obſervation is undeniable. The truths of political oeconomy form but a claſs among the principles of adminiſtration, and in their practical application muſt often be limited by higher maxims of ſtate, to which in theory too they are held ſubordinate,

* Wealth of Nations, II. 195.

ordinate, as being less general. Yet, unless this subordination is finely and truly felt, the limit may be placed very injudiciously; and we may be summoned to deviate from general rules, whenever a statesman takes fright at a temporary inconvenience, or is captivated with some specious project of a remedy. The wisdom, which would become this mature age of English policy, is of more simple arrangements, as well as firmer to its purpose. A case should be made out of controuling necessity, and of a result clearly overbalancing, by the advantage, all disadvantages that may be concomitant. After estimating to its full amount the possible benefit to be derived from such an artificial contrivance as the bounty, we must not only weigh against that, both the immediate sacrifice and all the subsequent disadvantages, but we ought likewise to consider whether the very benefit proposed, at least in one point of view, might not be better obtained in another way—as by the removal of any existing impediments to cultivation, to the free commerce of land, the free employment of capital, or the free transference of labour. There is an immediate sacrifice in forcing the national capital into a branch of trade, in which part of it is absolutely lost; for the whole sum granted in bounties, together with the expences of collecting the tax by which they are defrayed, is a part of the national capital thrown into that trade without any return. There is some disadvantage, in that constant diminution of the real wages of labour, which is occasioned by the progressive rise of the price of corn in the home market. Very considerable disadvantages are incurred, from the constant enhancement of the money price of labour and all other commodities, both in the depreciation of fixed pecuniary returns, and in the injury to domestic manufactures in their competition against foreign industry. But the greatest disadvantage, perhaps, of all, consists in the uncertainty and derangements to which interferences of law subject the capital that is vested in the trade of grain, and the obstacle which these oppose to the free enlargement and consolidation of that most important system of commerce. On the other hand, the encouragement, such as it is, which any assigned bounty will give to husbandry, must expire after a short interval—as soon as the money price of corn in the home market has risen, and it cannot fail to rise, so high as to cover the whole advantage, which the bounty had originally given to the exporter in his sales abroad: and the whole encouragement or stimulus, which, even during this interval, the bounty can give to agriculture, will be found to be very slight, if we consider the manner in which this stimulus is formed, and that it consists, not, as it has hitherto been represented, in the addition of the whole bounty to the farmer's price, but in that small addition to his price, which is occasioned

caſioned from time to time by the gradual extenſion of foreign demand. It may be important, likewiſe, with reference to the preſent circumſtances of this country, to remark, that, when the average price of corn at home is greater than that of the foreign market, the interval of encouragement to tillage, under the ſame bounty, will be ſhorter than in the other two caſes, and the whole diſadvantage of high money-prices will be ſooner brought to its greateſt height.

The preſent circumſtances of the country, with reſpect to its agricultural produce, have excited a very unneceſſary alarm among ſome of our legiſlators as well as political writers. It is affirmed, that, as in years of ſcarcity we have been dependent on very large importations from abroad, we are even in ordinary years dependent upon importation for a certain portion of our neceſſary ſupply. If the fact be ſo, of which there is not yet full proof in poſſeſſion of the public, we can diſcover no reaſon why it ſhould be conſidered as more than a temporary and ſlight inconvenience. A bounty upon exportation, at any rate, and the prohibition of importations, do not ſeem to form the moſt reaſonable ſort of remedy for ſuch a ſtate of things, or one that is very likely to prove ſucceſsful. An entire freedom of importation, combined with a bounty upon production augmented from time to time, might have appeared at leaſt a more plauſible propoſal. But it is evident that all ſuch ſchemes muſt be nugatory, compared with the remedy which a ſupply, too narrow for the actual demand, provides for itſelf. The demand in the home market is at all times by far the moſt powerful, generally the ſole, encouragement to cultivation; and its power muſt be increaſed immenſely, when circumſtances force on the demand ſtill more rapidly than the ſupply can be augmented. In the preſent circumſtances of Great Britain, the law ſurely can add nothing to the permanent encouragement of agriculture, though there are a few impediments which it might remove. Nothing can be more unfounded than the fears which ſome advocates for the bounty have expreſſed, that England may ceaſe to be an independent agricultural nation; except the lamentations, which others have indulged over the actual decline of its huſbandry ſince the fatal ſtatute of the year 1773. They muſt have loſt all truſt in their own memory, as well as the evidence of their ſenſes, who can doubt for an inſtant, that from year to year of this period the huſbandmen of Britain have extended their capital, their ſkill, and their produce. The commerce and the manufactures of the iſland conceal in ſome meaſure its agricultural grandeur; of which we may not perhaps obtain a full view, unleſs this ſplendid ſuperſtructure of our preſent proſperity, mouldering away from the fragility of the materials,

or ſhattered by external violence, ſhall expoſe the ſtrength and extent of the baſe on which it reſted. Like Lombardy, and Tuſcany, and Flanders, England would be left rich and orderly even in ruin; and would be reſorted to, for the leſſons of her ancient huſbandry, by ſuch nations as might then be accumulating from commerce the reſources of agricultural improvement. In the mean time, the growth of our population, and the diſtribution of wealth among the induſtrious claſſes, accelerated at a rate with which our agriculture cannot keep pace, inſtead of ſhowing ſymptoms of decay, form an unprecedented caſe of rapid progreſſion; favoured a little by an accidental conjuncture in the political ſituation of neighbouring ſtates, but originating in the condition of our national opulence itſelf. It is a fact, indeed, from which the inference to the preſent argument ſeems irreſiſtible—although a full explanation of it is not yet furniſhed by our knowledge of general principles. For the different employments of national capital, and the progreſs in which they naturally ſucceed each other or alternate, form a ſubject on which we are not yet in poſſeſſion of a complete theory; though a beautiful ſketch was drawn by Dr Smith,* to which many original remarks have been added by Mr Brougham in his work upon Colonial Policy, and ſome happy illuſtrations by Lord Lauderdale in the laſt chapter of his late publication. It is a ſubject, the farther inveſtigation of which we earneſtly recommend to our ſpeculative readers, as it would throw light on ſome of the moſt important points of the wealth and œconomy of nations. Such an inveſtigation, we have little doubt, would prove that the deficiency of domeſtic produce, which may take place in a great agricultural country from an accelerated diffuſion of wealth among the people, can only be temporary, though it may occaſionally recur; and ought to be conſidered as indicating, in the cleareſt manner, the velocity of that natural current, which the regulations of law may check, but never can impel. A careful collection of ſome circumſtances in the hiſtory of different nations, ſuch as have always been moſt neglected by hiſtorians, would curiouſly ſhow, that ſimilar oſcillations, in the balance of the trade of proviſions, have often accompanied the moſt ſteady progreſs of accumulating wealth. Lord Bacon, we remember, in ſome of his political treatiſes, has more than once found occaſion to remark, that 'whereas England was wont to be fed by other countries from the eaſt, it ſufficeth now to feed other countries;' and that 'the good yields of corn, together with ſome

* From the beginning of the Fifth Chapter of the Second Book, to the end of the Third Book.

some toleration of rent, hath enticed men to break up more ground, than all the penal laws, for that purpose made and enacted, could ever by compulsion effect.' †

The bounty seems likewise to have recommended itself to some of its admirers, by that air of ingenious contrivance which they fancy that they perceive in it. The very simple expedient, of paying a few shillings at the custom-house, is to secure such a surplus of annual produce as will equalize the variation of value, and establish even a remedy against the natural inequality of the seasons. The bounty, it would seem, being attached to this irregular system of supply and prices, is to perform the functions of what mechanicians call a fly, attached to an engine in which the opposite pressures are apt to become unequal. It is to accumulate a surplus of produce, by which an occasional deficiency shall be supplied; and it is to act as a regulator of the price, against the circumstances that tend to enhance or to depress it. If it can be said to do all this, it may be said to do something more; 'to repress,' as Mr Malthus has inferred, 'to repress the principle of population a little in years of plenty, and to encourage it comparatively in years of scarcity; regulating, in this manner, the population more equally, according to that quantity of subsistence which can permanently be supplied.' * For ourselves, we confess, that all this appearance of device and project would raise a presumption against the bounty, if we were still unprovided with a more legitimate conviction. In the real machinery of the arts, human ingenuity only proceeds to render less imperfect its own designs; but the mechanism of commerce and circulation proceeds from another hand; and we can only disorder the scheme when we presume to touch it. That can rarely be wisdom for one great state, which may not permanently be followed by all. All cannot, by adopting the bounty, secure to each an export of corn; and the single nation that stoops from the plain high maxims of policy to so paltry an artifice, will ultimately be convinced that not even a paltry advantage can be gained. The balance of this trade cannot long be very great to any nation; and it will naturally be possessed by that one, whose capital and skill are in a condition to furnish the additional supplies most advantageously to all. In this condition, if the exportation is free, it will hold the balance, without requiring the aid of a bounty; nor can a bounty give it the balance, if it is not in that condition. In one instance, indeed, it has happened, that a bounty was in force while a particular nation was in this condition; and the possession of

† See his Advice to Villiers, and the Observations on a Libel.
* P. 457.

of the balance was aſcribed, not to the condition, but to the bounty. A bounty upon exportation, it is to be obſerved, implies, to a certain length, a free exportation; and the real conſequences of that freedom are very apt to be aſcribed to the bounty.

We are afraid, however, that in the late relapſe of our Legiſlature to the old exploded ſyſtem, ſome effect is to be imputed to an error of a much coarſer fabric than either this project about a ſurplus, or the apprehenſions of a national deficiency. Without the aid of the new ſtatute, it has been ſaid, the farmer cannot be ſure of obtaining, even in the home market, a 'fair and reaſonable profit.' If he cannot, without this ſtatute, ſecure that profit, he has but little chance of it with all its aſſiſtance. How ſo groſs a prejudice could be liſtened to again, after all that people have been taught, it becomes neceſſary to explain. Like other ſorts of trade, that of the farmer is liable occaſionally to the ſpirit of overtrading, if profits for a time have happened to be greater than ordinary. The late years of dearth and moſt extraordinary price, rendered the profits of farming, for the time, much greater than ordinary; and the conſequence appears to have been, a pretty free indulgence of the diſpoſition to trade too much, and to enter into projects diſproportioned to the capital that would immediately be inveſted. In many inſtances, where farmers came to make a new agreement about rent, they reckoned too confidently upon the continuance of prices which they ought to have conſidered as unuſual; and made the eſtimate of their future returns too much upon the recent rate of profit, and not upon an average ſufficiently and reaſonably large. Like other improvident ſpeculators, they were, of courſe, to ſuffer for their want of foreſight, as ſoon as prices and profit returned to their ordinary rate. The loſs ſuffered by the improvident, is 'the fair and reaſonable,' as well as the unavoidable, conſequence of imprudence; of which it is at once the puniſhment and the preventative. The number of thoſe who overtraded in this manner, was of courſe ſmall, compared with the whole number of farmers; but that is no reaſon why their voice ſhould not be loudeſt, when the majority have no intereſt in contradicting them. As a few merchants, whoſe credit is exhauſted, and who can get no money to borrow, perſuade not themſelves only, but all the world, that there is too little money in the country, the farmers, to whom it is difficult to make good their imprudent engagements, find it almoſt as eaſy to perſuade other perſons as themſelves, that prices are a great deal too low. Their landlords, in particular, are not the perſons moſt likely to diſcover that prices are not too low, but rents a little too high; and they may honeſtly find it ſomewhat difficult

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to be convinced that the embarraſſment of their tenants is owing to that local cauſe, and not to ſomething that affects the general condition of the country. The country gentlemen, accordingly, upon the recent occaſion, ſpoke out with that explicit plainneſs from which they ſeldom deviate, even when they moſt miſlead the public councils. In the pamphlet whoſe title we have prefixed to the preſent article, it is ſaid, that 'times, unfortunate in other reſpects, impreſſed on tillage a renovated vigour, a vigour which the principles of this act, and theſe alone, are able to ſuſtain.' And in the ſecond Report * of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, the ſame acknowledgement is ſtill more expreſs—

'It appears to your Committee, that the price of corn, from 1791 to the harveſt of 1803, has been very irregular; but, upon an average, increaſed in a great degree by the years of ſcarcity, has in general yielded a fair profit to the grower. The uſual high prices, however, have had the effect of ſtimulating induſtry, and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waſte land; which, combined with the two laſt productive ſeaſons, and other cauſes, have occaſioned ſuch a depreſſion in the value of grain, as it is feared will greatly tend to the diſcouragement of agriculture, unleſs maintained by the ſupport of Parliament.'

One might imagine that the framers of this reaſoning have proceeded upon the ſuppoſition of a *caſt* of farmers, whoſe numbers and whoſe capitals do not admit, or ought not to be ſuffered to admit, of being diminiſhed by the operation of the principle of competition. The ſucceſs of ſuch topics almoſt carries one back (which is not the effect of many other appearances at preſent) from the years of the nineteenth century to the times of the old country party. But the ſucceſs might not perhaps have been equally great, if the Maſter of the State had already been ſecurely fixed upon that vantage ground, from which he may now dictate a policy more congenial to his former ſyſtem. Amidſt the arrangements of foreign policy and war which may be ſuppoſed to abſorb his mind, the humble and leſs precarious plans of domeſtic legiſlation may be forgotten. But the miniſter who tampers, for a preſent purpoſe, with his own maxims, and indulges individuals in their frivolous fondneſs for making laws, inſtead of oppoſing, to temporary intereſts, the ſpirit of a general policy, cannot be true either to his own fame, or to the laſting proſperity of Britain.

ART.

* Ordered to be printed, 14th June 1804.

ART. XVI. *A Defence of the Slave Trade, on the grounds of Humanity, Policy, and Juſtice.* 8vo. pp. 90. London. Highley. 1804.

THE queſtion of the abolition of the ſlave trade has undergone ſuch ample and repeated diſcuſſions, and ſo much has been written by the partizans on either ſide, that we ſcarcely had conceived it poſſible that any publication, for or againſt the meaſure, whatever might be its other merits, could now poſſeſs the grace of novelty. But the anonymous writer of the tract before us has convinced us of our error; and it is but fair to begin by acknowledging it. His very title-page, indeed, ſerved to rectify our miſconception—'A Defence of the Slave Trade, on the grounds of *Humanity*, (as well as of) Policy and Juſtice;' and in a ſhort advertiſement, by which the work is preceded, the author particularly requeſts the impartial attention of thoſe readers who may have been led to conceive that the ſlave trade is hoſtile to humanity, and expreſſes his confidence that their benevolence will prompt them to be friendly to that much injured commerce. The beſt pamphlet we ever remember to have read in defence of the ſlave trade, was entitled, 'Doubts concerning the Abolition, &c. on the ground of Juſtice, Humanity, and ſound Policy, by an old Member of Parliament.' This was publiſhed before the famous deciſion of the Houſe of Commons in favour of gradual abolition, in 1792. The great body of evidence, which was about that time publiſhed, and the Parliamentary debates which then took place, threw great light on the whole ſubject; and, with the exception of the Members for one or two places concerned in carrying on the ſlave trade, we well remember, that whatever doubts might be entertained concerning the policy of the abolition, or rather of the immediate or ſudden abolition of the trade, there was but one opinion concerning its injuſtice and inhumanity. Mr Dundas and Mr Addington, who were the chief advocates for gradual abolition, avowed, in the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt terms, that they entirely agreed in opinion with the abolitioniſts as to the character and effects of the traffic; one of them even declared, that he knew no language which could add to its horrors; nay, they acknowledged, that good policy alſo ſtrongly recommended the abolition; but they contended, that the attempt to put a *ſudden* ſtop to the trade, would ſhock the prejudices of the Weſt Indian coloniſts, and that it would be found impracticable to effect the meaſure without the concurrence of theſe coloniſts themſelves. It was reſerved for the writer of the work now before us to take the higher ground of juſtice and humanity, and thus intereſt us by the novelty of his principles, as well as convince us by their ſoundneſs and force.

It seemed, however, that our author's plea was not well suited to the period at which his work was published. The mild principle of English jurisprudence, that every one is to be deemed innocent till he has been proved to be guilty, had secured even to this greatest of all criminals, the slave trade, a fair trial; and it was not till after a very extended examination, and many and long discussions, that its guilt was ascertained, and its sentence pronounced. After this, we scarcely expected more than an application for some delay in its execution, from the most sturdy of its advocates. It was therefore with some admiration, and with no little curiosity, that we entered on the perusal of this work. Not unwilling, we trust, to be convinced of our errors, if errors they should be proved, we prepared ourselves for those new facts, or new principles, which were to lead us to conclusions so different from those to which our former inquiries and considerations had conducted us. Nor have we been disappointed in those expectations of novelty; for, certainly, a newer set of facts was never brought forward; and even those with which we were formerly familiar are so completely altered, as to present altogether a new face, to speak altogether a new language, and to serve a different, and even opposite purpose. Our readers may probably wonder that these facts can have been so long kept secret. Their surprise, however, will lessen, when we inform them, that they are the result of invention, rather than of experience. Should any sturdy moralists be ready to condemn this intrusion of the imagination into the province of memory, and to stigmatise it with a shorter and a harsher epithet, let them remember, in the first place, the exigency of the case. Necessity, like 'misery, acquaints a man with strange bedfellows.' The author had to prove the slave trade to be just and humane. Now, it was plain that the old facts would not answer his purpose; for advocates as able as himself, and full as well affected to the cause, had been obliged to confess that the fair deduction from those facts was, that it was unjust and inhuman. He had therefore no course left but to get a set of new ones; and if they were not to be had from others, he must provide them for himself. Whatever we may think of this resource, the result is not, after all, so unfavourable to truth as might be at first conceived. An overloaded piece is often, by the recoil, more hurtful to the person who uses it than to him against whom it is directed: and we confess, that we have been sometimes apt to suspect, in the course of the perusal of the work before us, that the writer had been all along playing a double game, and that, as we have heard of those who have given to truth all the effect of falsehood, so he had been ingeniously contriving to give to falsehood all the effect of truth.

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Our readers, however, will enter more completely into the juſtneſs of our remarks, from our furniſhing them with a few inſtances.

Firſt, then, much uſe being to be made of Mr Parke's work, (almoſt the only work on the ſubject with which the writer appears to have been acquainted), it was material that no exception ſhould be taken againſt Mr Parke's evidence. But our author is not of a temper to do things by halves. He is not ſatisfied, therefore, with aſſigning reaſons why Mr Parke's teſtimony may be received againſt abolition, but he boldly and repeatedly calls him the 'miſſionary,' 'the envoy,' 'the agent' of the abolitioniſts; they were his 'employers, for whom his work was compoſed,' &c. (p. 10, 19, 20) Now, few of our readers are probably ignorant that this aſſertion is not only different from the truth, dut directly oppoſite to it. The leading members of the African Aſſociation, who were Mr Parke's patrons, are well known to have been adverſe to the cauſe of the abolition; and a narrative or abſtract of Mr Parke's Travels, prepared from his materials and oral communications, which formed the baſis of Mr Parke's larger work, and was entirely incorporated into it, was compoſed by one of Mr Wilberforce's moſt zealous and active opponents, Mr Bryan Edwards. The work, therefore, ſo far as it may have received an unintentional tincture from the opinions and feelings of its editor, would come forth unfavourable to the abolition; and the courage of our author in aſſerting the contrary is the more to be admired, becauſe Mr Parke himſelf, though ſpeaking with reſpect of the abolitioniſts, expreſsly declares his oppoſition to their views.

Again, in ſpeaking of the general character of the Africans, he ſays, on Mr Parke's authority, 'the Africans are habitually indolent and improvident.' Now, hear Mr Parke (*Travels*, p. 280.)—'The negroes in general, and the Mandingoes in particular, are conſidered by the whites on the coaſt as an indolent and inactive people; *I think, without reaſon.* Few people work harder, when occaſion requires, than the Mandingoes; but not having many opportunities of turning to advantage the ſuperfluous produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating as much ground only as is neceſſary for their own ſupport.' After which, Mr Parke goes on to give a detailed account of their agriculture, their fiſhery, and their different manufactures of cloth, and dyeing—(their chief colour, which is produced from indigo, being very beautiful, and equal, in Parke's opinion, to the beſt Indian or European blue); of their manufactures of wickerwork, of leather, of iron and gold; of which (indolent as they are) they execute a variety of ornaments with a great deal of taſte and ingenuity.

Again, appealing all along to Mr Parke, our author affirms—'the Africans, like other barbarians, are cruel and blood-thirſty.' Now, to quote all the inſtances which Mr Parke has given of the directly contrary qualities of the Africans, would be to tranſcribe a large part of his work. Their ingenuity, their deſire of inſtruction, their parental tenderneſs, their filial affections, their kindneſs and hoſpitality, their gentleneſs and cheerfulneſs, their value for truth, their love of their country, in ſome inſtances their magnanimity, do honour to the human character. The ſame account of their character is given by Mr Winterbotham.

Let us next take a paſſage, wherein our author enumerates the principal ſources of ſlavery mentioned by Mr Parke. 'One of the chief cauſes of ſlavery,' ſays our author, under this head, (that of penal law), 'is the belief of witchcraft. At every meeting of a criminal court, ſuppoſed witches and wizards are doomed to ſlavery.' (p. 11. 12.) Now, what ſays Mr Parke himſelf? 'No trial for this offence (witchcraft) came under my obſervation while I was in Africa; I therefore ſuppoſe that the crime and its puniſhment occur very ſeldom.'

In proof of the *fatal* effects of the ſlave trade on the peace, order, and civilization of Africa, Mr Wilberforce had affirmed, that, while in every other region, the ſea-coaſt and the banks of navigable rivers, thoſe diſtricts which from their ſituation had moſt intercourſe with civilized nations, were found to be moſt civilized and cultivated, the effects of the ſlave trade had been ſuch in Africa, that thoſe parts of the coaſt which had been the ſeats of the longeſt and cloſeſt intercourſe with the European nations, in carrying on a flouriſhing ſlave trade, were far inferior in civilization and knowledge to many tracts of the interior country, where the face of a white man had never been ſeen. Mr Wilberforce added, that the ſlave trade had been able alſo to reverſe the ordinary effects of Chriſtianity and Mahomedaniſm, and to cauſe the latter to be the inſtructor and enlightener of mankind, while the former left them under the undiſturbed, or rather increaſed influence, of all their native ſuperſtitions. Mr Wilberforce's aſſertion would not be very fairly tried by Mr Parke's perſonal obſervation of the effects of the ſlave trade on the coaſt; becauſe, as he himſelf ſtates, 'the trade of the river Gambia with Europe has been almoſt annihilated.' (p. 25.) 'Slaves are the chief article; but the whole number which at this time are annually exported by all nations, is ſuppoſed to be under one thouſand, and moſt of theſe unfortunate victims are brought to the coaſt from very remote inland diſtricts.'

districts.' (p. 25.) It is a flourishing, not a declining and almost annihilated slave trade, which Mr Wilberforce states as being so unfavourable to the progress of civilization and knowledge. Our author, however, appealing to Mr Parke, flatly contradicts Mr Wilberforce's position altogether. He first goes into a good deal of detail. The kingdom of Barra, says our author, nearest to the ocean by the mouth of the Gambia, is very populous and fertile. Yana, the next to it inland, is populous, and affords abundance of the accommodations and comforts of life. This is also the case with Walli, the next in order; and Woolli (next to that) is beatiful, fertile, and well peopled. The people of Barra, Yana, Walli and Woolli (says our author, p. 19.), are more polished than more eastern Africans. Now, it is really singular, that, in the account of the kingdom next after these first four, but to the east of them, we find Mr Parke stating —'I went to the top of a high hill, and had a most enchanting view of the country. The number of towns and villages, and the extensive cultivation around them, *far exceeded any thing I had yet seen in Africa.*' (p. 88.) However, our author does allow Bondon to partake of the populousness and agriculture of the more maritime districts. But he goes on—'In Kagaago and Kaffon the people are poor and thievish, and the country less populous;' and he gives you to understand the same concerning the two other countries still farther eastward, Kaarta and Bambarra. At length, he thus sums up his argument on this head—

—'Every separate passage, and the whole tenor of Mr Parke's account of his travels, proves, that the *assertion of Mr Wilberforce*, that desolation and barbarity prevail near the coast—cultivation, populousness and refinement, at a distance from the coast,—is quite contrary to fact. Mr Parke found, "that the direct opposite was true." The more maritime countries were cultivated, populous, hospitable and civil. Coming to the inland nations, which Mr Wilberforce pronounced to be flourishing and civilized, he found either desolate wilds, that denied subsistence, or savage manners, that would not suffer him to proceed.' p. 22. 25.

Now, to give a full and particular refutation of our author's falsehoods; to show, how it is only by confounding together the Moors, whom he has the discretion not to mention, and the Negroes, two classes of men, whose race, appearance, dispositions, morals and manners, are not only different, but directly opposite, that he can obtain from the most hasty and superficial reader the slightest colour for his assertions, would be too long a task; but it may be sufficient to remark, in direct contradiction of our author's statement, that, in proportion as Mr Parke travelled eastward, he found the countries more populous and cultivated, more advanced in the arts of civilized and social life; and though,

from the fear of the Moors, the natives, and especially those whose high stations rendered them more liable to observation, durst not always openly patronize and defend him, wherever he went he was almost invariably received with hospitality and kindness. It was in Bambarra, that scene of misery and disorder, according to our author, that he found the river Niger, with all that industry and populousness, to the production of which, a large navigable river is so favourable. 'There the great city of Sego, containing, as he had reason to believe, 30,000 inhabitants, filled him with astonishment. The view of this extensive city,' says he, 'the numerous canoes upon the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed, altogther, a prospect of civilization and magnificence, which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa.' Such is the support which Mr Parke gives to our author's contradiction of Mr Wilberforce's assertion, that superior cultivation, populousness and civilization, prevail at a distance from the coast. Had Mr Parke's just apprehensions of personal danger from the Moors, and of the consequent loss of all the information he had actually obtained, permitted him to penetrate still farther eastward, instead of finding, according to our author, increasing desolation and barbarism, he would have seen the large and flourishing cities (of which, as it was, he received undoubted accounts) 'of Jenne, in Bambarra, which is said to contain a greater number of inhabitants than Sego itself,' (p. 213.); 'of Tombuctoo, long supposed to be the capital of Africa, an extensive city, and one of the principal marts of an extensive commerce, the king of which, a Moor, is reported to possess immense riches, and the chief officers of state live in considerable splendour, and the whole expence of his government is defrayed, as Parke was told, by a tax on merchandize, which is collected *at the gates of the city*; of the city of Houssa, concerning which Parke conversed with many merchants who had visited it, and they all agreed that it was larger and more populous than Tombuctoo, the trade, police and government, nearly the same in both.'

Now, as to the dispositions of the natives. It was among these inland nations of desolate wilds, or savage manners, that Mr Parke places the scene of that beautiful and pathetic tale of simple hospitality, which must touch the heart of every reader who peruses it, (p. 190. 199.) The same general facts are abundantly confirmed by two more recent publications. Dr Winterbotham, in his account of Sierra Leone, expressly states, that the towns and villages on the coast are both much smaller and much more rudely built than those in the interior; and he testifies, that trials for witchcraft are of daily occurrence in the former

mer ſituation, while Mr Parke never witneſſed or heard of one, during a reſidence of eighteen months in the inland regions. The other work alluded to is Mr Barrow's account of the Cape, where he notices the general fact of the uniform barbariſm of the coaſt, compared with the interior, in terms which we have had occaſion to ſpecify in our review of that publication, (Vol. IV. p. 448.)

Again, in illuſtration of his opinion that the ſlave trade ſaves the lives of priſoners of war, who would otherwiſe be murdered, our author ſtates the oppoſite conduct of the kings of Kaſſon and Bambarra. The former, ſays he,

—'had a feud with the king of Kaarta, and having captured a conſiderable number of priſoners, he did not maſſacre them; but being nearer the coaſt, and having communication with ſlave traders, he ſold, inſtead of butchering, his captives. But the dominions of Bambarra being at ſuch a diſtance from the coaſt, a king of Bambarra having defeated his enemies, killed great numbers, and took many priſoners, of whom the chief portion was put to death, as there was no vent for ſale.' (p. 127.)

Now, as a contraſt of this ſort ſuited our author's purpoſe, it was natural for him to ſtate it; and if hiſtory did not furniſh ſuch a contraſt, imagination muſt ſupply the defect. But, conſidering that Mr Parke's book is much too intereſting to have been ſent to the grocer's, or even to lye neglected on the ſhelf, it was a little too courageous in him to adduce the preciſe inſtance he has named of the king of Bambarra; becauſe from that book it clearly appears, that, ſo far from being fact, it is in all reſpects utterly contrary to it. '*Moſt of the ſlaves*,' ſays Parke, 'who are ſold at Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger, and a great ſlave market, *come from Bambarra*; for Manſong, the king of Bambarra, to avoid the expence and danger of keeping all his priſoners at Sego, commonly ſends them in ſmall parties, to be ſold at the different trading towns; and as Kancaba is much reſorted to by merchants, it is always well ſupplied with ſlaves, which are ſent thither up the Niger in canoes.' Can any words more clearly deſcribe a regular ſlave trade? Yet, 'the dominions of Bambarra being at ſuch a diſtance from the coaſt,' ſays our author, 'there was no vent for the ſale of priſoners made by them in war!' Again, ſpeaking of this very war made by the king of Bambarra againſt Kaarta, we find, (p. 107.) 'that he began his operations by ſeparating a great part of his army into ſmall detachments, and ordered them to overrun the country, and ſeize upon the inhabitants, before they had time to eſcape.'—'Moſt of the poor inhabitants of the different towns and villages, being ſurpriſed in the night, fell an eaſy prey. He accordingly ſent all the priſoners he had taken in-

to Bambarra.' Parke afterwards mentions ſeveral parcels of ſlaves with which he fell in, who had been taken priſoners in this very war, and mentions the manner in which the priſoners were generally kept, till the opportunity of ſelling them arrived; and he cloſes his account of the war with theſe words—'The rainy ſeaſon put an end to the war of Kaarta, which had enriched a few individuals, but deſtroyed the happineſs of thouſands.' (p. 289. 318. 256.)

But the vigour of our author's imagination, though it has been put to hard ſervice, is not ſpent by his account of the effect of the ſlave trade on Africa. It is no leſs powerful, when he is painting the comforts of the middle paſſage (*App.* p. 87.); (though in the body of his work, he had been inadvertently drawn into ſome conceſſions of a contrary tendency (p. 86.); and alſo when he comes to that part of his ſubject which reſpects the Weſt Indies. We will begin with an aſſertion, which is utterly without foundation, and which we can contradict the more poſitively, becauſe all our Engliſh abolitioniſts, we believe, without a ſingle exception, both in their writings and their ſpeeches, have poſitively declared the contrary. 'In the early ſtages of this diſcuſſion, the abolitioniſts were votaries of emancipation; they would not have a ſlave in the Weſt Indies!' (p. 61.) Let us next give a very few other inſtances of our author's inventive powers, taken from his account of the ſlave's ſituation. Firſt, of the ſlave's food. After deſcribing the poor and ſcanty fare of the Britiſh peaſantry, he goes on—

—'A negro has plenty of corn and rice, to dreſs as he pleaſes, for breakfaſt; abundance either of fiſh or meat, and the beſt vegetables for dinner, and a ſufficient quantity for ſupper, with a conſiderable allowance of ſugar-cane, and as much rum to dilute with water, as will invigorate and enliven, without intoxication. Beſides, from their own ſavings, many of them live luxuriouſly. (p. 49. 50.) The allowance of flour, rice, bread, fiſh and beef, to each negro, is greater than a ſtrong healthy man will conſume in England, with as much liquor as will anſwer the purpoſes of health and invigoration.' (*App.* p. 87.)

If our author's imagination were not of that rapid flight which prevents his ever pauſing to weigh probabilities, to ſolve difficulties, or to adapt means to ends, we might be tempted to aſk him, whence came the meat and fiſh with which the negro table was ſo ſumptuouſly provided? It is rather ſingular that ſo great a proviſion trade as muſt be required for the annual ſupply of near 600,000 negroes with meat and fiſh, to ſay nothing of veniſon and wild-fowl, ſhould have been hitherto kept ſuch a ſecret; for the only trade to the Weſt Indies for proviſions, of which we ever heard, is of a far more vulgar ſort, that of Britiſh and American flour, or barrelled herrings, and other cured fiſh;

fiſh; which laſt, however, ſcarcely correſpond, we fear, with the other luxuries of a negro table, ſince we remember that it was a worthy alderman's ſpecial plea in favour of the ſlave trade, that it furniſhed the means of diſpoſing of our refuſe fiſh which was too bad to be eaten by any other claſs of individuals. But this is really too ſerious a ſubject to joke upon. 'Though ſport to us, it is death to them.' The ſcanty feeding of our negroes, eſpecially in ſome of our old iſlands, is among the chief cauſes which obſtruct the natural courſe of population. Concerning the articles of their diet there can be no doubt—native or imported vegetable food, with ſalted herrings for ſeaſoning. It ſcarcely deſerves to be mentioned as an exception, that ſometimes a meal or two of butcher-meat are ſaid to be given to them at Chriſtmas. *

In reſpect to the hours of labour, likewiſe, we are at a loſs to know whence our author has derived his information. If he were not utterly ignorant of Weſt India economics, he would know, that during crop time, which laſts, with ſhort intervals, for near half the year, the work is carried on all night, the ſlaves working

* One grand ſource of error in eſtimating the ſtate of treatment of the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies is, that particular inſtances are ſuppoſed to be general rules. As this has ſometimes operated againſt the Weſt Indians, particular inſtances of cruelty having been converted into a general ſyſtem of cruelty, ſo they alſo ſometimes profit from it. For inſtance, that quantity of proviſions which is granted to the ſlaves by liberal and affluent maſters (for, ever obſerve, affluence as well as liberality is requiſite for the production of the effect), is always ſtated as the univerſal allowance of all maſters, in all their ſeveral varieties. A curious detection of this ſophiſtry was furniſhed by the papers contained in the Privy Council Report. The agent for the iſland of Jamaica, a truly reſpectable and well informed man, with ſome other equally reſpectable coadjutors, ſtated that the allowance of herrings made to the field ſlaves was from twenty to twenty-five barrels of herrings or other ſalt fiſh annually to every hundred ſlaves. Now, taking an average of five years of peace immediately after a long war from 1783 to 1787, the whole number of ſlaves in the iſland being eſtimated at about 230,000, and the field ſlaves, according to the uſual calculation, ſeven eighths of the whole number, the barrels of herrings conſumed ought to have been near 46,000 barrels. But the accounts of imports ſhew that the average quantity of *herrings, and all other cured fiſh*, annually imported during the five years, not for the negroes alone, but for all the inhabitants of the iſland, amounted to not half the quantity, to but 21,089 barrels. *Ex pede*, &c. If the Weſt India gentlemen would ſuffer all their accounts to be inſpected, how the ſecrets of the priſon-houſe would be opened!

working by gangs at intervals. In Jamaica, in crop time, the ordinary working hours are never less than eighteen; and reckoning the average time for going and returning from the place of labour in the morning and evening and mid-day, the *minimum* may be fairly called nineteen and a half. This, however, it must be observed, includes the time allowed for breakfast and dinner; and if half an hour be allowed for the negro to prepare and eat his supper, four hours only remain for sleep. A friend of ours who was some time in Jamaica in the situation of a book-keeper or overseer, assures us, that was the utmost he could ever obtain when engaged in the business of crop. Out of crop, the average hours of labour may be reckoned from five in the morning to seven at night.

So far as to the hours of labour; now to the nature of it. 'When they are actually at work, they go on' (says our author) 'with activity and glee,' (p. 44.); and then, speaking of that part of their work wherein the most muscular strength is required, he says, 'there is no work which the negroes go through with more cheerfulness.' Now this may call for the same explanation as was once required for the complete elucidation of an assertion, pretty similar, of a most respectable West India gentleman in his examination in the Committee of the House of Commons. He had been asked the ordinary weight of a basket of dung which the negroes were used to carry on their heads; to which he replied he did not know, but he was pretty sure that it could not be very heavy, because they always ran with it. He was, however, reminded of a little circumstance he had left out of his calculation, and which might contribute, as well as the lightness of the basket, to the pace at which it was carried—that a driver was at the negro's back with a long whip to urge him forward. The same cause may probably have had some share in producing the activity with which the negroes go through this hardest part of their labour.

In selecting the above instances of our author's misstatements of facts, we have been guided by the consideration of the brevity and clearness with which his assertions were capable of refutation. There are other instances, wherein more argument, more laying together of different passages, and consulting various authorities, would have been requisite. If to any of our readers we may appear to have dwelt too long on this division of our subject, and to have adduced more instances than were necessary of the degree in which our author has indulged his inventive powers, in defiance of his own authorities, we beg they will in the first place consider, that in all controversies it is of extreme importance to ascertain the degree of credit due to

a writer; and that it is peculiarly important, in the present instance, where the difference, though so great in effect, is almost entirely a difference as to facts, rather than to principles; where the opposite conclusions to which the contending parties finally arrive, result altogether from the opposite statements to which they respectively give credit. 'The slave trade in theory is indefensible;' we continually hear this language from all its advocates, except some few who, from being connected with places where the slave trade is principally carried on, are allowed a certain liberty of thinking and speaking, and are understood to be uttering the sentiments of their constituents rather than their own. 'The slave trade,' say its defenders, 'in speculation must be admitted to be unjust and cruel, directly contrary to the laws of God, and the rights and happiness of man. But, in practice, much may be said for it. The slave trade, instead of causing wars, lessens their number, and mitigates their cruelties. It prevents much misery in Africa. The slaves it carries away would be massacred or devoured if they were to stay at home; whereas, by the most comfortable conveyance, they go to a country where they are admirably treated, and made as happy as heart can desire. Besides, it is added, the West Indian estates can be worked only by the continued importation of African *labourers*; and therefore if you discontinue the slave trade you put an end to West Indian cultivation; and all those who live by the products of it, the state also which derives from that source an ample revenue and a vast income, must be utterly ruined.' Such, in brief, are the chief assertions which are made by the advocates for the continuance of the slave trade; and though, even if they were true, any man who has a true conception of the nature of justice, and of the line of conduct it prescribes, would find himself unable to assent to their conclusion, yet it would be with sensations very different from those with which he now condemns the traffic, when he knows, if he has accurately examined the subject, that every one of the above assertions is substantially false and groundless. It is therefore of extreme moment to obtain well-grounded and accurate facts on this great question; and after the specimens we have already given, we conceive it must be evident that whatever other merits our author's work may claim, facts at least are not to be expected from it. Indeed, after the extracts we have already given, it may perhaps appear superfluous to go any further. It may be thought that we have already said more than enough of a work of this description. But, in consideration of the extreme importance of the subject, and not from a regard to the manner in which it is treated, our readers will allow us to continue the discussion.

The

The work is in general executed with conſiderable ability, and is well calculated to produce an effect. It is clear, eaſy, and tolerably good humoured; and is juſt ſuch a defence of the ſlave trade, in ſhort, as being pronounced before an ignorant or a willing audience, would be heard with intereſt, and received with applauſe. But, after this firſt tribute of praiſe, we are bound to add, independently of the fundamental ground of objection we have already noticed ſo much at large, that we find nothing of novelty in our author's arguments, nothing which indicates reſearch, nothing which ſhews that he is well acquainted with his ſubject, or that he is aware of what will be alleged, or can be proved by his opponents. It is rather the firſt thoughts, the morning recreation of a gentleman, than the well laboured compoſition of a ſtudent, or the judicious argument of a counſel; it is rather what we might have expected when the abolition of the ſlave trade was firſt brought forward, than what ſatisfies us now when the whole ſubject has been ſo fully ſcrutinized.

Our author begins with ſome very juſt, but not equally new, remarks on the ſpirit of innovation, which has of late gone forth, and particularly condemns that doctrine of the equality of mankind which has proceeded from it. He then goes on to vindicate ſlavery; and, ſlurring over the diſtinction between ſlavery and a regular traffic in ſlaves, he proceeds to juſtify the ſlave trade alſo, by an appeal to the writings of the wiſeſt heathens, and by a ſtill bolder appeal to the Holy Scriptures, in order to prove that there is nothing in ſlavery, or the ſlave trade, contrary to virtue and Chriſtianity, (p. 9.) He next contends, that the ſlave trade is peculiarly ſuited to the ſtate of ſociety in Africa, and to the character and qualities of its inhabitants (p. 10—32, &c.); that it tends to reſcue them from periſhing by famine, or by the cruelty of their bloody tyrants; that, contrary to the aſſertion of abolitioniſts, the ſlave trade is by no means the cauſe of the wars in Africa (p. 16, &c.); that Mr Wilberforce's aſſertion, that the interior of Africa is more populous and civilized than the coaſt, is proved by Mr Parke to be utterly groundleſs, (p. 19, &c.) He then ſpeaks of the middle paſſage, and acknowledges that Mr Wilberforce here deſerves high praiſe, the diſcuſſion of the ſubject having led to the entire correction of many abuſes, which prevailed till within theſe fifteen years, a conceſſion which our author in ſubſtance, though not expreſsly, retracts in his appendix, (p. 87.) He next deſcribes the ſituation of the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies; and here alſo he acknowledges, that conſiderable ſeverities have been inflicted upon the negroes in the plantations in former times; but theſe are all at an end, and now the Africans

Africans are contented and happy. It is triumphantly affirmed, and the importance of the argument is indicated by the magnitude of the type, that 'there never was an inſtance of one of them wiſhing to be ſent back to Africa, although ſome have had the option, and have been offered the means of conveyance.' A detailed account is then given of the mild treatment and happy ſtate of the negroes, compared, not only in point of animal wants, but of ſocial enjoyments alſo, with the wretched fare of the Britiſh peaſantry.

This paſſage may ſerve as a ſpecimen of our author's manner of writing. After ſtating what we have already quoted, as to the luxuries of their table, he goes on—

'Indeed, a merrier ſet of beings than the African negroes in the Weſt Indies are not to be found in the known world. Not ſailors returned to harbour from a long voyage, have more of mirth and feſtivity, for a few weeks with their favourites and their fiddlers, than the Britiſh negro in the Weſt Indies enjoys every evening of his life. Every night of the year they have as much enjoyment, as the lower claſs in England have at the ſeaſon of Chriſtmas gambols.'—'An African, by the continuance of the Britiſh ſlave trade, having ſuch means of permanent good living and conſtant mirth and feſtivity, appears to me in a better ſituation, than if, from the abolition of the ſlave trade, he were to be in danger of periſhing in his native land, from the preſſure of often recurring famine, or of being butchered by ferocious conquerors, who would ſacrifice him, becauſe they had no temptation in their avarice to ſave his life. Let humanity view the negro in Africa, without the vent of a ſlave trade, ſtarving or murdered; and view him by a ſlave trade in the Weſt Indies, labouring moderately, well fed, clothed and lodged, acquiring property, and enjoying all the ſocial comforts which he moſt highly appreciates. To which of the two ſituations would genuine and wiſe humanity, conſidering the capacities and habits of its objects, allot the negro? Suppoſe it entirely depended on Mr Wilberforce, whether blacks were to ſtarve in the wilds of Africa, to have their heads poſted on the palaces of Dahomy, or to work moderately; every day to eat, drink, and be merry, in the Weſt Indies, would he be the more humane in abandoning them to the deſtiny that would follow abolition, or in conveying them to comfort and ſocial enjoyment, through the continuance of the trade?'

After this contraſt, our author may well conceive himſelf to have made good his grand poſition, that the ſlave trade is not contrary to humanity. He next urges the very common argument, that if we were to aboliſh the ſlave trade, other nations would take it up. He ſtates that the Americans, who, at the firſt eſtabliſhment of their republic, proſcribed the ſlave trade,* now

* It is perhaps needleſs to remind our readers, that there is not the ſmalleſt

now traffic in it to a very conſiderable extent, and that the French are well diſpoſed to engage largely in the ſame commerce. The remainder of the work is occupied in vindicating it on grounds of policy and juſtice. In diſcuſſing the policy of the ſlave trade, he forgets entirely the diſtinct ſtatements of Mr Wilberforce, and the ſtill more deciſive and celebrated calculations of Mr Pitt, in which it was demonſtrated, that the continuance of the trade was not at all neceſſary for keeping up the preſent ſtock of ſlaves, or even for inſuring their gradual multiplication. But our author, in forgetting all this, only furniſhes a freſh proof of the poſition of our great moral poet, that, where the invention is ſo vigorous, the memory cannot be expected to be very correct:

'Where beams of warm imagination play,
The memory's ſoft figures melt away.'

Inſtead of admitting the grand poſition of the abolitioniſts, that the care which, in caſe of the abolition, the maſter's direct and palpable intereſt would prompt him to take of his ſlaves, would tend throughout to meliorate their treatment, and gradually to raiſe them from their preſent degraded ſtate, he dwells at great length on the fatal diſcontents and ultimate inſurrections among the ſlaves now in the iſlands, which would be produced by ſtopping all farther importations. There is ſomething ingenious and lively in his way of putting the argument. We will extract a ſpecimen:

'But ſuppoſe the ſlave trade were aboliſhed, how would a Weſt Indian negro reaſon? In all moral probability as follows: "This Mr Wilberforce, from his benevolence towards our brethren in Africa, will allow no more of them to be ſlaves. We henceforth are to be the only ſlaves in the Britiſh dominions. Why are other Africans exempted from ſlavery, if ſo bad a ſtate as Mr Wilberforce repreſents it, and we only to continue in that ſtate? Slavery muſt be ſomething much worſe than we have found it, and we will ſuffer it no longer to be impoſed upon us, than upon our brethren in Africa."

We confeſs, that the deference which our author ſuppoſes the negroes to pay to Mr Wilberforce's reaſonings, is greater than we could have conceived; when he imagines, that they will judge of their ſtate from his deſcriptions, rather than from their own experience.

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ſmalleſt ground for this aſſertion; but that this law owes its origin entirely to the inventive power of our author, which we have already had ſo many occaſions to admire. The very contrary is ſo far true, that, by a fundamental law of the American conſtitution, the Congreſs was precluded from making any change in the condition of any of the inhabitants of America for twenty years. This law, by forbidding emancipation, did in effect preclude any law for preventing the importation of ſlaves.

experience. Our author, however, at length conſoles himſelf with the perſuaſion, that the effects of the raſhneſs and folly of the Houſe of Commons will be prevented by the reflection and wiſdom of the Houſe of Lords; and he goes on to ſtate the immenſe amount of our Weſt Indian imports, the vaſt revenue we derive from them, and their importance to our marine, maintaining that the ſlave trade is the main ſpring of all the reſt, (p. 79.) Finally, he contends that parliament is bound, by obligations of juſtice to our Weſt Indian proprietors and mortgagees, and to our African merchants, to continue the ſlave trade; and concludes with a brief ſummary of the fatal effects of the abolition. An appendix is ſubjoined, qualifying or confirming ſome of the former ſtatements, and containing ſome information concerning the amount of the imports from St Domingo prior to the French revolution.

Such is the ſubſtance of our author's work; a great part of which is ſufficiently confuted by ſtating it. As for juſtifying our continuance of the ſlave trade by the principles or practice of the moſt poliſhed of the heathen nations, our author muſt be himſelf aware that his argument proves too much. It might be pleaded in juſtification of crimes, juſtly held in ſuch abhorrence in all Chriſtian countries, as not even to be named, though they prevailed in the moſt refined ages, and among the beſt characters of Greece and Rome. It might be urged with equal force in vindication of another crime ſcarcely more natural, the expoſure of infants, which, as it was ſtyled by a great writer, himſelf a warm admirer of Paganiſm, was the incorrigible vice of all antiquity. As to the arguments in favour of the ſlave trade, deduced from the Holy Scriptures, we are not much diſpoſed to enter into a diſcuſſion of them, becauſe we own we can ſcarcely believe they are urged ſeriouſly. The miſtaken ſcruples of a conſcientious mind, every one will be diſpoſed to treat with tenderneſs; but the tone and ſtyle of this writer do not ſeem to entitle him to ſuch an indulgence; and he who can juſtify the ſlave trade from the practice of Joſeph, might juſtify concubinage and capricious divorces from that of the patriarchs. With regard to the paſſages referred to in the New Teſtament, our bleſſed Saviour's grand practical rule, of doing to others as we would have them do to us, as it is the ſhorteſt, ſo is it perhaps the beſt refutation of all ſuch laborious ſophiſtry.

While we were ſettling the queſtion of our author's credibility, we were naturally led to confute ſome of his arguments. It may be proper, however, to notice the chief of theſe more particularly. His aſſertion, that the ſlave trade is not the fomenter of wars in Africa, as it is a contradiction to the moſt

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eſtabliſhed principles of human nature, and contrary to all experience, ſo it is directly oppoſite to the facts recorded by Mr Parke, the very writer to whom our author refers in proof of his aſſertion. The demand will always inſure the ſupply; and the maxim is moſt unhappily confirmed by our African experience; where the increaſing or decreaſing demand for ſlaves too ſurely produces the increaſing or decreaſing ſupply of that commodity.—The manner of carrying on wars in Africa is clearly indicative of their motive. Throughout the whole of Mr Parke's work, we find that it is the grand object of both the contending nations, to carry each other into ſlavery; and he particularly mentions a peculiar ſpecies of warfare, called *tegria* (plundering or ſtealing) which bears about it ſo plainly the lineaments of the ſlave trade, as to leave not the ſmalleſt doubt to what parent it is to be aſſigned. 'No immediate cauſe of hoſtility is aſſigned, or notice of attack given; but the inhabitants of each nation watch every opportunity to plunder and diſtreſs the objects of their animoſity by predatory excurſions.'

But if, even in Mr Parke's work, we find abundant proofs of this important fact, it is ſtill more clearly and unequivocally ſtated by other writers, many of them agents of the African Company, or factors engaged in the ſlave trade, whoſe works having fortunately been written and publiſhed before it became their intereſt to conceal or violate the truth, contain an invaluable body of evidence, from which the whole caſe of the abolitioniſts, ſo far as reſpects Africa, may be indubitably eſtabliſhed. We ſhall venture upon a few ſhort extracts. The firſt is *M. Brue*, director-general of the French Senegal Company in the century before laſt, who reſided in Africa at different times eleven years: he ſays, 'The Europeans are far from deſiring to act as peace-makers amongſt them. It would be too contrary to their intereſts; for the only object of their war is to carry off ſlaves; and as theſe make the principal part of their traffic, they would be apprehenſive of drying up the ſource of it, were they to encourage theſe people to live well together.' Again, ſpeaking of the country about Rio Grande he ſays, 'According to the wars which theſe people have with each other and their ſucceſs, the ſlave trade here is better or worſe.' Again, 'The neighbourhood of the Damel and Tin keep them perpetually at war, the benefit of which accrues to the Company, who buy all the priſoners made on either ſide; and the more there are to ſell, the greater is their profit; for the *only end of their armaments is to make ſlaves, to ſell them to the white traders.*' Again, M. Brue, when ſpeaking of another African war, ſays their 'campaigns are uſually incurſions to plunder and pillage; and they have

every

every thing they wish or aim at from their wars, when they are able to make captives from one another, because that is the best merchandize they have to trade with the Europeans.'—'Avarice, and the desire of making slaves in order to have wherewith to buy Europeans' commodities, are often the veritable motives for going to war.' Again, *Barbot* a Dutch factor tells us, 'that the country of Delmina, which was formerly very powerful and populous, was in his time so drained of its inhabitants by the intestine *wars fomented by the Dutch*, that there did not remain people sufficient to cultivate the land.' *Bosman*, also, another Dutch factor, is very full to the same effect. *Mr Moore*, a very intelligent English factor, whose work is of high authority, says, 'whenever the King of Banally wants goods or brandy, he sends a messenger to our governor at James Fort, to desire he would send a sloop there with a cargo. The governor sends accordingly. Against the arrival of the said sloop, the king goes and ransacks some of his enemies' towns, seizing the people, and selling them for such commodities as he is in want of. In case he is not at war with any neighbouring king, he falls on one of his own towns, and serves them in the same manner.'—We will only mention one more instance out of the multitude that might be adduced, from the evidence of a general officer, General Rooke, who was formerly governor of Goree. * 'The king or damel on the neighbouring continent sent to the chief of the villages in his dominions to send him a given number of slaves; but *if they were not to be procured on this request, the king went to war till he got the number he wanted.* The general heard that there had been two battles fought on the continent during his stay at Goree, for slaves, and was told it was not an uncommon practice to make war for that purpose.' Admiral Sir George Yonge † made much the same statement, as well as several other witnesses examined before the Privy Council. After so many plain and strong acknowledgements of the effects of the slave trade in producing a constant state of warfare and depredation, our readers will be less surprised to hear, that Mr B. Edwards himself, in the celebrated speech he made in the Assembly of Jamaica about the year 1790, the object of which was to refute the whole of Mr Wilberforce's charge against the slave trade, as it had been laid before the House of Commons of Great Britain, frankly confessed the same important fact. 'I am persuaded,' says he, 'that Mr Wilberforce has been very rightly informed as to the manner in which slaves are generally procured. The intelligence I have collected from my own ne-



* *Vide* Privy-Council Report, art. *Slaves*, part I. † *Ibid.*

groes abundantly confirms his account; and I have not the ſmalleſt doubt, that in Africa the effects of this trade are preciſely ſuch as he repreſents them to be. Sir, the whole or the greateſt part of that immenſe continent is a field of warfare and deſolation—a wilderneſs, in which the inhabitants are wolves towards each other. That this ſcene of oppreſſion, fraud, treachery and blood, *if not originally occaſioned, is in part, I will not ſay wholly, upheld by the ſlave trade, I dare not diſpute.* Every man in the ſugar iſlands may be convinced that it is ſo, who will inquire of any African negroes, on their firſt arrival, concerning the circumſtances of their captivity. 'The aſſertion, that a great many of theſe are criminals and convicts, is mockery and inſult.'

Our author then repeats an argument which has been often before urged, that the ſlave trade reſcues the wretched Africans from the tyranny of their bloody deſpots; and then we hear a long account of the king of Dahomy, and are told, that but for the ſlave trade, every victorious prince in Africa would be a king of Dahomy, murdering his priſoners, and thatching his palace with their heads.

It is curious, that not only the concluſions which it is the object of this ſtatement to eſtabliſh, are utterly falſe, but that almoſt every particular of the ſtatement itſelf contains ſome egregious falſehood. It has, however, ſome foundation. There is, in Africa, a kingdom called Dahomy. There is alſo in Europe a kingdom called France. Dahomy has had the misfortune of being governed by a cruel tyrant, though his cruelties have been exaggerated to a degree ſcarcely to be conceived. France can far overmatch the Boſſa Ahadie of Dahomy with her Robeſpierre. Now, to complete the parallel, ſuppoſe for a moment that Europe, not Africa, were the ſource of ſupply to a ſlave trade, by which, from the extended line of our European ſea coaſt, in about equal proportions, were carried off into perpetual ſlavery ſeventy or eighty thouſand human beings, a part furniſhed by the maritime, a larger part by the interior diſtricts, every kingdom almoſt of Europe being ſuppoſed to ſupply its ſhare: What ſhould we think of the logical dexterity of a writer, who ſhould allege, as a deciſive argument in favour of this extended traffic, that the Pariſians, who would otherwiſe be left at home, would be left only to the cruel mercies of the guillotine?

The caſe is even ſtronger with regard to Dahomy; for it appears that the maſſacres were not in the leaſt degree diminiſhed by the greateſt activity of the ſlave trade; and that the wars, by which the victims were ſupplied, owed their origin excluſively to

that

that atrocious traffic. The argument for the continuance of the slave trade, grounded on the massacre which would otherwise take place of the slaves which had been brought down to the coast for sale, can scarcely be urged seriously; and even granting it to be well founded, it ought, in all fairness, to be charged to the account of the slave trade, which had created the demand for these wretched victims. At any rate, it would only happen once; for the slave-hunters would cease to catch and bring down for sale this species of game, when it was known there could be no longer any demand for it. But, in truth, the supposition, as it is utterly contrary to common sense, so is it abundantly contradicted by experience; for it clearly appears from Mr Parke, as well as from the testimony of other witnesses, that slaves, when brought down to the coast for sale, are set to work for their own maintenance or for their master's emolument, either when there is no demand for them, or when the price offered for them is deemed inadequate to their value. * Our author's humanity was surely also very willing to be reconciled to the slave trade, when it could admit, as a sufficient plea for its continuance, the occasional famines which take place in Africa, and the impossibility of procuring food, under which the poor natives would find themselves, when the only price they have to give for it, their own bodies, should no longer be accepted in payment. Our author here exults over Mr Wilberforce's shortsighted humanity, and pathetically exclaims, that if you abolish the slave trade, 'there will be no slave chain, no means for great numbers of human beings escaping the dreadful death of hunger.' We rather wonder that it did not occur to our author, first, that we are probably to ascribe to the slave trade, that improvidence and want of industry, the sure effects of general insecurity of person and property, which in general are the occasion of the very famines that are here mentioned. In the next place, surely, it is owing to the slave trade that the savage possessors of food, of which, it is to be observed, our author's argument supposes them to have a supply, refuse to part with so much as is necessary to preserve the bare existence of their fellow-creatures, except at the dreadful price of their selling their wives or their children, or their own bodies into perpetual slavery. Surely nothing but the slave trade could achieve so complete a conquest over the natural sympathies of the human heart, as, in this season of general distress, to prompt these men of practical humanity to turn the temporary wants of those around them into an expedient for embittering the whole duration of their future

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* Parke, p. 290. 356. Also *vide* Lieutenant Matthews's evidence in the Privy Council Report, art. *Slaves*, Part I.

lives: and nothing, we may add, but the slave trade could so familiarize men with deeds of injustice and cruelty, could have so extinguished, or rather reversed the natural feelings of the human heart, as to have enabled our author to mention such an act as this, without the utmost extreme of abhorrence and detestation.

Our author, in his selection of popular topics, has not forgotten to enlarge upon the doctrine of those who have maintained, that the incurable barbarism of the negroes showed that they were of a species inferior to our own, intended by the Almighty, or, as persons of this description more commonly express themselves, by *Nature*, to be the helots, the hewers of wood and drawers of water to the human species. 'I am afraid,' he pathetically exclaims, (how far sincerely his readers must judge), 'I am afraid, the probability of civilizing the negro tribes is very inconsiderable.' Some of the circumstances which have been already recited, seem not only to prove the falsity of this general position, but evidently to show, that we, the enlightened and more favoured inhabitants of a happier region, are the real authors of that inferiority,—we, who employ our superior powers in barring out from this benighted land the blessings of Christianity and the comforts of civilization, and (to use Mr Pitt's memorable language in the House of Commons) 'in keeping down this vast continent in a state of bondage, ignorance and blood.'

Our author has prefaced his account of the state of the slaves in our West Indian islands with a short discussion, wherein he very justly states, that in estimating the happiness or misery of any class of men, we must consider their ways of thinking and feeling, their inclinations and habits of mind; otherwise we may form very erroneous conclusions, and even render men miserable by our very endeavours to make them happy. For these reasons, says our author, we are not to presume that the negroes in the West Indies are not a happy people, because we ourselves should be miserable in their situation. To them, a state of slavery is no evil. They are used to it at home, as well as to starvation and massacre. In the moderate and easy labour, and plentiful food of the plantations, they find an asylum from hunger and the sword. Such is the substance, nearly the very words, of our author's statements. We have already shown, that some of the luxuries of the poor negroes' tables owe their being to the creative powers of his imagination. Fully to discuss all the particulars into which this subject would lead us, would be too long a task. But some circumstances occur to our recollection, which induce us to suspect that his statement, in general,

general, owes its chief exiſtence to the ſame inventive faculty. Firſt, it has been deemed, by general conſent, to be a pretty fair teſt of the comfortable or wretched ſtate of any people, that they increaſe or diminiſh in number. Now, it is remarkable, that whereas, in Africa, the negroes are repreſented as being a very prolific and very healthy people, and that, conſequently, the negro nations, in general, have an overflowing population, we are told, that in the Weſt Indies, a climate exactly ſimilar to their own, they cannot even keep up their numbers without continual importations. Again, it is alſo ſingular, that negro ſlaves, theſe well-fed, idle, merry beings, who find this ſtate of ſlavery ſo congenial with their habits and feelings, whenever, by a long continued courſe of ſuperior induſtry, parſimony, and good fortune, they are able to accumulate a ſum of money which to them muſt appear immenſe wealth, are known to apply it all to the purchaſe of their freedom; or, when their own lives have been ſo far advanced as to be ſcarcely worth redeeming, they buy with it the freedom of a child, or a brother, or a ſiſter. This is the more ſtriking, becauſe the word *freedom* conveys a very falſe notion of the ſtate into which they paſs. A more degraded, unprotected condition, can ſcarcely indeed be conceived, than that of the free negroes in the Weſt Indies, as is abundantly manifeſted from the mere peruſal of the laws of the ſeveral iſlands. We are therefore naturally led to the concluſion, that the negro ſlaves, in purchaſing their liberty, are influenced, not ſo much by the anticipated ſweets or eminence of the ſtate to which they aſpire, as by a ſenſe of the evils of their former condition. This is alſo the more remarkable, becauſe theſe ſlaves being of courſe men of ſuperior induſtry and good conduct, of which their attainment of freedom, either by purchaſe or gift, is a ſufficient proof, muſt naturally be ſuppoſed to be thoſe who have ſmarted the leaſt under the laſh of the driver. But, what is more—this perverſe miſconception of their true happineſs has been favoured by the practice of private maſters, and even by the laws of the ſeveral iſlands, which remunerate any extraordinary inſtances of fidelity or good conduct in ſlaves, by giving them their freedom, as the moſt valuable recompenſe they could receive.

If this proof of the negro's eſtimate of a ſtate of freedom and of ſlavery, reſpectively, be not ſufficient, we have a *wholeſale* argument to the ſame effect in the incidents of St Domingo. After what has paſſed ſo recently in that iſland, we ſcarcely could have expected any writer to maintain, that the negroes are ſo deeply enamoured with their condition of ſlavery.

As to their being in a ſtate of ſlavery in their own country, we are often miſled by the ambiguities of language; and ſeldom has there exiſted a more flagrant inſtance of this ſpecies of deception, than that which is here afforded us. It is true, many of our ſlaves in the Weſt Indies have been ſlaves in their own country. But, how different from the Weſt Indian ſlavery is the ſtate of domeſtic ſlavery in Africa! There, they were not an inferior order of beings, marked by the very colour for a degraded race. There, they were members of their maſter's family: there, they were never worked under the whip: the very exiſtence of a driver is unknown in Africa; 'the maſter and his ſlaves working,' as Parke and all other African travellers tell us, 'without any diſtinction of ſuperiority.' There, the maſter has no right to ſell them, but for a crime, and often not without the intervention of a jury. There is a little incident in Parke's book which throws great light on this ſubject. It is, where Parke's poor blackſmith, who had ſerved him in the capacity of a domeſtic ſlave, is afraid of falling into the hands of the Moors, and, appealing to him for the fidelity of his own ſervices, aſks him, 'Have I not ſerved you as if you had been to me a father and a maſter?' ſhowing, by his uſe of theſe terms as ſynonymous, as clearly as by the moſt regular induction of reaſoning, that, in the African's view, maſter and ſlave ſtand toward each other in a parental and filial relation. But our author, in order to prove that a negro is much happier in the Weſt Indies than in his native land, refers, as to a teſt beyond all appeal, to an experiment which he ſays has been often tried (*credat Judæus*), 'that not one of them would return to Negro Land if they were permitted.' Where we are to find the unqueſtionable teſtimony by which this fact may be fully aſcertained, our author has forgotten to inform us. They muſt be very ignorant, or very ſuperficial, on whom this averment can have any effect. Even if the fact could be eſtabliſhed in one or two individual caſes, is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the ſlave's refuſal muſt have proceeded from his apprehenſion that he might once more become the victim of the ſlave trade; once more be dragged down in chains to the coaſt; once more be hurried on ſhipboard; once more be forced to endure, and what muſt often be equally effected by compulſion, be alſo forced to *ſurvive* the horrors of the middle paſſage? The averment, indeed, requires no confutation; but it was impoſſible to read this part of our author's work, without calling to mind the teſtimony of a moſt reſpectable witneſs, Captain Wilſon of the Navy, who ſtated in his evidence, that he had often witneſſed the joy expreſſed by the negro ſlaves in the Weſt Indies at their funerals, when they rejoiced,

joiced, from a perſuaſion that their deceaſed friend had eſcaped from ſlavery, and was returning to his native country.

We do not mean, however, by any means to affirm, that even Weſt Indian ſlavery is often diſgraced by groſs and wanton acts of direct cruelty. That theſe occaſionally occur, and that the principle of ſelf-intereſt is an inſufficient ſecurity againſt them, is but too true. A ſlave in the Weſt Indies is of little more value than a horſe in this country; and thoſe who ſee how often a poor brute is here treated with cruelty by his more brutal maſter, will ſcarcely require any other proof, that acts, even of extreme barbarity, will but too commonly occur; and indeed, on this head, the evidence delivered in the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, by witneſſes of unexceptionable character, is a deciſive proof. But this is not the grand evil; and it is to be regretted, that, by inſiſting ſo much upon theſe particular inſtances of cruelty, ſome leſs judicious opponents of the Weſt Indian ſyſtem have drawn off the eyes of men from the true and principal grievance, and have alſo incenſed ſome of the better individuals among the planters, who have conceived themſelves to be attacked by thoſe who have ſtigmatized the whole Weſt Indian body with indiſcriminate ſeverity. It would be well, however, for the maſs of the ſlaves, if this were the only grievance to be complained of. The grand evils are thoſe which reſpect the great maſs of the negro population; their perſonal, civil, ſocial, and domeſtic evils; their exceſſive labour and inſufficient food; perhaps, above all, their being worked under the whip like cattle. The nature of this mode of working the ſlaves, has been ſo clearly explained in a paſſage we have formerly had occaſion to quote, * that it is unneceſſary to repeat it.

It is one of the great evils of a ſtate of ſlavery, that the ſufferings and privations of ſlaves are apt to be increaſed, and their labour aggravated, whenever the maſter's affairs happen to be embarraſſed; and ſuch of our readers as are at all acquainted with Weſt India concerns, need ſcarcely be told that this is the ſituation of at leaſt nine tenths of the proprietors in the Weſt Indies. But the grand grievance of all, that which to a feeling mind will appear the ſum and completion of all the reſt, is, that they are ſunk almoſt below the ſcale of rational creatures, and have become in every reſpect a baſe and a degraded race. Let it not be thought that we are ſpecifying rather the feelings, which their ſituation naturally excites in a Britiſh beholder, than thoſe which are ſuffered by their own minds. In common, we do not pity a fellow creature leſs for being inſenſible to his own miſery.



* Vol. I. p. 218, &c.

'Moody madneſs, laughing wild,
Amid ſevereſt woe,'

has been deemed no enviable condition; and if it be one of the moſt debaſing effects of ſlavery to render men inſenſible to the extremity of their own degradation, it is a new way of conſidering things, to regard this as an alleviation of their wretchedneſs. But, in truth, a thouſand actual ſufferings impreſs on them but too ſenſibly the miſeries of their condition;—their being unprotected by law, becauſe their evidence againſt a white man is inadmiſſible;—their being liable to daily and hourly injuries and inſults. Every one who cloſely and particularly ſurveys the picture, will be affected by different circumſtances, according to his particular temper and diſpoſition of mind. To us, the moſt impreſſive of all its features is the utter contempt which is too generally ſhewn of their ſocial and domeſtic feelings, and their being regarded as below inſtruction; below the ſphere of moral precepts and prohibitions; below the neceſſity of obſerving towards others the ordinary decencies of life, or of having theſe decencies obſerved by others towards them. * In this reſpect, they are reduced almoſt to the level of brutes, of which their being worked under the whip like cattle (a circumſtance ever to be borne in mind), is but one of the many proofs which might be adduced. In truth, the inability the planters allege of keeping up their numbers without importation, is itſelf a deciſive proof of the exiſtence of ſome evils of great and general operation.

Our author, like many others, acknowledges that, fifteen or twenty years ago, many abuſes prevailed in the Weſt Indies; but he contends theſe are now rectified. By the way, it is worthy of remark, that the moſt reſpectable of the witneſſes who were produced by the Weſt Indians to refute the charges of the abolitioniſts, aſſerted roundly, without diſtinction of time, that no abuſes ever had prevailed. But as this aſſertion, that all the neceſſary improvements have already taken place, has been often made, it may be proper to notice it. That there are fewer individual inſtances of cruelty now than formerly, we believe to be true. It is alleged, we hope truly, that an improvement has taken place in the education and manners of the book-keepers or overſeers, who are in immediate and continual contact with the ſlaves, and whoſe character and temper muſt therefore have a deciſive operation

* *Vide* the evidence of Major-General Tottenham, delivered in the Committee of the Houſe of Commons. *Vide* alſo the evidence of Captains Wilſon, Lloyd, and Smith of the Royal Navy; and of the Rev. Mr Davies, Mr Stuart, Mr Rees, and the Dean of Middleham.

operation one way or other on the treatment they receive. The effect of theſe improvements is manifeſt on the population. But the *ſyſtem* continues the ſame; and it is vain to expect that any thing but abolition can alter it. To expect that any thing material can be done here by acts of aſſembly, is to know little of the nature of man in general, and leſs of the ſtate of law in the Weſt Indies. You may preſcribe by laws one invariable *minimum* of clothes, of food, of labour, and of correction. But how can you enforce ſuch laws, when, if the laws are broken, the evidence of the culprits themſelves is the only proof that can be received of the infraction? How can you look into the domeſtic economy of every plantation?—But if the ſlave trade ſhould once be aboliſhed, a ſenſe of intereſt, not remote or even doubtful, but direct and palpable, would enforce, under pain of ſpeedy and utter ruin, the good treatment of ſlaves. This is a principle which would accommodate itſelf to all ſituations and circumſtances, and change the grand object of attention from the production of ſugar to the increaſe of ſlaves. And it clearly appears that our Weſt India population is now in ſuch a ſtate as to be ſuſceptible, without injury, of this capital improvement. This was proved by Mr Pitt beyond all poſſibility of cavil. Taking the very *data* tranſmitted from the iſlands themſelves, he proved, that whereas the abuſes and obſtructions to the natural increaſe, which too generally prevail, would be ſufficient to account for a rapidly decreaſing population, and even lead you to expect it, the decreaſe,* which really was conſiderable a century ago, has been gradually diminiſhing, till at length there is good reaſon to believe it has entirely ceaſed, and that the population fully maintains itſelf; much more it appeared, that the labouring ſtrength of the iſlands could maintain itſelf; for that laviſh uſe of human labour, which is always found to be attendant on a ſtate of ſlavery, would render the ſame numbers capable of more economical diſtribution, and conſequently of more efficient uſe.†

All

* Would it be believed that, on this moſt important branch of the ſubject, our author is either ſo utterly ignorant, or ſo thoughtleſs, that he talks of the importation of ſlaves correcting the diſproportion of males and females, though it is obvious that it is only in the imported negroes that ſuch diſproportion can exiſt; the two ſexes being born, in the Weſt Indies as in all other countries, in about equal numbers?

† See this ſubject ably diſcuſſed by Mr Canes, a Weſt India planter of thirty years experience, in a pamphlet publiſhed by him about two years ago, in which he ably contends, that the ſlave trade is utterly unneceſſary.

All this argument concerning the maintenance of the population, our author has paſſed over without any notice, although it is obvious that on it entirely depends the determination of the queſtion which he profeſſes to diſcuſs, whether the cultivation of the Weſt Indies can be carried on without continual importations? In this particular, however, he may plead a good precedent; for we remember that the gallant admirals who were brought to the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, to overpower the abolitioniſts with the weight of their authority, while they poſitively declared that the abolition would be ruinous to the Weſt Indies, frankly acknowledged that they could give no opinion whether or not it was practicable to keep up a ſtock of ſlaves by breeding, on which, however, the former queſtion muſt evidently turn.

Careleſsly as our author appears to have conſidered the ſubject of his pamphlet, we cannot ſuppoſe him to have abſolutely overlooked the Parliamentary debates, which, however inaccurate as records of the ſpeeches of particular individuals, muſt be preſumed to contain the chief arguments which were urged on both ſides of the queſtion. In them he muſt have found Mr Pitt's deciſive argument, to prove that the population could be maintained and increaſed without importations. His paſſing it by, therefore, utterly unnoticed, is probably not to be aſcribed to inadvertency, but to his judicious obſervance of a direction given by the great maſter of oratory, in his moſt celebrated work, that where any argument of an opponent is ſo ſtrong and unmanageable, as that it cannot be at all ſucceſsfully refuted, it is beſt to paſs it by in entire ſilence. Of this ſilence, however, the abolitioniſts have a right to claim the benefit, and to infer that the author was ſilent, only becauſe he was conſcious he had nothing in the leaſt ſatisfactory to ſay.

In ſpeaking of the value of our Weſt Indian poſſeſſions, to which we are naturally led in diſcuſſing the policy of the abolition, we ought carefully to diſtinguiſh between the benefits we derive from thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions as a maritime nation, and their value merely as affording a field for the profitable employment of national capital. In the former view, we readily allow that their value is extremely great. In the latter, it has been exceedingly overrated by many, whoſe incorrect and haſty views have led, as uſual, to unjuſt concluſions.

It is not in general underſtood, that the cultivation of all our iſlands has been a lottery, wherein the whole has been far from a gainful concern, though great prizes have been obtained by ſome fortunate adventurers. They who have not examined this ſubject,

ſubject, will probably be ſurpriſed to hear that in Jamaica, taking the whole iſland together, the planters' capital, as was ſtated in 1789 to the Privy Council, by a Committee of the Council of the iſland, does not yield more than about 4 *per cent.*; and this, it is to be obſerved, is not obtained by all adventurers in about an equal proportion; but as ſome derive great gains, others are proportional loſers. It would be ſcarcely credible, if it were not deciſively proved by the records of a public court, that, in twenty years, from 1760 to 1780, the executions on eſtates in the Sheriff's court, amounted in number to above eighty thouſand, and were to the amount in value of thirty-two and a half millions currency, or about twenty-two and a half millions Sterling. Again, of all the ſugar eſtates in the iſland at the beginning of the ſame period of twenty years, nearly one half were, at the end of it, either thrown up as not worth cultivating, or were in the hands of creditors, or mortgagees, or had been ſold for their benefit. What temptation, then, prompts to undertakings which, in the main, prove ſo unprofitable? The anſwer is obvious. Indeed the gambling principle in human nature, which Dr Adam Smith and other writers have ſo juſtly noticed, would alone be adequate to the production of the effect. But, in the preſent inſtance, there are two peculiar circumſtances, both of highly powerful operation. *Firſt*, the Britiſh merchant's profit from conſignments inſures a conſtant diſpoſition to aſſiſt adventurers in planting; and, *ſecondly*, when, as often happens, there is a glut of ſlaves in the Jamaica market, as they are an expenſive article while they remain unſold, the planter can buy them on a proportionably longer credit. He is tempted therefore to make the purchaſe, in the hope that, before the time of payment arrives, the ſlaves will have more than worked out their coſt, by the ſugars their labour will have brought to market. In like manner, the Britiſh merchant truſts, that before the bills drawn on him become due, the ſugars in his hands will meet them. Thus encouraged, the planter buys; often without having made the neceſſary previous preparations for the ſlaves, of food, and clothing, and lodging. Meanwhile the ſlaves muſt be ſet to work; and the ſame cauſe, the inadequate funds of their maſter, which curtails their food and abridges their other comforts, cauſes them to be worked the harder; they ſicken and drop off, and periſh in what is called *the ſeaſoning*, a mode of death ſufficiently important and notorious to have obtained this epithet; a ſomewhat ſingular one, conſidering that the climates of the Weſt Indies and Africa are ſo much the ſame.

The picture which has been here drawn is not imaginary, nor

nor is it new. It was particularly noticed by Mr Long, in his Hiſtory of Jamaica; who forcibly enjoined on the abſentee planters the good policy of being ſatisfied with more moderate crops, and of urging on their reſident managers the care and good treatment of the ſlaves, rather than the utmoſt poſſible production of ſugar. Farther, as the only effectual means of checking this improvident purchaſe of ſlaves, Mr Long recommended that all importations into Jamaica ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited for a few years; referring, in proof of the wiſdom of this policy, to the example of an American colony, one of the Carolinas, which, from a ſtate of great embarraſſment and diſtreſs, had emerged, by means of it, into general proſperity.

It is by the powerful operation of the cauſes we have now been explaining, that ſo immenſe a ſhare of our national capital has been ſunk in our Tranſatlantic empire. For, to ſpeak the truth, the Weſt Indies have now chiefly become the property of the commercial body of the city of London. Our commercial accumulations have found their way to the land, according to Adam Smith's account of their natural tendency; but it is to land, ſome thouſand miles removed from the mother country. Happy would it have been for Great Britain, if a part of the capital had been employed at home which has thus preternaturally been drawn to the Weſt Indies. Beſides that the gain would have been greater in amount, it would have been held by a more ſecure tenure. Of Weſt Indian riches, it is more eſpecially true, that they are apt to make themſelves wings, and fly away. It never ſhould be forgotten, that what is expended in the improvement of our own ſoil, is ſo much permanently added to the wealth, reſources, and population of Great Britain;—it is well digeſted and well aſſimilated nutriment, and it adds proportionally to our muſcular ſtrength; it is inſeparably a part of ourſelves; it muſt ſhare our fortunes; and, in all times and circumſtances, contribute to our benefit. How differently circumſtanced is that part of our national capital which is inveſted in the Weſt Indies, where it is not only vulnerable by foreign enemies from without, but it is ſtill more expoſed from a fatal principle of weakneſs within!

Our author, however, has a very ſhort method of diſcuſſing the policy of the ſlave trade. He ſums up the value of all the exports and imports, and of all the revenue derived from theſe; of all the ſhipping and ſailors they employ; and then jumps at once to his concluſion, that all theſe would be loſt by the abolition. He ſeems utterly to forget that the abolitioniſts maintain at leaſt the direct contrary, and allege, that while the abolition would produce a gradual increaſe of our exports to the Weſt Indies, from the

the improving condition of the bulk of their population, our revenue, our imports, our marine dependent on them, would be fixed on a basis far more safe and durable than that on which they now rest. For it is ever to be kept in mind, in considering the question on the grounds of policy, that the alternative is not, whether or not we shall take a step, which some affirm to be big with mischief, while others only maintain that it will be productive of no injury; but it is, whether we shall take a step which may perhaps produce some slight inconvenience, or subject ourselves, by refusing to take it, to great and inevitable calamities.

The friends of the slave trade cannot be more positive that its termination will be injurious to their interests, than the abolitionists are, that its continuance is every moment threatening them with infallible ruin. The mischiefs, indeed, which they have reason to dread from this ill-omened traffic are innumerable, and especially to our older islands.

With regard to these possessions, there is one danger, in particular, which, if not of so violent a nature, and so abrupt in its operation as some others, is yet even more confidently to be expected; and, though not so absolutely ruinous, is yet of most serious amount. We allude to the danger of their being ruined by the competition of newer and more prosperous settlements. If the slave trade continue, by far the greater part of it will be carried on, as for some years it has been, for the formation of new settlements on the southern continent of America, where the more fertile soil, the exemption from hurricanes, and the opportunity of feeding the slaves more plentifully, and at a cheaper rate, give the planter such a decided advantage over the proprietor in the old islands, that the latter, who has already suffered severely, will by degrees be all but ruined in the competition. This is a danger from which the abolition alone can deliver him. That measure will give to the present proprietors a sort of monopoly of the market; and, without precluding all future improvements, or altogether stopping the opening of new lands, it will render those events dependent on the gradual increase of the stock of slaves by natural generation, and lay the foundation of a less rapid, but more wholesome and durable accession of strength.

But the grand danger of all, is that to be apprehended from insurrections; a danger always formidable, but of which some late events have at once furnished the clearest evidence, and have also most fearfully aggravated both the probability and the amount.

The reality of this danger must, we conceive, be manifest to all eyes, except such as are more conversant with phantoms than realities. Indeed, the dangers to be apprehended from the immense

immenſe diſproportion between blacks and whites, has been long acknowledged by every conſiderate mind; and it was confeſſed by the Weſt Indians themſelves, as long ago as in the beginning of the American war, when the number of the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, and conſequently the diſproportion between blacks and whites, was prodigiouſly leſs than it is at this day. It was alſo long ago declared by Mr Long, that the newly imported negroes were the moſt prone to inſurrections.

What a ſcene, then, does St Domingo open to our view! Almoſt within the viſible horizon of our largeſt iſland, and in another quarter equally near to our leeward ſettlements, the negroes are taught but too intelligibly the fatal ſecret of their own ſtrength. Here alſo the planters may learn what our author ſtill continues to deny, the negroes' love of liberty, and the price they are willing to pay for it. It is now too late to talk of negroes being an inferior race of beings. The inſtructive leſſon is there taught us, that theſe beings who have been ſpoken of and treated as brutes, can not only feel, but think; that they can conceive extenſive deſigns, and adopt juſt means for their execution; that they can combine their efforts; that they can concert their meaſures with prudence, and carry them into act with vigour. The ſeaſon is critical—not a moment is to be loſt. The Britiſh legiſlature ſhould conſider the preſent as a golden interval, in which an opportunity is yet providentially afforded them of diſpelling the gathering ſtorm. If they pauſe, it will be too late. Let it not be ſaid, that the Weſt Indians themſelves can beſt judge of the reality of the danger, and that they do not greatly regard it. It is nothing new, that they who are moſt expoſed to a great danger, are the leaſt aware of it. That, like the ſhort-ſighted inhabitants of Puzzoli, or Terra del Grèco, they alone are inſenſible to the approaching lava which is about to deſolate their dwellings. It happens in this as in other inſtances, familiarity with the danger, naturally generates inſenſibility to it; and the very perſons who are moſt expoſed to its evils, are thoſe who are moſt blind to their reality and magnitude. But the legiſlature, as a provident guardian of the whole community, ſhould exerciſe its watchful ſuperintendance, and take that ſtep which is the natural preliminary to all radical reform and effectual meaſures for the future ſafety of the iſlands.

After ſettling ſo clearly the points of the humanity and policy of the ſlave trade, it was leſs neceſſary to ſay much concerning its juſtice. On this head, therefore, our author is ſhort, but deciſive. He urges, as is uſual with thoſe who take the ſame

ſide,

ſide, that we are bound, in *juſtice* to the planters, to their creditors, their mortgagees, and even to the African merchants, to continue the ſlave trade. That men who can perſuade themſelves that the ſlave trade is humane, ſhould have very confuſed and falſe notions of the principles of juſtice is perfectly natural. In the preſent inſtance they forget, that granting (what however can only be granted for the ſake of argument) that we were bound in juſtice to the planters and mortgagees, &c. not to let them ſuffer from the abolition, which can only be even colourably alleged as to thoſe loſſes which they could not avoid; yet what principles of juſtice can preſcribe that (to borrow a phraſe which was excellently uſed by Mr Giſborne) we ſhould pay Britiſh debts with African blood? Mr Pitt, with that manlineſs and integrity which belong to his character, diſtinctly declared in one of the debates of the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, that if any fair caſe of unavoidable loſs ſhould be made out, he ſhould not be averſe to the conſideration of it; but the truth is, that the abolition would be to the planters in general a ſource, not of loſs, but of unſpeakable gain,—the only meaſure, in truth, which can ſhield them from impending ruin.

But our author, towards the cloſe of his work, tells the Weſt Indians that they need not be uneaſy. The imagination—that faculty which, throughout the whole of our author's piece, has been moſt buſily at work—can ſeldom exert itſelf, except where the mind is at eaſe. And we here, at length, diſcover the true ſecret of our author's compoſure;—the cauſe is going down in the world;—neither Mr Pitt nor Mr Fox ſpoke, in the late debates, with their uſual force and earneſtneſs: And in the ſuperior and well-tried good ſenſe of the Houſe of Lords, the friends of the ſlave trade have a ſure reſource. We really imagined, that Mr Wilberforce having, for the firſt time, carried his bill triumphantly through the Houſe of Commons, his cauſe was in a more flouriſhing ſtate than ever; and, that Mr Pitt and Mr Fox were leſs eloquent than in former diſcuſſions, was very naturally accounted for, by the conſideration, that the cauſe ſtood leſs in need of their aſſiſtance. They both have been a little too long in public life, to be diſpoſed to throw away their eloquence. As to the Houſe of Lords, how far their being leſs under popular influence, and their being of a more ariſtocratical ſpirit than the Houſe of Commons, circumſtances which, generally ſpeaking, are productive of practical benefit in a conſtitutional view, are likewiſe beneficial in the preſent inſtance, is a point on which we will deliver no opinion. Happily, ſuch queſtions as that of the abolition of the ſlave trade rarely occur. Legiſlatures are not conſtructed

conſtructed with a view to their determination; and if the peculiar conſtitution and temper of the Houſe of Lords ſhould operate unfavourably on this great queſtion, however we might regret the circumſtance, we ſhould be very ſlow in drawing any inferences concerning the general utility of that body. We are diſpoſed, however, to hope, that the deciſion of the Houſe of Lords will not be unfavourable. The abolition ſtands on grounds altogether new: it has now become more clearly, what it always ſhould have been conſidered, a great political queſtion: and even they who were enemies to it on the principles on which it was formerly reſted, if they allow, what can ſcarcely be denied, the new and actually impending dangers which our iſlands have ſuch juſt reaſons to dread, not only may conſiſtently, but muſt neceſſarily ſupport it.

Such, without exaggeration or undue ſeverity, is the work which, under the title of a Defence of the Slave Trade, has been lately circulated among the members of both Houſes of Parliament, to inform their underſtandings, and decide their judgements on this important queſtion. We hope the extreme importance of the ſubject will excuſe to our readers the length at which we have examined this performance. That ſuch a cauſe as the ſlave trade ſhould be ſupported by fiction and miſrepreſentation, is perfectly ſuitable and becoming: It is a fair and natural alliance. But we muſt again admire the courage of the writer, who, even with ſuch an unlimited licenſe in the weapons he was to uſe, ventured, at this time of day, to engage in ſuch a warfare; or rather, to ſpeak ſeriouſly, we wonder that they who conceive that their intereſt requires the continuance of the ſlave trade, ſhould patronize a defence of it, grounded on ſuch facts, and reſting on ſuch arguments as we have now been conſidering. For we muſt again remind our readers, that, in Parliament, Mr Wilberforce's moſt determined opponents have not only conceded to him the injuſtice and cruelty of the ſlave trade, but have condemned and reprobated it in terms even ſtronger than his own. Our author is therefore at war with them, as much as with Mr Wilberforce himſelf. How is this to be accounted for? Very eaſily. In the caſe of an anonymous writer, we have not that ſort of ſecurity againſt miſtatements, which we enjoy where any one pleads a cauſe *in propria perſona*. An anonymous writer does not always conſider himſelf as anſwerable for the accuracy of his allegations and facts; nor have the abolitioniſts now, for the firſt time, to complain that, againſt them, inſtruments and arts of warfare have been uſed, which the very ſame men who reſort to them would not have openly employed. Thus, additional weight has been

been claimed for ſtatements and reaſonings, on the ground of their proceeding from 'an Old Member of Parliament,' though it afterwards appeared this was only the *nom de guerre* of an author ſufficiently in repute for talents and information, but who, in this inſtance, had the diſcretion not to annex his name. No cauſe, however, can on the long-run proſper, which requires the aid of ſuch auxiliaries as theſe. One author has brought a large body of them into the field; and the abolitioniſts are, in return, entitled to aſſume, that if better could have been had, a writer, who appears to be a man of ſome talents and education, would not have called in their aid. If ſolid arguments could have been urged againſt the cauſe of abolition, our author would have adduced them. We cannot but hope, that this is the laſt expiring effort of an Oppoſition which has too long ſucceſsfully oppoſed the termination of a traffic, the continuance of which is the foulеſt blot that has ever ſtained the conſcience and character of a Chriſtian nation.

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# THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

## JANUARY 1805.

## No. X.

ART. I. *Travels in China, containing Deſcriptions, Obſervations, and Compariſons, made and collected in the courſe of a ſhort Reſidence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-min-yuen, and on a ſubſequent Journey through the Country from Pekin to Canton; in which it is attempted to appreciate the Rank that this extraordinary Empire may be conſidered to hold in the Scale of Civilized Nations.* By John Barrow Eſq. late private Secretary to the Earl of Macartney, and one of his Suite as Ambaſſador from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. Illuſtrated with ſeveral Engravings. 4to. London, Cadell & Davies. 1804. pp. 632.

THIS book appears to us to be the moſt candid and judicious, though not perhaps the moſt learned or elaborate account of the Chineſe nation that has yet been laid before the public. It is the reſult, indeed, of the ſame expedition of which Sir George Staunton has already favoured the world with a copious and intelligent account, and cannot be ſuppoſed therefore to contain much novelty in point of fact or direct information. But it is of no little conſequence, in the caſe of a country ſo very remote and inacceſſible, to have it in our power to compare the remarks and impreſſions of two independent and enlightened obſervers; and it ſeems to have been the object of Mr Barrow rather to ſyſtematiſe and appretiate the facts of which we were previouſly in poſſeſſion, than to add materially to their number by a narrative of the occurrences of which he was himſelf a ſpectator. From the title-page, which is copied at the head of this article, it is ſufficiently apparent, that Mr Barrow's book is rather to be conſidered as a moral and political eſtimate of the Chineſe character, than an account of his travels or adventures in their territory; that he conceives the ſtore of facts which has been already collected, to be nearly ſufficient to ſettle our opinions upon thoſe ſubjects; and that he propoſes, now that the public curioſity has been gratified by

an ample narrative of all that has been obſerved in the country, to point out the concluſions to which theſe obſervations ſhould conduct us, and to ſolve the problems, and reconcile the paradoxes that have been maintained on the ſubject of this extraordinary people. With this view, he has allowed ſuch a period to elapſe as might ſerve to wear off the impreſſions of ſurpriſe, admiration or diſappointment, which the novelty of the ſpectacle was ſo likely to produce, and has not ventured to lay his ſpeculations before the public, till they were ſufficiently matured by reflection and inquiry.

Laudable, however, as all this caution and preparation on Mr Barrow's part unqueſtionably is, we entertain conſiderable doubts whether it be poſſible, even with their aſſiſtance, to execute the taſk he has undertaken in a deciſive or ſatisfactory manner. It is ſtill too ſoon, we ſuſpect, to from any juſt eſtimate of the Chineſe. Till we can travel among them without guards, retinue and attendance; till we can ſpeak their language, and read their books; and, finally, till we can domeſticate ourſelves with a variety of individuals in different conditions of life, it does not ſeem likely that we ſhall ever attain any true notion of their character and genius, or be able to appretiate the place which they ought to occupy in the great ſcale of nations. When it is conſidered what partial and contradictory repreſentations are daily made by travellers, of the national character and general condition even of thoſe countries which lye in their immediate neighbourhood, and with how many deductions and allowances we muſt receive the accounts which are given by intelligent individuals, of ſocieties that are acceſſible to all the world, it will be unneceſſary to aſſign any particular reaſon for the diſtruſt and ſuſpicion with which we are inclined to view any report of the moral and intellectual condition of the Chineſe. We ſeldom ſee foreign nations either fully or fairly; and ſcarcely ever conſider what we do ſee without prejudice or partiality: novelty is ſure either to magniſy or diminiſh the objects with which it is aſſociated, and the ſpectator of ſtrange manners is almoſt irreſiſtibly tempted either to deſpiſe them for differing from his own, or to admire them as ſomething incomparably ſuperior. It is ſcarcely poſſible to aſcertain the amount of this refraction, or to rectify our firſt obſervations in any other way than by repeating them frequently, and by comparing our own concluſions with thoſe of others upon whom the ſame cauſes of illuſion have operated in an oppoſite direction. In the caſe of ſuch a country as China, however, neither of theſe correctives can be conveniently applied; and all the accounts which we receive muſt be tinctured with prejudices

prejudices which the traveller has no opportunity to remove. In this ſtate of things, it appears to us that we have more need of facts than of reaſoning and ſpeculation to guide us in our opinion of this celebrated people; and that it will be neceſſary to lay a broader baſis of knowledge and information, before we can erect any ſolid ſtructure of philoſophy. Judicious as many of Mr Barrow's remarks undoubtedly are, we do not know if they aſſiſt us ſo much in forming a judgement of the Chineſe character, as the few original facts that are ſcattered throughout his performance; and feel aſſured that we ſhall receive infinitely more ſatisfaction from the peruſal of that ſyſtem of Chineſe law, of which he gives us reaſon to expect a tranſlation, than from all the diatribes which philoſophers can publiſh on their preſent ſtock of materials.

But though theſe conſiderations compel us to receive with diffidence the greater part of Mr Barrow's general concluſions and poſitions, and to conſider moſt of the points which he diſcuſſes as reſerved for the determination of a better informed generation, we have great pleaſure in ſaying, that we think the work, in ſo far as it goes, very ſound, judicious and candid, and that the author appears to have ſet the example of a ſobriety and moderation which has been unaccountably deficient in all former publications on this intereſting ſubject. The merit of the book, however, is rather to be aſcribed to the ſound good ſenſe and unprejudiced views of the author, than to any extraordinary ſkill in the arrangement, or diligence in the preparation. The narrative of his adventures in the country is awkwardly interwoven with his general remarks upon the manners of the inhabitants; and almoſt all his concluſions are founded upon facts that fell under his perſonal obſervation, though they are of ſo general a nature as to require the ſupport of every collateral authority. With whatever ſuſpicion Mr Barrow may regard the accounts of the late Catholic miſſionaries, we are perſuaded that he would have found in ſome of the earlier narratives a great number of particulars extremely deſerving of his attention. We do not mean to object to the ſize of Mr Barrow's book, and are very far from conſidering it as tedious; but we do not think it quite fair to fill up ſo large a proportion of it with the repetition of thoſe narratives which are given with ſufficient amplitude in the publication of Sir George Staunton, and are ſomewhat teazed to find a ſecond edition of ſome very trivial deſcriptions occupying that ſpace which Mr Barrow might eaſily have filled with more valuable matter. In a publication of this kind, there was perhaps no neceſſity for any narrative at all, and certainly no occaſion for a detailed account of the

progreſs of the embaſſy, the negotiations about obeiſances, and the anecdotes about packing furniture and changing lodgings, which are recorded with ſo much ſolemnity in the authentic volumes of the miniſter-plenipotentiary: upon all theſe important ſubjects the curioſity of the public was already fully gratified; and Mr Barrow had nothing to do with the repetition of any ſtatement from which he was not prepared to deduce ſome new inference.

Before proceeding to any analyſis of the publication now before us, it is proper to premiſe, that Mr Barrow thinks rather meanly of the Chineſe; and that it is the tendency of his book, not only to correct the extravagant exaggerations contained in the writings of the miſſionaries, and adopted by ſome of the greateſt philoſophers of the Continent, but alſo to lower conſiderably the more moderate eſtimate which ſeems to have been formed of their character by the diſtinguiſhed perſons under whoſe patronage he himſelf accompliſhed this expedition. Upon this point, however, we are ſo far from quarrelling with Mr Barrow, that we are diſpoſed to make a pretty large deduction even from the good qualities he is inclined to allow them. From all the credible ſtatements, indeed, that have ever fallen under our obſervation, and from none more than that contained in this publication, we have always been diſpoſed to conſider this celebrated people as a mean and ſemi-barbarous race, diſtinguiſhed by fewer virtues or accompliſhments than moſt of their neighbours, and remarkable only for their numbers, and their patience and dexterity in the practice of certain mechanical profeſſions. What elſe indeed do we know with certainty of the Chineſe, but their abject ſubmiſſion to a deſpotiſm upheld by the ſordid terrors of the laſh—a government which ſentences a firſt mandarin to be flogged for having given a ſecond mandarin a ſtripe too few or two many—but the impriſonment and mutilation of their women—but their infanticide and unnatural vices—but their utter and unconquerable ignorance of all the exacter ſciences, and all the branches of natural philoſophy—but their total incapacity for the fine arts, and the great imperfection of their knowledge in thoſe that are moſt neceſſary—but the ſtupid formalities which incumber their ſocial intercourſe—but the ſingular imperfection of their language, their cowardice, uncleanlineſs, and inhumanity? To make amends for all this, indeed, we are told of their pottery, their gardens and canals; and above all, of their vaſt multitudes, and the unremitting induſtry by which they are precariouſly ſubſiſted!—The value of all theſe things will appear, perhaps, in the courſe of our analyſis of Mr Barrow's obſervations.

The

The first chapter of his book bears the very general title of 'Preliminary Matter,' and contains, besides an eulogium upon the work of Sir George Staunton, a kind of supplement to that ingenious author's vindication of the embassy, and an exposition of the ignorance or unreasonableness of those who have reported its success to have been disproportionate to the cost and preparation. It accomplished, Mr Barrow assures us, all the objects which were in the view of those who projected it, and was received with more distinction than any other European mission that has lately entered that country. He seems to take particular pleasure in contrasting the respectful treatment which the British embassador uniformly experienced, with the indignities that seem to have been put upon the legates of the Batavian government, who were deputed in the year 1796 to pay their respects to the Emperor, and who set out with the confident expectation of recommending themselves at court by a scrupulous attention to all those particulars in which they understood the English to have been deficient. Instead of gaining any distinction, however, by their unconditional compliance with all the forms of the court, they were treated throughout with the most insulting rudeness and neglect; they were lodged in a stable, and left without fire, and almost without provisions, for the greater part of their stay: they were compelled to prostrate themselves nine times on the earth at receiving the slightest message or present from the Emperor; and were finally dismissed, without being permitted to open their lips on any kind of business, or so much as to see any of the European missionaries, upon whose influence and advice they had relied for many advantages. Mr Barrow concludes this chapter with observing, that by the rules of the Chinese court of ceremonies, forty days is the period prescribed for the residence of foreign ambassadors at that court; and that unless extraordinary occasions may sometimes cause it to be lengthened, the rule has been very generally adhered to. In proof of this assertion, he annexes a list of the different European embassies which have been sent to China; and observes, that 'the residence of none of them extended to twice the term fixed by the court of ceremonies, and that two of them did not remain the period allowed.' The latter part of this sentence is certainly confirmed by the list referred to; but it gives us rather an unfavourable impression of Mr Barrow's accuracy, when we find, in contradiction to the former part of it, that out of the eight embassies enumerated, one resided ninety-one days, another one hundred and six, and a third no less than one hundred and fourteen. The fact, we think, is of very little consequence; but the contradiction has an awkward effect. The British embassy continued at Pekin exactly forty-seven days.

The

The next chapter contains the obſervations ſuggeſted to the author in his voyage from the entrance of the Yellow Sea to the mouth of the Pei-ho river in the neighbourhood of Pekin. In endeavouring to account for the exaggerated repreſentations of the Jeſuit miſſionaries, he is led to obſerve, that China, though by no means comparable to modern Europe, muſt yet have appeared to have the advantage, in many particulars, to thoſe who viſited it in the courſe of the ſixteenth century. At that time Europe was torn to pieces with religious diſſenſions, and in China the moſt complete toleration and tranquillity were found to prevail.

'The horrid maſſacre of the proteſtants in Paris had terrified all Europe. China knew nothing of internal commotions, but ſuch as were ſometimes occaſioned by a partial ſcarcity of grain. The art of improving vegetables by particular modes of culture, was juſt beginning to be known in Europe. All China, at that time, was comparatively a garden. When the King of France introduced the luxury of ſilk ſtockings, which, about eighteen years afterwards, was adopted by Elizabeth of England, the peaſantry of the middle provinces of China were clothed in ſilks from head to foot. At this period, few or none of the little elegancies or conveniencies of life were known in Europe; the ladies' toilet had few eſſences to gratify the ſenſe of ſmell, or to beautify, for a time, the complexion; the ſciſſars, needles, pen-knives, and other little appendages, were then unknown; and rude and ill-poliſhed ſkewers uſurped the place of pins. In China, the ladies had their needlework, their paint-boxes, their trinkets of ivory, of ſilver in fillagree, of mother-pearl, and of tortoiſe-ſhell. Even the calendar, at this time ſo defective in Europe that Pope Gregory was urged to the bold undertaking of leaping over, or annihilating, ten days, was found to be, in China, a national concern, and the particular care of government. Decimal arithmetic, a new and uſeful diſcovery of the ſeventeenth century in Europe, was the only ſyſtem of arithmetic in uſe in China. In a word, when the nobility of England were ſleeping on ſtraw, a peaſant of China had his mat and his pillow; and the man in office enjoyed his ſilken matreſs. One cannot, therefore, be ſurpriſed if the impreſſions made upon theſe holy men were powerfully felt, or if their deſcriptions ſhould ſeem to incline a little towards the marvellous.' p. 29. 30.

There is ſome truth, unqueſtionably, in this paſſage; and we are no way deſirous of taking away any apology which it may be thought to afford for the authors of the relations; but the view which it contains is certainly very partial, and gives an advantage to the Chineſe in the compariſon, to which they are by no means entitled. The conteſts that accompanied the Reformation, took their riſe from a ſpirit of philoſophy and free inquiry which has never yet dawned upon China. The ſilken garments

garments of the Chineſe peaſantry are no more to be received as proofs of their civilization, than the golden ornaments of the natives of Hiſpaniola, or the fur covering of the ſavages about Nootka: and, without taking into account the exquiſite productions of the poets and artiſts that adorned the golden days of Leo, we conceive that the toilette of a lady at the court of Francis or Elizabeth probably diſplayed as great a variety of luxuries as are yet to be found among their deſcendants. It would be an inſult to the age which produced Copernicus, Tycho-Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo, to compare it with any æra of Chineſe ſcience; and it can ſcarcely be neceſſary to ſuggeſt, that the miſſionaries could not reaſonably entertain any very profound admiration for the genius of that people who were obliged to employ them in correcting that calendar, on the regulation of which all the talents of the government had been previouſly expended.

In purſuing his courſe acroſs the Yellow Sea, Mr Barrow is ſtruck with the clumſy and inartificial conſtruction of the Chineſe veſſels with which it is covered in almoſt every direction; and informs us, that ſuch are the ſubſtantial defects of their naval architecture, that when a ſhip leaves Canton on a voyage to Batavia, 'it is conſidered as an equal chance that ſhe will never return; and when the event proves favourable, a general rejoicing takes place among the friends of thoſe who have eſcaped.' He adds, that ten or twelve thouſand perſons are reckoned to periſh annually by ſhipwreck from this one port. A Chineſe merchant, who, by many years obſervation, had at length been ſlowly convinced of the ſuperiority of our veſſels, began to conſtruct one on the Engliſh model; but he was ſtopped by the *hoopo* or collector of the cuſtoms, and ſeverely fined for preſuming to adopt the modes of a barbarous people! With ſuch veſſels, and ſuch a capacity for improvement, Mr Barrow however thinks it probable, that the Chineſe formerly navigated through all the Indian Ocean, and to the eaſtern coaſt of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. He is moreover of opinion, that the Hottentots are of Chineſe original, and affirms that this is *unqueſtionably* the caſe with the whole natives of Ceylon.

At the port of Chu-ſan, Mr Barrow had the firſt ſpecimen of the mild and paternal adminiſtration of the Chineſe government. Pilots were wanted to conduct the veſſel of the ambaſſador from that place to Tien-Sing; and for this purpoſe a number of ſoldiers were deſpatched, who ſoon thruſt into the hall a number of miſerable looking wretches, who dropped upon their knees, and in that poſture were examined as to their qualifications. The greater proportion of them had never ſet foot aboard of a veſſel in their lives; and, out of the whole number, only two could be found

found who had ever made the voyage in queſtion. Theſe perſons had quitted the ſea for many years, and, being comfortably ſettled in trade, ſupplicated, on their knees, that they might not be appointed upon this occaſion. It was altogether in vain, however, that they pleaded the ruin their affairs would ſuffer, and the diſtreſs in which their families would be involved. 'Their tears and intreaties only ſerved,' Mr Barrow aſſures us, 'to brighten up the countenance of the old governor;' and they were ordered to go aboard in the ſpace of one hour.

At this place, the embaſſy was ſurrounded by a vaſt multitude of the natives, who flocked down in ſucceſſive crowds to gaze at the ſtrangers all day long.

'The want of curioſity,' ſays Mr Barrow, 'which has been ſuppoſed to form a part of the Chineſe character, was not perceived in this inſtance; but it was that ſort of curioſity, which appeared rather to be incited by the deſire of looking narrowly at the perſons of thoſe *who were to have the honour of being preſented to their Great Emperor*, than for the ſake of gratifying the eye or the mind by the acquirement of information or new ideas. The veſſel, although ſo very different from their own, was an object of little notice; and although eager to get a tranſient glance at the paſſengers, their curioſity was ſatisfied in a moment, and was generally accompanied with ſome vague exclamation, in which the words *Ta-whang-tee* occurred; and the main drift of which ſeemed to imply, "Is this perſon to appear before our Great Emperor?" p. 60. 61.

In their run from Chu-ſan to the mouth of the Pei-ho, the veſſels were repeatedly endangered by the obſtinacy or ignorance of the Chineſe pilots. The embaſſy was then embarked in barges, and proceeded up the river towards Pekin.

'Nothing that could convey the idea of extraordinary wealth or comfort among the inhabitants, or of extraordinary abundance and fertility in the country, (unleſs in the copious ſupplies of our proviſions), had yet occurred, either at Chu-ſan or in the firſt three days ſail up the Pei-ho towards the capital. The land on both ſides was low and flat, and inſtead of hedge-rows, trenches were dug to mark the boundaries of property. A ſmall proportion only was under cultivation. The greater part appeared to be ſour ſwampy ground, covered with coarſe graſs, with ruſhes, and the common reed. There were few trees, except near the villages, which were of mean appearance, the houſes generally conſiſting of mud walls, one ſtory in height, and thatched with ſtraw or ruſhes. Here and there a ſolitary cottage intervened, but nothing that bore any reſemblance to the reſidence of a gentleman, or that could even be called a comfortable farm-houſe. And although villages were numerous, no aſſemblage of houſes were perceived, that properly could be claſſed under the name of a town, except that of See-koo, near the mouth of the river, and Ta-koo, a few miles higher, until we proceeded to the diſtance of about ninety miles, when we entered the ſuburbs of the large city of Tien-ſing, ſtretching, like London

don on the Thames, for several miles along each bank of the river Peiho. But neither the buildings nor the river would bear any comparison, even with those parts about Redriffe and Wapping. Every thing, in fact, that we had hitherto seen, wore an air of poverty and meanness.' p. 70. 71.

After taking notice of the barbarous practice of compressing and mutilating the feet of the women, and conjecturing that it may have been introduced within the period of a few centuries, Mr Barrow gives the following disgusting account of the personal economy of this refined people.

'The interior wrappers of the ladies' feet are said to be seldom changed, remaining, sometimes, until they can no longer hold together; a custom that conveys no very favourable idea of Chinese cleanliness. This, indeed, forms no part of their character; on the contrary they are what Swift would call a *frowzy* people. The comfort of clean linen, or frequent change of under garments, is equally unknown to the Sovereign and to the peasant. A sort of thin coarse silk supplies the place of cotton or linen next the skin, among the upper ranks; but the common people wear a coarse kind of open cotton cloth. These vestments are more rarely removed for the purpose of washing than for that of being replaced with new ones; and the consequence of such neglect or economy is, as might naturally be supposed, an abundant increase of those vermin to whose production filthiness is found to be most favourable. The highest officers of state made no hesitation of calling their attendants in public to seek in their necks for those troublesome animals, which, when caught, they very composedly put between their teeth. They carry no pocket handkerchiefs, but generally blow their noses into small square pieces of paper which some of their attendants have ready prepared for the purpose. Many are not so cleanly, but spit about the rooms, or against the walls, like the French, and they wipe their dirty hands in the sleeves of their gowns. They sleep at night in the same clothes they wear by day. Their bodies are as seldom washed as their articles of dress. They never make use of the bath, neither warm nor cold. Notwithstanding the vast number of rivers and canals, with which every part of the country is intersected, I do not remember to have seen a single group of boys bathing. The men, in the hottest day of summer, make use of warm water for washing the hands and face. They are unacquainted with the use of soap.' p. 76. 77.

The third chapter contains the journey to Pekin, and to the palace of Yuen-min-yuen in the neighbourhood, together with a short description of the imperial gardens of Gehol in Tartary. The substance of the details which it includes is to be found in the publication of Sir George Staunton; and though we will not deny that Mr Barrow's narrative is more concise and judicious, we scarcely can admit those improvements as an apology for so extensive a repetition. The great road to the capital lies across

an open country which appeared to be ſandy and ill-cultivated; and the few houſes on each ſide were of mean appearance, being commonly built with mud or half-burnt brick, up to the very gates of Pekin. This city is ſurrounded by a brick wall rather leſs than thirty feet in height, but extending round a circumference of nearly fourteen Engliſh miles. The buildings within are all ſo low as to be completely hidden by the wall. They are all conſtructed on the model of a tent, being ſupported by ſlight wooden pillars, and concealed by a dead brick wall to the ſtreet: their roofs alone appear above this encloſure, and, being arranged in ſtraight lines throughout the whole city, give it very much the appearance of a vaſt encampment. On entering the gate, and opening the view of one of the wide ſtreets which traverſe the whole breadth of the place, a very buſy and novel ſcene preſented itſelf to the eyes of the ſtrangers. Mr Barrow has given this very lively deſcription of it.

'The multitude of moveable workſhops, of tinkers and barbers, coblers and blackſmiths; the tents and booths where tea and fruit, rice and other eatables were expoſed for ſale, with the wares and merchandiſe arrayed before the doors, had contracted this ſpacious ſtreet to a narrow road in the middle, juſt wide enough for two of our little vehicles to paſs each other. The cavalcade of officers and ſoldiers that preceded the embaſſy, the proceſſions of men in office attended by their numerous retinues, bearing umbrellas and flags, painted lanterns, and a variety of ſtrange inſignia of their rank and ſtation; different trains that were accompanying, with lamentable cries, corpſes to their graves, and, with ſqualling muſic, brides to their huſbands; the troops of dromedaries laden with coals from Tartary, the wheel-barrows and hand-carts ſtuffed with vegetables, occupied nearly the whole of this middle ſpace in one continued line, leaving very little room for the cavalcade of the embaſſy to paſs. All was in motion. The ſides of the ſtreet were filled with an immenſe concourſe of people, buying and ſelling and bartering their different commodities. The buz and confuſed noiſes of this mixed multitude, proceeding from the loud bawling of thoſe who were crying their wares; the wrangling of others, with every now and then a ſtrange twanging noiſe like the jarring of a cracked Jew's harp, the barber's ſignal made by his tweezers, the mirth and the laughter that prevailed in every group, could ſcarcely be exceeded by the brokers in the Bank rotunda, or by the Jews and old women in Roſemary-Lane. Pedlars with their packs, and jugglers, and conjurers, and fortune-tellers, mountebanks and quack-doctors, comedians and muſicians, left no ſpace unoccupied. The Tartar ſoldiers, with their whips, kept with difficulty a clear paſſage for the embaſſy to move ſlowly forwards; ſo ſlow indeed, that although we entered the eaſtern gate at half paſt nine, it was near twelve before we arrived at the weſtern.' p. 96. 97.

With the exception of the four great ſtreets which lead to the gates, the reſt of the city conſiſts of very narrow lanes, and every

every part of it is entirely without pavement, and filled with ſand or duſt. There are no aqueducts; and the well water is for the moſt part intolerably nauſeous. There are no drains; and the diſguſting practice of preſerving in every houſe a collection of all ſubſtances that may be uſed as manure, infects the whole precincts with an abominable odour, from which they are never entirely purified. There are no buildings of any conſiderable antiquity, and very few that riſe above the humble level of the ordinary dwellings. Theſe conſiſt of the rice magazines at the angles of the walls, and a conical temple or two, in the ſtyle of thoſe deſcribed by Colonel Symes in his account of the embaſſy to Ava.

At the palace of Yuen-min-yuen, where Mr Barrow remained while the embaſſador proceeded to the imperial reſidence at Gehol, he was miſerably lodged in the apartments of one of the chief courtiers, which ſeemed fitter for the habitation of hogs than of human beings; and here he had the honour of receiving, among other illuſtrious viſitants, the preſident and chief members of the tribunal of mathematics. Theſe learned gentlemen could not be made to comprehend either the mechaniſm or the uſes of a ſuperb orrery which was among the preſents; and their chief, who was a European, took occaſion, in a private interview, to explain the diſtreſs to which the heads of the tribunal had lately been ſubjected. Being entruſted with the conſtruction of the national calendar, and underſtanding but little of aſtronomy, they had hitherto availed themſelves of the *Connoiſſances des tems* of Paris, which had been regularly tranſmitted to them for that purpoſe from Europe; but the French revolution having interrupted this intercourſe, they found themſelves at that moment in a ſtate of deplorable perplexity. One of the gentlemen of the embaſſy preſented them with a ſet of the London nautical almanacs up to 1800, which they accepted with tranſport as a moſt invaluable preſent.

The grounds of Yuen-min-yuen comprehend a circumference of upwards of ten Engliſh miles, and are laid out, ſo far as Mr Barrow could judge from the little he was permitted to inſpect, in a very good taſte, though they fall very far ſhort, he obſerves, of the fanciful and exaggerated deſcriptions which Sir William Chambers has given of Chineſe gardening. The buildings are all very ſlight, detached and irregular; and the greater part of thoſe included within the precincts of the palace are mere hovels, or very mean cottages.

'The very dwelling of the Emperor, and the grand hall in which he gives audience, when diveſted of the gilding and the gaudy colours with which they are daubed, are little ſuperior, and much leſs ſolid,

than the barns of a ſubſtantial Engliſh farmer. Their apartments are as deficient in proportion, as their conſtruction is void of every rule and principle which we are apt to conſider as eſſential to architecture. The principal hall of audience at Yuen-min-yuen ſtood upon a platform of granite, raiſed about four feet above the level of the court. A row of large wooden columns ſurrounding the building ſupported the projecting roof; and a ſecond row within the firſt, and correſponding with it (the interſtices between the columns being filled up with brick-work to the height of about four feet) ſerved for the walls of the room. The upper part of theſe walls was a kind of lattice-work, covered over with large ſheets of oiled paper, and was capable of being thrown entirely open on public occaſions. The wooden columns had no capitals, and the only architrave was the horizontal beam that ſupported the rafters of the roof.' p. 124.

The chapter concludes with a florid deſcription of the park at Gehol, extracted from the journal of Lord Macartney. The ſcene, according to his Lordſhip's repreſentation of it, muſt be truly worthy of admiration; but his Lordſhip has all the zeal of a dilettante in the art of gardening, and ſeems to write habitually with a glow and eloquence of deſcription that is very apt to betray the writer unconſciouſly into exaggeration. He admits with Mr Barrow, that none of theſe gardens come up to the fanciful deſcription which Sir William Chambers has obtruded upon us as realities. He admits, too, that 'artificial rocks, and ponds with gold and ſilver fiſhes, are perhaps too often introduced; and that the monſtrous porcelain figures of lions and tygers uſually placed before the pavilions, are diſpleaſing to an European eye:' and he gives, in the following ſentence, a general character of their taſte and ſtyle of gardening, which we find it very difficult to reconcile with the praiſes he has beſtowed on their actual performances.

'There is certainly a great analogy between our gardening and the Chineſe; but our excellence ſeems to be rather in improving nature, theirs to conquer her, and yet produce the ſame effect. It is indifferent to a Chineſe where he makes his garden, whether on a ſpot favoured, or abandoned, by the rural deities. If the latter, he invites them, or compels them to return. *His point is to change every thing from what he found it, to explode the old faſhion of the creation, and introduce novelty in every corner.* If there be a waſte, he adorns it with trees; if a dry deſert, he waters it with a river, or floats it with a lake. If there be a ſmooth flat, he varies it with all poſſible converſions. He undulates the ſurface, he raiſes it in hills, ſcoops it into vallies, and roughens it with rocks. He ſoftens aſperities, brings amenity into the wilderneſs, or animates the tameneſs of an expanſe, by accompanying it with the majeſty of a foreſt.' p. 134. 135.

The next chapter is more valuable. It contains a general ſketch

ſketch of the ſtate of ſociety in China, and of the manners and cuſtoms of the people.

The firſt remarkable feature is the ſeclusion and neglect of the women; and from this one we may judge of the whole phyſiognomy. The women, in the higher ranks and in the cities, never appear abroad, and neither eat at the ſame table, nor ſit in the ſame apartment with the male part of the family at home. Their time is chiefly ſpent in ſmoking tobacco, though ſome of them embroider brilliant ſilks into monſtrous patterns. Every man buys his wife from her parents without ſeeing her, and may return her if he do not like her appearance, upon paying a certain forfeit: he may alſo buy as many as he thinks he can maintain, and may ſell into ſlavery as many as he can convict of any infidelity. Women can inherit no property. Among the peaſantry and the lower ranks, their tyranny takes another ſhape. There, all the heavy labour falls upon the women; and they may often be ſeen with an infant on their back, *dragging* the plough and the harrow, while the huſband indolently directs it, or idles away his time in gambling and ſmoking. With all this domeſtic rigour, they are entirely deſtitute of decency or purity. There are multitudes of public women in every town; and every family is familiar with vices ſtill more deteſtable.

This ſtupid degradation of one ſex precludes all domeſtic ſociety, and cuts off the ſources of family affection. The melancholy ſolemnity of their manners completes its extirpation.

'A cold and ceremonious conduct muſt be obſerved on all occaſions between the members of the ſame family. There is no common focus to attract and concentrate the love and reſpect of children for their parents. Each lives retired and apart from the other. The little incidents and adventures of the day, which furniſh the converſation among children of many a long winter's evening, by a comfortable fire-ſide, in our own country, are in China buried in ſilence. Boys, it is true, ſometimes mix together in ſchools; but the ſtiff and ceremonious behaviour, which conſtitutes no inconſiderable part of their education, throws a reſtraint on all the little payful actions incident to their time of life, and completely ſubdues all ſpirit of activity and enterprize. A Chineſe youth of the higher claſs is inanimate, formal, and inactive, conſtantly endeavouring to aſſume the gravity of years.' p. 142.

As they have no comfort at home, ſo they have no ſociety abroad. They have not the remoteſt idea of meeting together for the ſake of converſation or amuſement. 'A Chineſe,' ſays Mr Barrow, 'when he has finiſhed his daily employment, retires to his ſolitary apartment.' The young people have no occaſional aſſemblies for the purpoſe of dancing or other exerciſes, nor have they any fixed day for religious ceremonies, nor any public or congregational worſhip. The jealouſy of the government has

has given their devotions the same solitary character with all the rest of their existence. They are generally extremely sober; though the higer ranks commonly stupify themselves with opium. On the first day of the new year, and a few succeeding days, indeed, a sort of general holiday is observed, and persons in office give feasts and entertainments.

'But even in those feasts (says Mr B.) there is nothing that bears the resemblance of conviviality. The guests never partake together of the same service of dishes, but each has frequently his separate table; sometimes two, but never more than four, sit at the same table; and their eyes must constantly be kept upon the master of the feast, to watch all his motions, and to observe every morsel he puts into his mouth, and every time he lifts the cup to his lips; for a Chinese of good breeding can neither eat nor drink without a particular ceremony, to which the guests must pay attention. If a person invited should, from sickness or any accident, be prevented from fulfilling his engagement, the portion of the dinner that was intended to be placed on his table is sent in procession to his own house; a custom that strongly points out the very little notion they entertain of the *social* pleasures of the table. It is customary to send after each guest the remains even of his dinner.' p. 155. 156.

In this penury of all rational entertainments, we cannot be surprised to find the Chinese, like other half-civilized nations, addicted to games of chance. They are, in fact, most desperate gamblers, and are often said to stake their wives and children on the hazard of a die. They not only train cocks and quails to fight, as in Europe, but have discovered a warlike species of locust, with whose prowess in single combat they are prodigiously delighted.

The character of the Chinese, Mr Barrow conjectures to have been originally quiet, passive and timid: but the nature of the government has had the unfortunate effect of rendering them unfeeling and cruel. The degrading punishment of flogging with the bamboo is applied to every individual in the empire, and often with the greatest inhumanity and injustice. We shall quote but two instances from a multitude that might be copied from Mr Barrow.

'In our return down the *Pei-ho*, the water being considerably shallower than when we first sailed up this river, one of our accommodation barges got aground in the middle of the night. The air was piercing cold, and the poor creatures belonging to the vessel were busy until sunrise in the midst of the river, using their endeavours to get her off. The rest of the fleet had proceeded; and the patience of the superintending officer at length being exhausted, he *ordered his soldiers to flog the captain and the whole crew*; which was accordingly done in a most unmerciful manner; and this was their only reward for the use of the yacht, their time and labour for two days!' p. 161.

'Of

'Of the number of perſons who had crowded down to the banks of the canal, ſeveral had poſted themſelves upon the high projecting ſtern of an old veſſel, which unfortunately breaking down with the weight, the whole group tumbled with the wreck into the canal, juſt at the moment when the yachts of the embaſſy were paſſing. Although numbers of boats were ſailing about the place, none were perceived to go to the aſſiſtance of thoſe that were ſtruggling in the water. They even ſeemed not to know that ſuch an accident had happened, nor could the ſhrieks of the boys, floating on pieces of the wreck, attract their attention. One fellow was obſerved very buſily employed in picking up, with his boat-hook, the hat of a drowning man. It was in vain we endeavoured to prevail on the people of our veſſel to heave to and ſend the boat to their aſſiſtance.' p. 166–7.

Frequent mention is made of the cruelty ſhown to the peaſants who were put in requiſition to carry the baggage; and in the journey of the Dutch embaſſy, M. Van Braam aſſures us that eight of them actually expired under their burdens in the courſe of two nights. On the ſubject of inhumanity, however, it is ſufficient merely to name the deteſtable practice of Infanticide, which ſeems to have prevailed from time immemorial in this empire. The Jeſuits reckon that there are from two to three thouſand infants expoſed every year in the ſtreets of Pekin alone, beſides thoſe that are drowned in a veſſel of warm water at the moment of birth, and thoſe that are thrown into the rivers with a gourd tied round their necks to prolong for a ſhort time the certainty of their torment, and the chance of their deliverance. Thoſe that are thrown into the ſtreets of the capital, are toſſed into carts in the morning, and thrown all together, whether dead or alive, into a pit without the walls. The miſſionaries commonly attend at this horrible tomb, to baptiſe thoſe that remain alive.

'I was aſſured by one of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, with whom I had daily converſation during a reſidence of five weeks within the walls of the Emperor's palace at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and who took his turn in attending, *pour leur ſauver l'ame*, that ſuch ſcenes were ſometimes exhibited on theſe occaſions as to make the feeling mind ſhudder with horror. When I mention that dogs and ſwine are let looſe in all the narrow ſtreets of the capital, the reader may conceive what will ſometimes neceſſarily happen to the expoſed infants, before the police-carts can pick them up.' p. 169.

No inſtance of inhumanity ſo atrocious, we believe, is to be found in the manners of any other people.

The ſpirit of the people appears to be completely broken by the ſordid deſpotiſm to which they are ſubjected. They ſeldom quarrel, and ſcarcely ever proceed to blows. 'The act of drawing a ſword or preſenting a piſtol,' ſays Mr Barrow, 'is ſufficient

ſufficient to frighten a common Chineſe into convulſions; and their warriors ſhew but few ſymptoms of bravery.' On the other hand, they have all the vices of a mean and abject character, without having to boaſt of any one rank or order in the community to whom a more elevated or upright diſpoſition is familiar.

'A Chineſe merchant will cheat, whenever an opportunity offers him the means, becauſe he is conſidered to be incapaple of acting honeſtly; a Chineſe peaſant will ſteal whenever he can do it without danger of being detected, becauſe the puniſhment is only the bamboo, to which he is daily liable; and a Chineſe prince, or a prime miniſter, will extort the property of the ſubject, and apply it to his private uſe, whenever he thinks he can do it with impunity. The only check upon the rapacity of men in power is the influence of fear, ariſing from the poſſibility of detection: the love of honour, the dread of ſhame, and a ſenſe of juſtice, ſeem to be equally unfelt by the majority of men in office.' p. 179. 180.

Theſe details, and the reſt which Mr Barrow has furniſhed upon the general character and diſpoſition of the people, are extremely intereſting, and appear to be ſtated with the greateſt candour; yet we cannot help regretting that he ſhould not have made a little more uſe of the opportunities he ſeems to have enjoyed, of exhibiting a living picture of the Chineſe taſte, genius, and diſpoſition, by a faithful detail of ſome of their *unofficial* converſations. With the two conductors of the embaſſy, in particular, he ſeems to have lived on a footing of conſiderable intimacy; and there is one private and confidential entertainment which he partook along with them, 'and paſſed,' as he expreſſes it, 'a moſt convivial evening, free from any reſerve or reſtraint,' of which we ſhould have been extremely glad to have contemplated a more extended picture. We ſhould have learned more of their true diſpoſition and manners, and formed a more intimate acquaintance, in ſhort, with the Chineſe character, from a ſhort view of that night's converſation, than from all the general deſcriptions which Mr Barrow can digeſt, or all the ſtanzas and moral maxims he can tranſlate.

The fifth chapter relates to the manners and amuſements of the court, and to the perſonal character of the Emperor. It is filled with a long account of the ceremonies obſerved at the introduction of the embaſſador, already very amply detailed by Sir George Staunton, enlarged by a narrative of the reception of the Dutch embaſſy in 1795; and concludes with a critique on the ſtate of the Chineſe ſtage, and the other entertainments of that polite people.

From this part of the work we can afford to make but few extracts. The following is Mr Barrow's account of the accommodations

modations of the first officers of state in this most superb of the Asiatic monarchies.

'The stone or clay floors are indeed sometimes covered with a carpet of English broad-cloth, and the walls papered; but they have no glass in the windows, no stoves, fire-places, or fire-grates in the rooms; no sofas, bureaux, chandeliers, nor looking-glasses; no book-cases, prints, nor paintings. They have neither curtains nor sheets to their beds; a bench of wood, or a platform of brick-work, is raised in an alcove, on which are mats or stuffed matresses, hard pillows or cushions, according to the season of the year; instead of doors they have usually skreens, made of the fibres of bamboo.

'When attending the court, on public occasions, each courtier takes his meal alone in his solitary cell on a small square table crowded with bowls of rice and various stews. Without table-linen or napkins—without knife, fork, or spoon; a pair of small sticks, or the quills of a porcupine, are the only substitutes for these convenient articles: placing the bowl under his chin, with these he throws the rice into his mouth, and takes up the pieces of meat in his soup or stews. Having finished his lonely meal, he generally lies down to sleep.' p. 194–5.

As the Dutch embassy was treated with much less ceremony than the British, so the members of it had a better opportunity of observing that extraordinary combination of real meanness and barbarity, with an affectation of splendour and refinement, which Mr Barrow and Lord Macartney have both remarked as the characteristic of the Chinese court. From a manuscript journal of this other embassy, Mr Barrow has accordingly extracted a variety of passages which tend to place them in a very contemptible light. One great part of the Emperor's amusement, was to be dragged about in a sort of sledge upon the ice by the hands of his great mandarins, who, in their state dresses, were yoked, some before, and some behind the vehicle, and to see the officers of his court tumble in heaps over each other as they approached the place where he was seated, on a kind of clumsy skate. An eclipse of the moon happening on the fourth February,

—'the Emperor and his mandarins were engaged the whole day in devoutly praying the gods that the moon might not be eaten up by the great dragon that was hovering about her. Recovered from their apprehensions, an entertainment was given the following day, at which the embassadors were required to be present. After a number of juggling tricks and infantine sports, a pantomime, intended to be an exhibition of the battle of the dragon and the moon, was represented before the full court. In this engagement two or three hundred priests, bearing lanterns suspended at the ends of long sticks, performed a variety of evolutions, dancing and capering about, sometimes over the plain, and then over chairs and tables, affording to his Imperial Majesty and to his courtiers the greatest pleasure and satisfaction.' p. 216–17.

Their exhibitions of ſtrength, dexterity, &c. are incomparably inferior to the moſt ordinary repreſentations of the ſame ſort in Europe; and their drama is the moſt deſpicable and inelegant entertainment to which that epithet was ever applied. In one favourite piece, the chief intereſt depends upon the repreſentation of a woman who has been flayed alive, and who whines about the ſtage in that elegant diſhabille for very nearly half an hour, while a group of dæmons are deliberating on her future deſtiny. In the courſe of another tragedy, where a general is repreſented as ſetting out on a diſtant expedition, the ſpectators are wonderfully pleaſed to ſee him get aſtride upon a long ſtick, and run two or three times round the ſtage, till he is ſuppoſed to have reached the place of his deſtination. Their comic repreſentations, Mr Barrow aſſures us, are ſo vulgarly indelicate and filthy, as not to be contemplated without the utmoſt diſguſt.

'In ſhort, the greater part of the amuſements of the Chineſe are, at the preſent day, of a nature ſo very puerile, or ſo groſs and vulgar, that the tricks and the puppet-ſhews which are occaſionally exhibited in a common fair of one of the country towns of England, may be conſidered as comparatively poliſhed, intereſting, and rational. In ſlight-of-hand, in poſture-making, rope-dancing, riding, and athletic exerciſes, they are much inferior to Europeans; but in the variety of their fire-works they, perhaps, may carry the palm againſt the whole world. In every other reſpect, the amuſements of the capital of China appear to be of a low and trifling nature, neither ſuited to the affected gravity of the government, nor to the generally ſuppoſed ſtate of civilization among the people.' p. 224-5.

The ſixth chapter treats of the Chineſe language, literature and arts; upon all of which, if Mr Barrow has not preſented us with any very valuable novelty, he has at leaſt exhibited what is known, in a very clear and maſterly manner. His ſketch of the *language* is peculiarly neat and luminous, though ſome of the facts which he confirms to us appear to be moſt ſtrange and unaccountable.

The written and the ſpoken language of China, our readers are probably aware, have no ſort of connexion or relation to each other. Their viſible characters repreſent things or ideas directly, without any reference to the ſounds by which the ſame things may ſometimes be expreſſed. Nay, they repreſent many things which the Chineſe at leaſt cannot expreſs by ſounds at all. It is a real character, in ſhort, which has nothing to do with words, and might have been invented by a race of beings who were deſtitute of the faculty of ſpeaking. The only novelty which Mr Barrow has introduced in his account of this extraordinary ſyſtem, conſiſts in the doubt he has thrown upon the hieroglyphical origin of the Chineſe characters. He ſays that they appear to him to have been from the beginning a ſet of arbitrary or conventional marks,

marks, and that he has found it impoſſible to trace the ſmalleſt reſemblance between any of the radical characters and the viſible objects they are employed to repreſent. Thoſe which have been copied by the Jeſuits to illuſtrate the theory of their graphical origin, he affirms to have been very much diſtorted from their genuine form; and he exhibits a liſt of ſome of the ſimpleſt and moſt elementary characters, which certainly bear no kind of likeneſs to the objects they denote. Though it would not be difficult perhaps to trace the gradual metamorphoſis of picture-writing into ſuch a character as the Chineſe actually employ, yet we are rather inclined, upon the whole, to adopt Mr Barrow's view of the ſubject in this particular caſe, and to hold, that the written ſyſtem of this people has not been derived from that origin. We have been led to form this opinion chiefly by three conſiderations. 1. They have no record nor tradition among them of the uſe of picture-writing, though their annals make mention of the time when they made uſe of *quipos* or knotted cords, like the Peruvians, to preſerve the memory of events. 2. There is no appearance of hieroglyphical writing on any of their oldeſt monuments. And, 3. The book called the *Ye-king*, admitted to be by far the moſt ancient relic in China, and indeed ſo antiquated as now to be perfectly unintelligible, conſiſts altogether of ſtraight lines, arranged in different parallel groups, and contains nothing in the leaſt degree reſembling the delineation of viſible objects.

This, however, relates rather to the hiſtory, than to the actual condition of the Chineſe written character. It is clearly and conciſely deſcribed in the following paſſage by Mr Barrow.

'Certain ſigns expreſſing ſimple objects or ideas may be conſidered as the roots or primitives of this language. Theſe are few in number, not exceeding two hundred and twelve, one of which, or its abbreviation, will be found to compoſe a part of every character in the language; and may, therefore, be conſidered as the *key* to the character into which it enters. The eye ſoon becomes accuſtomed to fix upon the particular key, or root, of the moſt complicated characters, in ſome of which are not fewer than ſixty or ſeventy diſtinct lines and points. The right line, the curved line, and a point, are the rudiments of all the characters. Theſe, variouſly combined with one another, have been extended from time to time, as occaſion might require, to nearly eighty thouſand different characters.

'To explain the manner in which their dictionaries are arranged, will ſerve to convey a correct notion of the nature of this extraordinary language. All the two hundred and twelve roots or keys are drawn fair and diſtinct on the head of the page, beginning with the moſt ſimple, or that which contains the feweſt number of lines or points, and proceeding to the moſt complicated; and on the margins of the page are marked the numeral characters one, two, three, &c. which ſignify, that

the *root* or *key* at the top will be found to be combined on that page with one, two, three, &c. lines or points. Suppoſe, for example, a learner ſhould meet with an unknown character, in which he perceives that the ſimple ſign expreſſing *water* is the *key* or *root*, and that it contains beſides this root, *ſix* additional points and lines. He immediately turns over his dictionary to the place where the character *water* ſtands on the top of the page, and proceeding with his eye directed to the margin until the numeral character *ſix* occurs, he will ſoon perceive the one in queſtion; for all the characters in the language belonging to the *root water*, and compoſed of *ſix* other lines and points, will follow ſucceſſively in this place. The name or ſound of the character is placed immediately after it, expreſſed in ſuch others as are ſuppoſed to be moſt familiar; and, in the method made uſe of for conveying this information, the Chineſe have diſcovered ſome faint and very imperfect idea of alphabetic writing, by ſplitting the monoſyllabic ſound into a diſſyllable, and again compreſſing the diſſyllable into a ſimple ſound. One inſtance will ſerve to explain this method. Suppoſe the name of the character under conſideration to be *ping*. If no ſingle character be thought ſufficiently ſimple to expreſs the ſound *ping*, immediately after it will be placed two well-known characters *pe* and *ing*; but, as every character in the language has a monoſyllabic ſound, it will readily be concluded, that *pe* and *ing*, when compreſſed into one ſyllable, muſt be pronounced *ping*. After theſe, the meaning or explanation follows in the cleareſt and moſt eaſy characters that can be employed.' p. 250.–252.

The ſyſtem upon which theſe characters are compounded, appears to be very ingenious and philoſophical; but it is not adhered to, Mr Barrow aſſures us, with any tolerable degree of attention in the practice of the Chineſe. The metaphorical combinations by which they think fit to expreſs an obvious idea, are frequently ſo capricious and obſcure, as to elude all comprehenſion; and very frequently a character is adopted, without any conſideration of the ſeparate ſignificance of its elements, but purely from the ſuppoſed beauty of its form, or the facility of its formation.

Thus, ſays Mr Barrow, it may not be difficult to conceive how the union of the *ſun* and *moon* ſhould be employed to denote *brilliancy*; but it does not occur ſo readily why the character for *happineſs* ſhould be compounded of the characters ſignifying a *demon*, the number *one* a *mouth*, and a piece of *cultivated ground*: and it would be ſtill more difficult to explain the principle upon which the character denoting *rank* or order ſhould be repreſented by that ſignifying *mouth* three times repeated—or why the ſame character four times repeated, with the addition of the ſign of *greatneſs*, ſhould denote an *inſtrument* or piece of mechaniſm.

In this language, Mr Barrow aſſures us, the chief beauty of compoſition conſiſts, not ſo much in the novelty or importance of the meaning which is conveyed, as on the choice of the characters

ters or groups of metaphors which are employed to ſuggeſt it. When tranſlated into another language, theſe metaphors are neceſſarily dropped; and a paſſage which delighted the eye of a learned Chineſe, from the variety of pleaſing and ſuitable images which the compound characters ſuggeſted to him, appears, when the naked meaning is ſtated in words, to be ridiculouſly obvious and trifling. This apology for the undeniable futility of all the Chineſe compoſitions that have ever been tranſlated into the European tongues, is certainly very creditable to the ingenuity of thoſe by whom it was ſuggeſted; but to us, we will acknowledge it appears by no means ſatisfactory. In the firſt place, becauſe, except in poetry or fine writing, a beauty of this kind, even if it were attainable, would be altogether miſplaced; and chiefly, becauſe it ſeems to us perfectly obvious, that if the characters are ſufficiently familiar to the reader to enable him to underſtand them at firſt ſight, he will neceſſarily overlook and diſregard the metaphors or images which they may involve, in the ſame way as we are unconſcious of the figurative origin of almoſt all the abſtract and compounded words which occur in our common converſation. As a ſpecimen of the ſubſtance and ſcope of their moſt admired compoſitions, we inſert the following tranſlation of a celebrated ode on Tea, compoſed by one of their moſt famous poets, and painted upon almoſt all the tea-pots in the empire. The reader will judge whether any beauty of diction in the original would entitle it to be ranked with the lyrical compoſitions of Europe.

"On a ſlow fire ſet a tripod, whoſe colour and texture ſhew its long uſe; fill it with clear ſnow water; boil it as long as would be neceſſary to turn fiſh white, and crayfiſh red; throw it upon the delicate leaves of choice tea, in a cup of *yuoé* (a particular ſort of porcelain). Let it remain as long as the vapour riſes in a cloud, and leaves only a thin miſt floating on the ſurface. At your eaſe, drink this precious liquor, which will chaſe away the five cauſes of trouble. We can taſte and feel, but not deſcribe, the ſtate of repoſe produced by a liquor thus prepared." p. 280. 281.

Singular, however, as the ſtructure of the written language of this people muſt be allowed to be, it does not form by any means ſo extraordinary an object of conſideration as their oral or ſpoken language. This language conſiſts of no more than 341 indeclinable monoſyllables, which, by aſpirations, accentuations, and other precarious devices, may be increaſed by a native Chineſe to about 1300. This pitiful number of words conſtitutes the whole vocabulary of this enlightened empire! and ſuch is the wretched penury of ſignificant ſounds, that every one of theſe monoſyllables is computed to have about ſixty different ſignifications, inſomuch, that their diſcourſes are always full of ambiguity, and they are reduced to the moſt awkward contrivances to avoid the equivocations

equivocations to which they are continually liable. A Chineſe, in his common ſpeech, is often obliged to ſtop, and draw, in the air, the written character of the idea he wiſhes to expreſs, and very frequently to annex to the ambiguous monoſyllable ſome ſynonyme that may help to reſtrict its meaning.

There is no inſtance, we believe, on the face of the earth, of a language ſo extremely imperfect and inartificial; and it is difficult to conceive how any race of people could be ſo ſtupid, or ſo deſtitute of invention, as to leave it in ſuch a ſtate of poverty. They are ſaid to have eighty thouſand written characters, made up of different combinations of two hundred elementary ſigns; and yet, in their common ſpeech, they are contented with about thirteen hundred ambiguous monoſyllables, without ever thinking of increaſing their number by compoſition, or by the invention of any new articulation. The ſtructure of their written language ſhews that they are fully aware of the effects of combination; and yet they have in no one inſtance introduced a compound word into their ſpoken language, or ventured to combine two ſyllables into the ſymbol of a complex idea. By what particular infatuation they have been withheld from ſo obvious an improvement—by what bar they have been obſtructed from compounding their words as well as their written characters, we are utterly unable to comprehend, and no writer, we think, has attempted to explain. The fact, however, appears to be quite undeniable, that they have gone on for many thouſand years *pittering* to each other in a jargon which reſembles the chuckling of poultry more than the language of men, and have never yet had the ſenſe to put their monoſyllables together into articulate words.

A language of this deſcription excludes, of courſe, all idea of oratory, and ſerves in part as an apology for the want of converſation. It explains, too, in a ſatisfactory manner, the reaſon why the Chineſe have never adopted an alphabetical character. By the uſe of an alphabet we are enabled merely to write what we can ſpeak; but the Chineſe cannot ſpeak one ſixtieth part of what they can expreſs in writing already, and would ſuſtain a great loſs, therefore, in exchanging their preſent character for one which ſhould only expreſs the few combinations of ſound which compoſe their ſpoken language. The cauſes which lead to the improvement and extenſion of ſpoken language, appear to be ſo univerſal and certain in their operation, that any remarkable failure in the effect ſtrikes us as ſomething preternatural: the inducements, at leaſt, to form a commodious vehicle for the communication of our ſentiments in our ordinary intercourſe, are obviouſly ſo much ſtronger, and the difficulties ſo much leſs than thoſe which muſt have occurred in the invention of a written character,

character, that the barren and rude ſtate of ſpeech among the Chineſe muſt always appear as a moſt aſtoniſhing phenomenon, when contraſted with the copiouſneſs and artifice of their written ſyſtem.

Of the *ſciences* and *arts* of the Chineſe, it is unneceſſary to ſay any thing. They have no ſcience, and never ſeem to have had any; and all the arts they poſſeſs ſeem, though they have been practiſed for ſome thouſands of years, to be ſtill in their infancy. They know nothing of chemiſtry, mechanics, aſtronomy, geography, optics, or any branch of natural philoſophy. As to the fine arts, Mr Barrow aſſures us, 'that there is not in the whole empire a ſtatue, a hewn pillar, or a column that deſerves to be mentioned;' and that with regard to painting, they have not the moſt diſtant idea of perſpective or keeping; and that the king's draughtſman was utterly unable to make any tolerable repreſentation of a naked human figure. Their architecture is in as miſerable a ſtate as their ſculpture and painting. All their houſes are built in the form of a tent, with a curved roof and wooden pillars. Their temples are conſtructed almoſt entirely on the ſame plan, with two or three roofs, one above another. They have no ſettled proportion between the length and the diameter of their pillars; and they cover them invariably with a coat of red paint. There does not appear to be a building in the whole empire that has ſtood 300 years.

Their great wall is a mound of earth, caſed on the outſide with brick; and remarkable for nothing, but its needleſs length, and the folly of its builders. Their canal is by far their greateſt work: our readers will be glad to peruſe Mr Barrow's diſtinct account of it.

'All the rivers of note in China fall from the high lands of Tartary, which lie to the northward of Thibet, croſſing the plains of this empire in their deſcent to the ſea from weſt to eaſt. The inland navigation, being carried from north to ſouth, cuts theſe rivers at right angles, the ſmaller ſtreams of which terminating in it afford a conſtant ſupply of water; and the three great rivers, the Eu-ho to the north, the Yellow river towards the middle, and the Yang-tſe-kiang to the ſouth, interſecting the canal, carry off the ſuperfluous water to the ſea. The former, therefore, are the *feeders*, and the latter the *diſchargers*, of the great trunk of the canal. A number of difficulties muſt have ariſen in accommodating the general level of the canal to the ſeveral levels of the feeding ſtreams; for, notwithſtanding all the favourable circumſtances of the face of the country, it has been found neceſſary in many places to cut down to the depth of ſixty or ſeventy feet below the ſurface; and, in others, to raiſe mounds of earth upon lakes and ſwamps and marſhy grounds, of ſuch a length and magnitude, that nothing ſhort of the abſolute command over multitudes could have accompliſhed an undertaking,

dertaking, whoſe immenſity is only exceeded by the great wall. Theſe gigantic embankments are ſometimes carried through lakes of ſeveral miles in diameter, between which the water is forced up to a height conſiderably above that of the lake; and in ſuch ſituations we ſometimes obſerved this enormous aqueduct gliding along at the rate of three miles an hour. Few parts of it are level: in ſome places it has little or no current; one day we had it ſetting to the ſouthward at the rate of one, two, or three miles an hour, the next to the northward, and frequently on the ſame day we found it ſtationary, and running in oppoſite directions. This balancing of the level was effected by flood-gates thrown acroſs at certain diſtances to elevate or depreſs the height of the water a few inches, as might appear to be neceſſary; and theſe ſtoppages are ſimply planks ſliding in grooves, that are cut into the ſides of two ſtone abutments, which in theſe places contract the canal to the width of about thirty feet. There is not a lock, nor, except theſe, a ſingle interruption to a continued navigation of ſix hundred miles.' p. 336. 337.

The excavation of the bed and the conſtruction of the embankments muſt certainly have been effected with infinite labour; and labour expended for purpoſes of great utility is always a magnificent object of contemplation: but to us there appears to be little elſe at all worthy of admiration in this undertaking. There is no genius, we think, in the deſign, and little contrivance in the execution. In a flat country, interſected by a multitude of rivers running in one direction, it muſt have been a very obvious ſuggeſtion, to join two or three of the largeſt, by dividing the ſtream of the intermediate ones. Where there is ſuch abundance of water, and a level ſo well adapted for navigation, the conſtruction of a canal demands no great exertion of ingenuity. It is only neceſſary to obſtruct the direct courſe of the ſtreams by a bulwark, and to dig a lateral channel. What is called a canal in China, indeed, is but a river running in a new bed. By the contrivance of locks a great part of the labour beſtowed in maintaining the level might have been ſaved: but it appears clearly from Sir George Staunton's remarks, that the Chineſe are entirely ignorant of that uſeful invention.

*Medicine*, in China, is at as low an ebb as aſtronomy. They are utterly ignorant of anatomy, and never think of attempting bloodletting, amputation, or any conſiderable operation. The whole art of the phyſician conſiſts in the knowledge of certain herbs, and in the faculty of diſcovering the nature of all diſeaſes by the pulſe; the common quackery of all the orientals. Mr Barrow terminates his obſervations upon their proficiency in the arts with this remarkable ſentence—

'Indeed, in ſelecting the many valuable preſents relating to ſcience, their knowledge and learning had been greatly overrated. They had little

little eſteem for what they could not comprehend, and ſpecimens of art ſerved only to excite their jealouſy, and to wound their pride. Whenever a future embaſſy ſhall be ſent to Pekin, I ſhould recommend articles of gold, ſilver, and ſteel, childrens' toys and trinkets; and perhaps a few ſpecimens of Derbyſhire ſpar, with the fineſt broad-cloth and kerſeymeres, in preference to all others; for, in their preſent ſtate, they are totally incapable of appreciating any thing great or excellent in the arts and ſciences.' p. 343.

After this, we really do not ſee how he could conſiſtently refuſe to ſubſcribe to the ſentence paſſed upon them by Sir William Jones in the following paſſage:

"Their letters," ſays he, "if we may ſo call them, are merely the ſymbols of ideas; their philoſophy ſeems yet in ſo rude a ſtate, as hardly to deſerve the appellation; they have no ancient monuments from which their origin can be traced, even by plauſible conjecture; their ſciences are wholly exotic; and their mechanical arts have nothing in them characteriſtic of a particular family; nothing which any ſet of men, in a country ſo highly favoured by nature, might not have diſcovered and improved." p. 356.

The next chapter is upon the government and the laws. The firſt is a pure deſpotiſm; and as to the ſecond, Mr Barrow profeſſes himſelf to be ſomewhat unprepared to give any very full information. To make amends, however, he gives us room to hope that the public will ſoon be favoured with a faithful tranſlation of their lateſt and beſt digeſted code, of which a copy is now in this country. Meanly as we are diſpoſed to think of the Chineſe genius in general, we look forward to this publication with feelings of no common curioſity; and earneſtly hope that the tranſlator will meet with ſuch encouragement, as may enable him ſoon to gratify us with this very curious and authentic document. Such a publication, accompanied with a very few explanatory notes, would give us a much more ſatisfactory idea of the character and ſituation of the people, than all the volumes which European genius can compoſe upon the ſubject.

In the mean time, we learn that all ſentences of death muſt be ratified by a ſupreme tribunal at Pekin; but that every mandarin may flog all of inferior dignity at diſcretion; that capital puniſhments are of rare occurrence; and that treaſon is puniſhed by forfeiting the lives of all the criminal's deſcendants to the ninth generation. They do not employ impriſonment or coercive labour as means of reformation; all their puniſhments which are not capital are included in exile and flagellation. In civil caſes, there is no appeal from a lower to a higher juriſdiction; and almoſt all the officers of juſtice are open to corruption. Torture is employed to extort confeſſions; and the governors of provinces are diſplaced at the pleaſure of the Sovereign.

Although they have famines every four or five years, they have few beggars, and no poor laws. The taxes are never altered or increased: they consist chiefly in a land-tax, and imposts on salt and foreign merchandise; and are supposed to amount in all to about sixty-six millions Sterling. The military establishment of the country amounting to nearly two millions of men, with the vessels of war, &c. is supposed to cost about fifty millions annually, and the civil establishments nearly two; so that about fourteen millions are left for the private expences and establishment of the Emperor. The army is chiefly composed of Tartars, who do not seem to be yet naturalised in the country, and assume, even at court, all those imperious airs of superiority which were natural perhaps at the æra of their original conquest.

The next chapter, with some unhappy pretensions to learning, and some endeavours at theory, contains scarcely any satisfactory information. It treats of the origin of the Chinese, and of their religious ceremonies. With regard to the former, we only learn, that, in Mr Barrow's opinion, the Emperor Fo-hee was Noah, and that the Chinese are of a Tartar breed, distinct from the Hindus or Egyptians. With regard to the latter, our information is still more indistinct and imperfect. There is no state religion; and no intelligible account is given of that which prevails among the populace. They worship heaven and earth; and, above all, the shades of their ancestors. Their worship consists chiefly in burning tapers and perfumed matches; and the sole object of their devotion appears to be to penetrate into the futurities of their present mortal existence: their condition in another world seems to occupy no part of their attention. There are implements of divination, however, in all the temples: if the event be favourable, the inquirer leaves a few pieces of copper on the altar —if adverse, he reviles the Deity and his lottery with the most irreverent peevishness.

The ninth chapter contains the greater part of the journey from Pekin to Canton, with Mr Barrow's remarks on the agriculture and population of the empire.

The first part of the journey gave him but an indifferent opinion of either. The country was sandy and barren; and being no longer crowded with those who had come from a distance to gaze at the strangers on their arrival, 'he was surprised,' he says, 'at the fewness of the inhabitants, as well as at the very ruinous and miserable condition of their cottages.' On the way to Nan-tchang-foo, the canal was led through wastes of morass and uncultivated bog, extending, on both sides of it, beyond the reach of sight, for a course of more than 200 miles. So far from having any idea of draining or cultivating those vast unhealthy deserts, the

the Chineſe habitually let out the waſte water of the canal upon the ſwamps below; and as this canal is in fact the bed of many rivers, it is not at all improbable that the marſhes may have been formed in a great meaſure by this negligent and abſurd practice. In the pools and marſhes of this dreary country, a few wretched inhabitants ſubſiſt themſelves by fiſhing.

Their agriculture, of which their admirers have ſpoken in terms of ſuch unmeaſured admiration, is almoſt in as low a ſtate as the reſt of their economics. Their plough is of a moſt wretched conſtruction; and as nine tenths of their cultivators have no cattle to drag it, they could derive no advantage from an improvement in that particular. Almoſt every ſpot is laboured with the ſpade and the hoe.

'As horticulturiſts,' ſays Mr Barrow, 'they may perhaps be allowed a conſiderable ſhare of merit; but, on the great ſcale of agriculture, they are certainly not to be mentioned with many European nations. They have no knowledge of the modes of improvement practiſed in the various breeds of cattle; no inſtruments for breaking up and preparing waſte lands; no ſyſtem for draining and reclaiming ſwamps and moraſſes; though that part of the country over which the grand communication is effected between the two extremities of the empire, abounds with lands of this nature, where population is exceſſive, and where the multitudes of ſhipping that paſs and repaſs create a never failing demand for grain and other vegetable products.' p. 567.

The practice of terracing their mountains (which has long prevailed in Switzerland and other hilly countries) ſeems to be very rarely reſorted to in China. 'Upon our route,' ſays Mr Barrow, 'it occurred only twice, and then on ſo ſmall a ſcale as ſcarcely to deſerve notice.' In their gardens they have no method of forcing by artificial heat or glaſs covers, and their whole merit conſiſts in working the ſoil inceſſantly, and keeping it free from weeds.

'Upon the whole, if I might venture to offer an opinion with reſpect to the merit of the Chineſe as agriculturiſts, I ſhould not heſitate to ſay that, let as much ground be given to one of their peaſants as he and his family can work with the ſpade, and he will turn that piece of ground to more advantage, and produce from it more ſuſtenance for the uſe of man, than any European whatſoever would be able to do; but, let fifty or one hundred acres of the beſt land in China be given to a farmer, at a mean rent, ſo far from making out of it the value of three rents, on which our farmers uſually calculate, he would ſcarcely be able to ſupport his family, after paying the expence of labour that would be required to work the farm.' p. 569. 570.

There are no large farms accordingly, and ſcarcely any cultivation except in the immediate neighbourhood of the villages. Such is the ſtate of police and morality in this vaunted country, that

no one will live on a detached farm for fear of being plundered by robbers, who prowl about in ſuch formidable bands as ſometimes to threaten their moſt populous cities.

With regard to the population of the country, Mr Barrow has recited the official ſtatement which was delivered at the requeſt of the embaſſador, and printed in Sir George Staunton's publication. According to this table, the population of the fifteen old provinces amounts to no leſs than *three hundred and thirty-three millions* of ſouls. In order to aſſiſt the credibility of this ſtatement, Mr Barrow makes a calculation of the number of ſquare miles contained in theſe diſtricts, and determines, that the preceding ſum of population will allow exactly two hundred and fifty-eight inhabitants for every ſquare mile, or very little more than twice as many as are found on the ſame ſpace in Great Britain. He then reminds us, that in China no horſes are kept for pleaſure, and but few for labour; and that, in the ſouthern provinces, two crops are always reaped in a year, while the people are ſatisfied with a very moderate ſuſtenance, and ſcarcely ever conſume any animal food; and concludes with obſerving, that, ſo far from having exceeded its natural limits, 'the population has not yet arrived at a level with the means which the country affords of ſubſiſtence.'

Upon a point of fact, where the evidence is confeſſedly defective, it is vain to diſpute. A ſquare mile of land is certainly capable of maintaining two hundred and fifty-ſix inhabitants; and it is *poſſible* that the miles which compoſe the Chineſe empire may be peopled in this proportion; but the probabilities, we think, are all againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition. The immenſe tracts of waſte land that approach the capital, and extend along the great channel of communication to the ſouth—the reports made by the earlier miſſionaries, of ſtill more extenſive deſarts in the weſt—and the admitted fact, of the population being moſtly accumulated in towns and villages, for fear of the banditti that infeſt the open country,—are all circumſtances which appear to be irreconcileable with the ſtatement exhibited by this author.

Mr Barrow, however, appears to us to have committed a more decided and inexcuſable miſtake, in repreſenting the actual population of this country as in a ſtate of progreſſive increaſe, and as not having yet attained to its natural and ſalutary limits. The *data* upon which this propoſition is founded, are very curious. Father Amiot, he informs us, repreſents the population of China, as calculated from official documents in 1760, to have been ſomewhat under two hundred millions; an amount, Mr Barrow obſerves, which, according to a moderate calculation in political arithmetic, would yield at leaſt three hundred and thirty-three millions in 1794. We are afraid that the elements of political arithmetic are not very familiar

liar to Mr Barrow's underſtanding; otherwiſe we can ſcarcely conceive, that he ſhould have overlooked the glaring and indiſputable ſymptoms of a redundant and exceſſive population which appear in almoſt every page of his own intelligent obſervations. We need only ſpecify three, the exiſtence of which is indiſputable, and which were all as remarkable two hundred years ago as they are at this moment. 1. The miſerable, ſtarved, and beggarly condition of the great body of the people, evinced by what was obſerved of their inſufficient diet, and the indiſcriminating voracity with which they ſwallowed all the offal and traſh which was thrown away by the travellers: 2. The univerſal practice of infanticide in all parts of the empire: 3. and finally, The regular recurrence of deſolating famines every three or four years. That a people in this ſituation ſhould multiply ſo rapidly as to add one third to their numbers in the ſpace of thirty-five years, may fairly be quoted as one of the moſt ignorant and abſurd ſuppoſitions that has ever been hazarded upon ſubjects of this nature. It is ſtill worſe, we think, when Mr Barrow talks of this exceſſive and miſerable population as an object of envy and admiration, and holds up, as a grand and inſtructive ſpectacle, this crowd of human creatures, degraded in their minds, and enfeebled in their bodies by the unwholeſome compreſſion of their numbers. We think the hold of a ſlaveſhip almoſt as magnificent a ſpectacle as the ſwarming provinces of China.

It would be curious to inveſtigate the cauſes which have produced this wretched exceſs of population; but our limits will not now permit us to enter into ſuch an inquiry. Two circumſtances would obviouſly contribute to the general effect: 1. The eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition, which leads them to conſider every man as miſerable who does not leave a ſon behind him to make offerings to his ſhade; and, 2. The permiſſion of infanticide, which prevents poverty from acting as a reſtraint upon marriage, and yet is not always able to ſilence the voice of nature, which ſpeaks in behalf of the offspring. The children are begotten with the view of murdering them, if their maintenance threatens to be burdenſome; and they are ſpared by compaſſion, in ſpite of the miſerable burdens they occaſion.

There is nothing in the laſt chapter that we can recommend to the reader's particular attention. It contains the termination of the journey, and the proceedings at Canton. The maintenance and tranſportation of the embaſſy in the country is ſaid to have coſt the Emperor upwards of one hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds: the whole expence to our Government, including the preſents, did not exceed eighty thouſand.

The great merit of Mr Barrow's book, is the ſound good ſenſe and

and candour which diſtinguiſh moſt of his obſervations. He does not write with much accuracy or elegance, and ſeems more indebted to the natural ſtrength of his underſtanding, than to any great labour that has been beſtowed on its cultivation. The defects of his philoſophical education, indeed, are ſo glaring, that there are few topics at all connected with thoſe prejudices which can only be diſpelled by general and comprehenſive reaſonings, upon which he does not betray a certain degree of illiberality, which accords ill with the acuteneſs and fairneſs of his general remarks. Independently of his ſtrange doctrines about population, upon which he ſeems to ſet a very high value, we have ſeveral incidental remarks on the oppreſſion and abſurdity of poor laws, and on the combination of farmers and corn-dealers to raiſe the prices of grain. We might perhaps refer to the ſame principle the puerile and miſplaced invectives on the atheiſm and wickedneſs of revolutionary France, with which he has choſen to enliven his eſtimate of the Chineſe character. With all theſe blemiſhes, however, the work is unqueſtionably very valuable and intereſting, and will contribute not a little to the growing reputation of the author.

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ART. II. *The Modern Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, comprehending that of the Greek Empire of Bactria, and other great Aſiatic Kingdoms bordering on its Weſtern Frontier, commencing at the Period of the Death of Alexander, and intended to be brought down to the Cloſe of the Eighteenth Century.* By Thomas Maurice, Author of the Ancient Hiſtory of Hindoſtan and Indian Antiquities. Vol. I. In Two Parts. 508 pp. 4to. 1802.

THE extenſive region of Aſia, known at preſent by the Perſic name of Hindûſtân, preſents ſo wide a field for inquiry, in every department of human knowledge, that we readily expect, in a literary country like Britain, many attempts to illuſtrate its ancient and modern hiſtory. Advantages which no other nation in Europe poſſeſſes, render us in a manner reſponſible to the general commonwealth of letters, for the care which we ſhall beſtow on a ſubject of ſuch importance. Our conqueſts and treaties have now ſubjected to the Britiſh ſceptre a very conſiderable part of thoſe celebrated domains which the natives have viewed, from time immemorial, as the ſcene of the creation of man, and of every improvement, divine or human, which has ſpread its influence over the face of the earth. Whatever may be thought of the truth of theſe opinions, their antiquity *ſeems* to be confirmed by the teſtimony of ancient foreign writers,—the apparently unchangeable

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character of the Hindû religious ſyſtem, and its reſemblance to the tenets of the earlieſt nations whoſe hiſtory has deſcended to our own times. If India, in common with other Aſiatic countries, aſpires to an extravagant antiquity, it muſt not be forgotten, that the evidence it produces in ſupport of its claims, is far more plauſible than that which is advanced by moſt of its rivals. Its religious doctrines; its mythology and ſcience; its ſacred language, nearly forgotten by the very order of men whoſe intereſt it is to remember it—neceſſarily refer us to a period of great antiquity: while its magnificent, but ruined temples, appear to be the work of no ſuperſtition more modern than that of Egypt or Aſſyria.

But, while the wiſhes of every inquirer are ſufficiently excited towards Indian literature, it muſt ſtill be regretted, that no very important ſteps have been taken to facilitate the ſtudy of it. To ſay that Britiſh induſtry has been equal at leaſt to that which any other nation would have exerted in the ſame circumſtances, is no compliment to the well-known powers we are acknowledged to poſſeſs, when ſuitable encouragement calls forth their exertion. Many diſagreeable obſtacles have oppoſed, and ſtill continue to retard, our progreſs in Aſiatic literature. Leaving out of conſideration the peculiar views and qualifications of moſt of thoſe who go to India, almoſt every ſtudent is ſubjected to the obvious diſadvantage of leaving Europe without any knowledge of the Hindoo languages. If it require a long ſpace of time to become maſter of Perſic, how much more is required to make an ordinary proficiency in Bengalee, Hindoſtanee, and the other dialects in common uſe? All theſe muſt be acquired in India, as there is no ſeminary in Britain where they can be tolerably learned. But even theſe, when attained, are of very little advantage to an Indian antiquary or hiſtorian. The Sanſcrit, the literary language of that country, the guardian of all its ancient knowledge, has never left the ſacred ſpot, beyond the precincts of which Bramins are forbidden to travel, nor made its appearance in Europe under the form of a grammar and dictionary. The dying hand of Sir William Jones has as yet pointed out in vain to his countrymen the labours of Pánini, and the thirty-two native vocabularies, which are probably deſtined to remain in the ſacred original till ſome unfortunate individual ſhall tranſlate them into Engliſh, and print them at his own expence, to be rewarded with the thanks of the public, and the ruin of his health and fortune.

Such being the ſtate of Indian literature at this moment, it cannot be thought extraordinary to aſſert, that materials for a complete and finiſhed hiſtory of Hindûſtan are not in the poſſeſſion of any writer in Europe. Whatever may be his taſte, his knowledge

ledge muſt be limited to the ſcanty information afforded by European books, compoſitions in modern Perſic, and the few tranſlations from the Sanſcrit which have been tranſmitted from India. It would be leſs preſumptuous for a mere Engliſh ſcholar to undertake to write the hiſtory of the Greek or Roman commonwealths, from the ſcanty abridgements which have been compoſed for the uſe of ſchools, than for the moſt learned European to write the general hiſtory of Hindûſtan. Indeed, it muſt immediately ſtrike every one to whom the compariſon is ſuggeſted, how much leſs we know of India than might be collected from the meaneſt Engliſh publications on the ſubject of Greece and Rome.

The notices of India which may be gathered from the Greek and Latin writers, deſerve the name of hints of its exiſtence, rather than materials for its hiſtory. The oldeſt oriental book that mentions it, is that of Eſther, written under the Perſian empire, from which it probably received a conſiderable ſhare of the religious and political inſtitutions which have ſince been moulded into a ſyſtem by the Boodhiſts and Bramins. The conqueſts of Alexander opened India to the Greeks; and the beſt ancient accounts of it are found in the works of his biographers. A few glimmering lights in the Arabic writers ſerve to reveal the names of many ſeparate, but powerful ſtates, which flouriſhed in the peninſula, between the firſt downfal of the Roman empire and the Mahomedan invaſion. If the modern hiſtory of India be begun at the death of Alexander the Great, the writer will have little elſe to build upon for the firſt ten centuries of his undertaking.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, Mr Maurice has boldly ventured to give us both an antient and modern hiſtory of Hindoſtan. Had it been poſſible for any writer on the weſtern ſide of the Indus to have rendered theſe works correſpondent with their titles, there is ſcarcely any preſent which the literary world ought to have received with greater ſatisfaction. The undertaking implies ſuch profound knowledge in many languages, of which the names only have arrived in Britain, and ſuch an acquaintance with Aſiatic manners and ſcience, that we fear it will be a long time indeed before we can hope to ſee it accompliſhed. At preſent we are rather inclined to commiſerate, than to complain of the failure of Mr Maurice's attempt; and to aſcribe it, in a great meaſure, to the infant ſtate of Britiſh knowledge concerning the nations he has choſen to illuſtrate. Our knowledge of Indian hiſtory may afford materials perhaps for ſome ingenious *diſſertations*; but is ſtill ſo imperfect, that *he* only can be ſaid to deſerve well of that ſubject who has collected and tranſlated manuſcript records, diſcovered new facts, or given additional information of

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one kind or other in some department of the sciences related to it. Mr Maurice disclaims all pretensions to a knowledge of Sanscrit literature;—a heavy disqualification in a historian of India, for which the greatest abilities will scarcely compensate. His narratives are all necessarily drawn from the most common sources, and usually presented with little variation in the words of the writers he has consulted. We are led therefore to examine his performance, merely as a piece of composition, and to inquire whether he has arranged the few facts which we possess in an elegant, judicious, and scientific manner. Such an arrangement is surely within the power of a British writer, and can lend a charm to the most meagre productions in point of fact, sufficient to recommend them to a numerous description of readers.

History, written on a classic model, consists of a relation of important actions and events delivered in language suitable to the subject, and interspersed with statements of the causes, as far as they are known, from which they arose; the whole being arranged in a manner calculated to delight the mind, by unity of subject, skilful connexion of parts, and accuracy and depth in the occasional reflections and observations. If this description be erroneous or imperfect, we refer our readers to the sources from which the rules of historical composition have been derived,—to the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Livy; or the compositions of Voltaire, Robertson, and Hume.

Mr Maurice begins this work at the death of Alexander the Great, because he had discussed the ancient history of Hindostan in a former production. This volume consists of three books; the first of which contains, in six chapters, the history of India, from the death of Alexander till the commencement of the Mahometan æra; the second continues the details on the same subject, in three chapters, from the birth of Mahommed to the death of Timûr Beg. The third book carries on the narrative, nearly to the close of the 13th century, making, in four chapters, the second part of the volume; to both of which parts is affixed a particular preface.

The preface to the first part exhibits the reasons of the author for dating the commencement of the modern history of India at a period so remote as the death of Alexander. They consist altogether in a peculiar notion, that the mythology and legendary history of the Hindoos form by themselves the antient part; and in the fact of his having treated them in a former work under that title. These reasons, however, are plainly unsatisfactory. The modern history of all nations can only begin at the time which Europeans have agreed upon as a general æra for that purpose; and it would be as proper to date the modern history of Egypt

from the reign of Ptolemy I., as of India from the deceaſe of Alexander. The firſt age of what may properly be called the modern hiſtory of Hindoſtân is ſufficiently memorable in all reſpects. It begins with the conqueſt of Sindetic Hinduſtan, by Mahmud of Ghizni, A. D. 1000.

We do not think, however, that it was at all neceſſary for the writer of this narrative to apologize for launching out into the affairs of Aſia in general, as far at leaſt as theſe are connected with India, though ſuch a diſcuſſion can never be received as a ſubſtitute for the paucity of facts which are known in the internal hiſtory. Such comprehenſive views of collateral nations are well known to belong to hiſtory as a matter of right, from which it derives a great portion of the intellectual light that beams like a ſhrine of glory around the reliques of departed empires.

The firſt chapter of the work therefore begins very properly with a general view of the empire, and a brief ſurvey of the character and manners of the people of Hindoſtan. Both of theſe are executed in a ſlight and general way, as the author had given them at large in his other performance. He juſtly rejects the pretenſions to extreme antiquity advanced by the Hindoos, and repeats the firſt accounts of their brachmans, caſts, and rich manufactures found in the Greek authors, who wrote after the fall of the Perſian empire. He ſeems to contradict the opinions of ſeveral learned men, who think that the Hindoos derived their religion from Egypt; and that 'the hieroglyphical repreſentations of the gods of Egypt can be clearly traced in the monſtrous figures and images of deity, that are at preſent worſhipped in the pagodas of India.' He thinks it far more probable, that

—'the Hindoos were always too proud to borrow any thing of the kind from their neighbours; and that the Egyptians have either appropriated to themſelves the antient mythological rites and ſymbols of India, or (which is the author's favourite doctrine) that both have derived them from one primitive ſource of Cuthite profanation.' p. 4.

In ages of which no genuine hiſtory is preſerved, there is perhaps no great harm in allowing ingenious men to place whatever imaginary events they find moſt agreeable to their fancy. Though it is not impoſſible, nor indeed, conſidering the communicative nature of ſuperſtition, very improbable, that India received a few general ideas on religion and morals from antient Egypt, yet no ſatisfactory evidence of either of the opinions ſtated by Mr Maurice has ever been produced to the world. If he is diſpoſed to believe in the vague ſimilarities and reaſonings on theſe ſubjects exhibited in his own writings, we may admire his faith, but certainly cannot adopt it. On the topic of primeval Cuthite profanation we are exceedingly diſtruſtful, the more ſo

perhaps,

perhaps, becauſe we recognize in it a well-known hypothetical principle, fabricated from the genealogy in the 10th chapter of the firſt book of Moſes, and from a few paſſages in the Greek poets. It is advanced, we believe, in the moſt extenſive manner in Bryant's Antient Mythology; and we have found it in all the books, one or two excepted, which have been written on patriarchal hiſtory, for a number of years, on the other ſide of the Tweed. It is ſupported by a maſs of falſe etymology from the Hebrew, Coptic, Perſic, and ſometimes Indian languages, of which the authors often know little more than a few words, and theſe, eſpecially the Hebrew, in no very accurate ſhape, having paſſed through the Hutchinſonian media of Parkhurſt and Bates.

Mr Maurice is not contented with a ſimple belief in the immediate deſcent of the Hindoos from the Patriarchs, becauſe their country has been fixed on by the learned for the reſidence of Noah, Shem, Raamah, &c. after the deluge; but he adds the following moſt remarkable paragraph:

'Except in the ſingle inſtance of the pure primeval religion of India, which deſcended from their patriarchal anceſtors, having in ſome memorable inſtances degenerated into idolatry, no perceivable viciſſitude has taken place among this celebrated people, from the commencement of their empire to the preſent day. Whatever is true of them at one period is equally true of them at another. The laws of the Medes and Perſians were not more unalterable. From age to age, from father to ſon, through a hundred generations, the ſame uniformity of manners and caſt of character prevail; inexterminable by the ſword, incorruptible by the vices, and unalterable by the example of their conquerors.' p. 5.

Whatever may be the other merits of this account, its hiſtorical veracity may certainly be diſputed, both on the grounds of the well known mutability of all ignorant nations, and of the fact that the Hindoos have no monuments ſufficiently ancient to ſupport their fabulous pretenſions. If, inſtead of cutting away a few millions of years from the Hindoo chronology to make it more conformable to the Jewiſh records, the author had examined the oldeſt treatiſe of Hindoo aſtronomy, or the account recently given of it by Mr Bentley; or if he had reflected that the ſuperſtition of Boodh is ten times more general in Aſia than that of the modern Bramins, who are known to have expelled it from India at a late period, and to have *forged* many books to maintain the antiquity of their own ſect; he would probably have changed the aſſertions made in this paragraph into ſomething more conſiſtent with reaſon and hiſtory. In the preſent ſcarcity of facts, it is improper to hazard any poſitive opinion upon ſuch a ſubject. But if the Zend, the ancient language of Perſia, be radically the ſame with the Sanſcrit, as Sir William Jones has affirmed it to be; and

if the Sanſcrit, according to the opinion of that illuſtrious philologiſt, be not the aboriginal language of India, but introduced by ſome invaſion from the north-weſt, why may it not be ſuppoſed that the Medes, about the time they ruſhed down on the Aſſyrian empire, took entire poſſeſſion of the Hindoo peninſula, and carried their language and religion along with them? The Hindoo ſuperſtition has a great reſemblance to the Magian in its fundamental doctrines. The later additions of the Bramins, though neither few nor excellent, may be traced to circumſtances in the country hinted at in the Sanſcrit books. The ſacred language is only an older form of the common language of the country, ſuch as the Arabic of the Korân is of that of Arabia, and the Geez of that uſed in Abyſſinia. Both theſe were vernacular, one in the days of Mahomet, A. D. 630, and the other in the year 330. The time when the Sanſcrit became obſolete is probably not ſo remote. We do not ſay that theſe conſiderations ſhould lead the hiſtorian to adopt any poſitive opinion on the points aſſumed by Mr Maurice; but they might certainly have induced him to ſuſpend his judgement in a matter ſo liable to be controverted.

We cannot give Mr Maurice credit for the merit which he claims in 'having ſhewn the entire conſonance between the oldeſt Indian records, reſpecting the creation, the deluge, and other important events, and the Moſaic, with this only difference, that the former are clothed in the veil of mythology, while the latter are radiant in the luſtre of unadorned truth.' With the greateſt veneration for that *truth*, we muſt poſitively aſſert, that any maſs of fable may be reconciled with Scripture hiſtory by the vague and illogical plan of reaſoning which Mr Maurice has generally uſed. It is remarkable indeed, that almoſt every writer who has made the attempt, ſeems to have bidden for a time a neceſſary adieu to all fixed principles, and ſobriety of judgement. The exalted underſtanding of Sir Iſaac Newton ſeems to have deſerted him on ſuch an occaſion; and his chronology is a melancholy proof of the impoſſibility of reaſoning on a ſeries of ages which have deſcended to oblivion for ever.

In the laſt ten pages of this chapter, the author runs over, at conſiderable length, all the principal hiſtorical topics on which he is about to expatiate. As the exciting of a reader's curioſity is no contemptible object of a well written hiſtory, we conſider this as a very injudicious application of the liberty granted to hiſtorical writers, of propoſing and laying down the plan of their ſubject, for the ſake of method and ſuitable perſpicuity. All the beſt ancient and modern hiſtorians of Europe do this in a few lines, or a ſhort paragraph, with a ſimple but artful inſinuation, of

of the important actions they are about to celebrate. The Aſiatic hiſtorians indeed follow a different method, at leaſt in the language of their *exordia*; but ſurely we may queſtion the propriety of transferring the inflated ſtyle of the Eaſt into theſe ungenial regions of ours, after mature conſideration of the bad effects it has always had on the ſimple page of truth. A celebrated Arab hiſtorian of Timûr begins his narrative with theſe words: 'Praiſe be to God, on the loom of whoſe will and power are woven the webs of hiſtorical events, and from the fountain of whoſe decree, to the abyſs of whoſe might, flow the waves of times and ages.' The hiſtorical quill of Mr Maurice vies with the Mahomedan in exhibiting 'the mighty *Pourava*, the Porus of the claſſics towering above the rival Princes of India, as well in the gigantic ſtature of his body, as the comprehenſive faculties of his mind, with an army numerous as the locuſts, iſſuing from his renowned capital to give unſucceſsful battle to his too powerful antagoniſt.' (p. 7.) This, as far as any ſingle ſentence can give an idea of the ſtyle of a writer, is a ſpecimen of the ſtyle of Mr Maurice, as diſplayed in this work. And we leave it, without further obſervation, to the judgement of his readers.

The ſecond chapter relates the ſeparation of the Indian provinces from the Macedonian empire after the death of Alexander. We are favoured with both the Greek and Indian accounts of Sandracottus or Chandra-gupta, who accompliſhed that diſmemberment. Juſtin and Arrian are authorities in the one caſe, and Mr Wilford's tranſlation, in his own words, is copied in the other. The author next proceeds to reconcile the Indian geography of Strabo and Arrian with Sanſcreet topography. The expedition of Seleucus againſt Sandracottus, and their ſubſequent alliance, are then related; the chapter concluding with an account of the exertions of the Ptolemies to render Egypt the ſeat of Indian commerce.

On this chapter, which is the firſt ſpecimen of the narrative, the preceding being devoted to the plan of the work, we are obliged to obſerve, that the author differs from us very materially in his ideas of hiſtorical compoſition. He conſiders a minute diſſertation on any obſcure topic relating to the country, *balancing* of authorities, long verbal quotations, and lumping together of opinions, as good hiſtorical writing. We can allow nothing to uſurp that title but a ſeries of facts, acknowledged as ſuch, arranged in a perſpicuous and elegant manner, related by the writer as the fruits of his own diſcovery, or of a ſkilful ſelection from proper and authentic evidence. If authorities muſt be quoted, we wiſh to find them at the foot of the page, or briefly mentioned in the text; and if topics occur requiring a diſſertation, we look for it

at the end of the volume. A series of sesquipedalian words on the immensity of Indian armies, elephants, pagodas, or cities, are a poor compensation for the fatigue and anxiety which we experience, when one authority is presented at variance with another, when a tedious legend is succeeded by a laborious dissertation, or the disordered plunder of some unfortunate antient is tossed at random into the historical heap. Mr Maurice indeed reduces the writers whom he consults to a state of absolute penury, by extorting the minutest trifles he can discover in their possession. As a proof of our assertion, we give the first paragraph of the third chapter entire, that our readers may judge for themselves, of the justice of our observation.

'Sensible of the sterling value of the friendship of Sandracottus, Seleucus appears, during the remainder of their respective lives, diligently to have cultivated, both by his ambassadors, and the mutual interchange of good offices, that pacific disposition which mutual prudence had dictated, and in some degree rendered necessary, to those sovereigns. The conjecture is extremely probable, though I own not absolutely justified, by any thing contained in the few historians of the period, that he continued, at intervals, to receive fresh supplies for his army, of those elephants in which he took so much delight; and that in fact a *tribute*, under the softened name of a present, for the undisturbed possession of the Indian throne was annually transmitted to the founder of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty. Nor was it only by presents of a military nature that Sandracottus cultivated the friendship of Seleucus; for Phylarchus in Athenæus, reports, that he contributed towards the improvement of the voluptuous pleasures of his seraglio by sending him also certain drugs and roots of a nature tending *ad incendendam libidinem*, for thus Bayer, I conceive, justly translates the words δυναμις σπτικας; probably *ginseng*, or the more celebrated *eringo* root.' * p. 52.

Of the importance of this last fact, and the sedulous manner in which Mr Maurice states his authorities with regard to it, the reader may form his judgement at leisure.

Chapter III. contains a miscellaneous account of the reign of Seleucus, of Tagara and Pluthana, cities in the Deccan, of the Greek commerce with Asia, and their great mistakes about the Caspian Sea. It concludes with the deaths of Seleucus and Sandracottus, the son of which last, called by the Greeks Allitrochades, succeeded his father, after whom, excepting a few suspicious notices from Ferishtah, a modern Persic author, Mr Maurice has no knowledge of India for a long period. During the dark ages which precede the Mahommedan invasion, he is not however entirely idle. He hovers round the frontier, and collects, in-

two

* Bayer, Hist. Regni Græc. Bact. p. 38; & Athenæus, p. 18.

two industrious chapters, all that can be gleaned from the Greek writers, and from Bayer's history of the Greek sovereigns of Bactria, from Theodotus to Eucratides II., and of the Parthian monarchy from its foundation by Arsaces. Near the end of the fifth chapter, the author relates the fall of the kingdom of Bactria, by the inroads of the Scythians, whom he takes this opportuity of describing; but, in our opinion, with no originality of thought, nor depth of judgement. He draws his information chiefly from Abdulghazi Bahadur's geographical history of the Tatârs, and seems to consider the Tatârs, Calmucs and Mongûls, as three great branches of the same nation. But we are assured by competent authority, that the three Scythian nations of antiquity, the conquerors and founders of so many empires, are the Tatârs, Mongûls and *Mandjhours*, each having a language radically distinct from those of its neighbours, and of the second of which the Calmucs are only a subordinate branch. It would have been greatly preferable to the uninteresting fables of Japhet, Yajuj and Majuj, and Irghana Khan, had Mr Maurice favoured us with a dissertation on those separate tribes, after having studied the three languages above mentioned in the various books which have been composed on the subject. Repulsive as the labour may seem, it could not be very formidable to an expert philologist, who would find in these volumes of words the only authentic monuments that remain of Scythian history. In addition to the indistinct outline which Mr Maurice draws of these savages, his colouring is often of the most unskilful kind imaginable. He garnishes his descriptions in general with a profusion of epithet and ornament, which cannot conceal the great scarcity of facts under which the narrative labours. This is most remarkable in the latter part of the sixth chapter, in which the embassies of Porus and Pandion to Augustus, the voluntary death of Zarmanochagas at Athens, the voyage of Jambulus, and a few other detached notices, are the only information we receive on the subject of this history, though a rhetorical contrast of the splendours and characters of Musicanus and Phrantes, two Indian kings, is placed in the vacuum in all the pomp of Asiatic diction. Much of this chapter is employed in reconciling the ancient and modern geography of India, and particularly of Ceylon. As the author can make no progress in this department by his own learning, he rests implicitly on the strength of the writers in the Asiatic Researches, or the opinions of Dr Vincent. It is in this unfortunate chapter that the weakness of European knowledge concerning India appears in the most humiliating form. It is here, likewise, that the judgment of Mr Maurice, in undertaking to write on a subject on which

which he had no information, ſtands moſt heavily impeached before the public. This chapter contains the *modern* hiſtory of Hindoſtan, from the century preceding the birth of our Saviour till the Mahommedan æra, A. D. 622; a period of 700 years, in which the author has ſcarcely been able to relate *ſeven* inſulated facts in the annals of that nation, the name of which appears on his title-page.

This chapter concludes the firſt book. The firſt chapter of the ſecond is entirely occupied with an enumeration of the eaſtern authors 'principally cited in this book, with ſome account of themſelves and their reſpective works ſubjoined.' Theſe are Abulfeda, Mirkhond, Al Makin, Ebn Abdollatif, Ulug Beg, Abulpharaj, Abulghazi Bahadur, Ebn Haukal, Al Edriſi, Sherifeddin and Arabſhah. De la Croix's Hiſtory of Gengis Khan, les Relations Anciennes of Renaudot, and Marco Polo's Travels, &c. give ſupplemental aſſiſtance. Mr Maurice preſents his readers with the hiſtories of theſe authors and their writings in the body of the work; a new proof of the ſcantineſs of materials, and of his laxity of judgement, in reckoning the hiſtory of the books which treat of a country a part of the hiſtory of that country itſelf. Future hiſtorians of Hindoſtan would on this principle be obliged to inſert in their works an account of the life and writings of the author of the Indian Antiquities. The author, however, of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire would not have admitted into his text a ſingle ſection of Fabricius's Bibliotheca, whatever might have been the obligations he lay under to the writers mentioned in that uſeful compilation.

The ſecond chapter of the ſecond book begins with a long account of Mahommed and the Arabs, proceeds with their conqueſt of Perſia, and the fall of Yezdegérd, till they croſſed the Oxus and ſubdued Mawaralnâhr. This country is then deſcribed geographically, and a conciſe hiſtory given of the Taherian, Soffarian, and Sammanian dynaſties of kings, who reigned in it before the ſultans of Gazna. Before commencing the hiſtory of the invaſion of India by Mahmûd Ghizni, which took place A. D. 1000, the author inſerts in his text a verbal tranſlation of Renaudot's Relations Anciennes, or an account of the interior regions of India, by certain Mahommedan travellers, in the ninth century. This he follows up with an extract on the ſame ſubject, from the Golden Meadows of Maſoudi, an Arabic MS. of the tenth century, ſupplied by M. de Guignes. Theſe accounts, in the abſolute want of native hiſtory, are unqueſtionably very valuable; but it is contrary to all the laws of taſte, to place them in the body of the work. They repreſent India at that period as divided

divided into many ſtates. The kingdoms of Nehrwalla, Canouge, Rahmi, Haraz and Tafek, are probably only the names of a few of the moſt conſiderable Hindoo principalities. The title of Balhara, or king of kings, aſſumed by the rajah of Nehrwalla, is no proof that he was acknowledged as their ſuperior by all the kings in the peninſula; nor is it probable that all Hindoſtan was ever ſubject to one prince, before the Mahommedan invaſion.

Mr Maurice purſues his route, along with Mahmud of Gazna, through ſeas of blood, and over mountains of ſlain. The invaſions of this conqueror were made in the ſpirit of the Korân and its firſt diſciples, into a country rich beyond deſcription, and entirely expoſed to deſtruction. Our hiſtorian deſcribes theſe ſucceſſive inroads in his uſual manner; that is, with great inequality of ſtyle, ſometimes inflated, and at other times inſufferably mean. He undertakes, in this place, to give the geography of Multan, Tatta, Lahore, Gaur, and other diſtricts conquered by the Mahometans. Inſtead of doing this in a clear and appropriate manner, he loads the deſcription with many extraneous and undignified circumſtances, more reſembling a ſtatiſtical account than an hiſtorical ſketch. In ſhort, he copies the Ayeen Akbery, word for word. Of one of theſe diſtricts he gives us, among other things, the following information—

'In Tattah are various fine fruits, and the mangoes are remarkably good. A ſmall kind of melon grows wild. Here are alſo a great variety of flowers; and their camels are much eſteemed.' p. 249.

In deſcribing the hideous ſack of Tannaſar, in a moment of horror, when he has exhauſted all his powers of deſcription, he falls into the following indecorous ſentence—

'With reſpect to the great idol *Jug Soom* himſelf, in proportion to his preeminence he was treated with ſuperior contempt and indignity; and, that not the ſmalleſt remnant of his venerated image might exiſt in Hindoſtan, to excite anew the flame of idolatrous devotion, he was ſent captive to Gazna, where, after being publicly decapitated, his mutilated limbs were ſcattered through the ſtreets and highways of that populous city, and trampled under the feet of devout Muſſulmen.' p. 260.

This chapter, which contains, beſides theſe accounts, a very unſeaſonable diſſertation on the ſite of Palibothra, and the Callingæ, Gangaridæ, &c. with a ſtory about the poet Firdauſi, ends with the death and character of Mahmud, A. D. 1030. Towards the end of the chapter, we have a ſpecimen of the manner in which the hiſtorian of Hinduſtan delineates characters. He ſums up that of Mahmud in theſe words:—

'Thus great, thus mean; thus formidable, thus contemptible; thus benevolent, thus cruel, was the potent Mahmud; whoſe empire ex-

tended from the shores of the Caspian to the mouths of the Indus, and from the Tigris to the Ganges.'

The last sentence declares the intention of the author —'to detect and expose the sordid baseness of avarice; to ensanguined ambition to hold up the genuine mirror. This,' he asserts, 'is the duty of a historian at all times, but more particularly of an historian of India; the *debateable ground*, if I may so term it, of ravaged Asia—the ACELDAMA of the earth.' p. 304.

The second part presents the reader with the only portion of Indian history in this volume which can justly be called modern. The first and second chapters give a detail of the reigns of the Gaznivide sultans, till the subversion of their throne by Mahommed of Gaur. The rise of the slave Cotbeddîn, under the reign of Mahommed, and the extinction of the Gauride dynasty, follow it. The third chapter begins with the taking of Samarcand, by Gengis Khan, and proceeds with his dreadful invasions of India. Mr Maurice, with great *naiveté*, contests his right of describing this hero with the author of 'the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire.'

'It will not fail to be observed,' says he, 'that in one part of this work Mr Gibbon and myself tread nearly the same ground; but it will also be remembered, that the ground in question is properly *mine*, and that Mr Gibbon digressed, when his eloquent pen pourtrayed the martial character and heroic feats of the great Gengis Khan.'

He then explains his reasons for this assertion, and adds, —'However, the field is immense; and though we meet we do not clash. Both our orbits are rather eccentric, but the grand object of inquiry is never forgotten.' Pref. p. iii.

The rest of the third chapter contains the transactions of the family of Cuttub, or rather Cotbeddîn, on the throne of Delhi, till its extinction by the Afghan dynasty of the tribe of Chilligi. The last chapter of the book and volume details the history of the Afghan emperors, to Mahmud II., whose throne was overturned by Timûr, in the fourteenth century. In the whole of this second part the materials are much more plentiful than in the first; yet, though it is actually the most interesting portion of the work, Mr Maurice has seldom taken any pains to improve the meagre details of his Asiatic chronicles, or reduce by order, regularity, and purity of language, his collections, to the form of European history.

Having entered so fully into the examination of this performance in the preceding pages, it seems scarcely necessary to make any general estimate of its merits. The 'History of Modern Hindostan' is evidently the work of a well-meaning, virtuous man, who would do every thing in his power to support the cause of truth and morality; but who, in the path he has chosen, can never

never be of any considerable service to either. He seems to be very deficient in the taste and judgment requisite in an historical writer. For a historian of India he is totally unqualified, both on account of the peculiar difficulties of the subject, and his ignorance of the Asiatic languages. If this sentence appear unjust and severe, we must refer our readers to the history itself, and need not fear the unbiassed result of their judgments. When Mr Maurice undertook this work, he ought to have seriously reflected, that he was not seated at his desk to write a history of ancient Greece, or of any other country, of which he had all the information before him, in a series of well printed volumes; but that of a distant region of the world, the history of which was either lost, or locked up in obscure and nearly forgotten languages, which, if he did not study, he could never attain the object of his wishes. The task which he has proposed to himself is not to be executed by a feeble hand; nor can it be thought inglorious to have failed in making the attempt. For before any writer shall favour the literary republic with a history of India worthy of its thanks and approbation, he must explore every scrap of information, in every language which Asia possesses, from the deserts of Tartary, the country of Gengis and Timûr, to the promontories of Malabar and Malacca. He must learn to forswear quotation, and must deliver his opinions in his own name and authority. To these qualifications he must add the taste and philosophy of a Hume or a Robertson. We do not at present discern any of the signs of such an historian; but, in the mean time, it is the business of the learned to collect MSS., form grammars and dictionaries, write dissertations, publish historical researches and records; and *wait* patiently for his appearance.

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ART. III. *Observations on Dr Sturges's Pamphlet respecting Non-Residence of the Clergy.* In a Letter from T. B. Howell, Esq. to Mr Baron Maseres. Second Edition. London. Hatchard: 1803.

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*Reports of Residence, Residentiary Lectures, and other Matters in the Diocese of London, for the year* 1804. By George Somers Clarke D. D. Vicar (constantly residing in the Vicarage) of Great Waltham in Essex, Curate of Black Chapel in the same Parish, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Chelmsford printed. Hurst, London, 1804.

THE practical question of enforcing the residence of the clergy upon their benefices, seems to resolve itself into two branches:

es: 1*ſt*, What is juſt to the individuals who compoſe the preſent body of clergy? And, 2*d*, Suppoſing their claims to be ſatisfied, what is in itſelf moſt expedient? In the diſcuſſions which have taken place upon the ſubject, the firſt queſtion ſeems generally to have been overlooked. Reſidence has been aſſumed to be a moral duty; and the juſtice of accumulating new penalties upon thoſe who neglect it, has been inferred with ſtill more precipitation. Though reſidence may be a moral duty, the neglect of it can ſcarcely be conſidered as a crime; and though it may be proper to promote it by every ſort of encouragement, we apprehend that it would be both unjuſt and inexpedient to enforce it by the terror of puniſhment.

Morality undoubtedly requires that every man ſhould do as much good as is in his power, and that he ſhould place himſelf in that ſituation in which he can moſt benefit ſociety. Yet he would be an hardy politician who would inſtitute a court of inquiry for the purpoſe of enforcing, by direct penalties, this ſtrict and virtuous principle. In another world, indeed, we are taught to believe that rewards and puniſhments will be diſtributed by infallible wiſdom, according to a ſtrict computation of our merits or offences: but reward enters not into the code of human juriſprudence; and we hope never to ſee that day when we ſhall be forced to account, before an earthly tribunal, for not being quite ſo wiſe, ſo charitable, or ſo uſeful, as it was in our power to have been.

But let us illuſtrate the caſe in queſtion by a parallel one; we mean, a more frequent reſidence on their eſtates by gentlemen of landed property. If the actual reſidence of the owners of the tithes be ſo important, what might not be expected, if the owners of the land were reſident? We recommend it to thoſe who have been ſo long in the habit of legiſlating for the clergy, to deliberate upon a bill of pains and penalties for obliging country gentlemen to live upon their eſtates. They cannot doubt the beneficial tendency of ſuch an enactment: the improvement of their lands, the improvement of their tenantry in morals, in comfort, and in induſtry, would be its natural reſult. We ſuggeſt it to them, however, without fear of their being tempted, in their own caſe, to violate the liberty of individuals; we doubt not but they would conſider ſuch a bill to be, in the higheſt degree, impolitic and unjuſt.

It will be ſaid that the caſes of the landholder and of the clergyman are not ſimilar: that the one occupies his eſtate on a free and unreſtricted tenure: that the other holds his benefice on a conditional one,—on the performance of certain duties which are attached to it. We admit that there is a material difference between

between them, and ſhall conſider it in its proper place. But, as far as the mere queſtion of tenure is conſidered, the diſtinction is not great. The landholder has conditions to perform as well as the owner of the tithe. Of the leaſeholder and copyholder, various peculiar compliances are required. The freeholder, too, holds his property upon conditions, on the ſubmiſſion to certain laws, the payment of certain taxes, and, indeed, on the perſonal execution, if required, of certain offices: conditions, the neglect of which may be puniſhed, in ſome caſes by diſtraint, in others by confiſcation. Every individual in the kingdom holds his property on conditions; and the legiſlature has a ſpeculative right, limited no doubt, in its exertion by policy and juſtice, to alter, or to increaſe them. That right extends to impoſe conditions upon lay property, as well as upon eccleſiaſtical; and expediency and juſtice are as much to be conſidered by them in the one caſe as in the other. The clergy, it is ſaid, are an order of men inſtituted and provided for by the public, for the ſake of the public good. So are land-owners. Property itſelf is ſuch an inſtitution: and if perſonal reſidence upon ſuch or ſuch property be expedient, the legiſlature has as much natural right to annex it as an obligation to one ſort of property as to another.

It is poſſible, therefore, that, though parochial reſidence be generally beneficial, yet to enforce it by a bill of pains and penalties *may be* impolitic and unjuſt. That it would be ſo to enforce the reſidence of land-owners, is immediately perceived: and there is no natural difference between the two ſorts of lay and of church property, which implies a reſtriction upon the one, which ſhould not be extended to the other. The conditions of lay tenures may uſually be executed by deputy; and in the nature of eccleſiaſtical property there is no original diſtinction, in conſequence of which the ſame liberty may not be indulged to the proprietors. If perſonal ſervice can be required of this claſs of perſons, more juſtly than of other land owners, it cannot be from the particular nature of their property, but from ſome particular convention being ingrafted into the tenure on which they hold it; and this convention, even if it exiſt, ought not to be authenticated or continued, unleſs the public welfare demand its continuation.

It will be ſaid, however, that ſuch a convention has been made; that perſonal reſidence is the conditional tenure on which the clergy hold their benefices; and that, if the exiſting laws are inſufficient to enforce the fulfilment of their engagements, new penalties may be juſtly levied for the purpoſe of compelling them. We are called upon, therefore, in the firſt place, to examine the fact—whether perſonal reſidence be, in reality,

a condition on which eccleſiaſtical property is held. A late act of Parliament has, indeed, greatly altered the terms which were before attached to property of that deſcription; but, as the great body of the Engliſh beneficed clergy were poſſeſſed of their livings before the date of this ſtatute, we muſt conſider them as fairly bound only by the conditions annexed to their benefices at the time they took them; and that if, by an *ex poſt facto* law, they are fettered with new reſtrictions, it is a grievance which ought to be redreſſed.

When a man becomes poſſeſſed of property, he cannot juſtly be required by the laws to perform more conditions than the law has annexed to ſuch property, or than he has voluntarily promiſed to obſerve. When ſo promiſed or undertaken, the law, indeed, may juſtly be employed to inforce the fulfilment of his voluntary contract; but where it has annexed a ſpecific penalty to its violation, his obligation in fact becomes alternative, and he is bound either to ſubmit to that penalty, or to do that, for the neglect of which it is exacted. Where the omiſſion is not in itſelf of a criminal nature, this ſeems to be the limit of his reſponſibility; and if the terms of it have been conſidered as finally ſettled for a period of ſeveral centuries, there muſt be an additional hardſhip in any attempt to aggravate them.

The legal obligation then to reſidence, is ſecured by the legal penalty. That penalty, by the ſtatute of Henry VIII., is 10l. per month for non-reſidence; and we are inclined to think, that if there be no obligation to reſidence beyond that which is contained in this ſtatute, it is in the higheſt degree oppreſſive and unjuſt to inflict ſeverer penalties than this, upon men who have entered into life, and choſen their profeſſion on the faith of the exiſting laws. The moral duty of reſidence is not here the queſtion. Avarice is to the full as immoral as non-reſidence can be: yet it would be highly unfair to lay a partial tax upon the miſer by a per centage on his heap. It may be very immoral for a clergyman to draw a revenue of 700 or 800l. *per annum* from a country pariſh, and without ever thinking of his pariſhioners, to ſpend it idly in London, at Tunbridge, or at Bath. If, however, he was inſtituted to his benefice, under the ſole reſtriction of a law which expoſed him to a penalty of 120l. *per annum* for non-reſidence, it is equally unjuſt, by a new law, to extort from him a penalty of 500 or 600l., as it would be to ſeize half or two thirds of the miſer's capital for the benefit of his country. That conſtitution may poſſibly be a bad one, which permits ſuch an alienation of eccleſiaſtical ſtipend from the fair purpoſes of an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and it may require to be altered or amended; but to preſerve the public faith, is a greater object than

to

to check partial abuses; and no general arrangements should be permitted to bear hard upon an individual.

This, however, is not all. This penal statute had almost slept for ages. In its original meaning it was equally severe with the laws against the Papists not long ago abolished, and, like them, would have been considered as obsolete, and abolished also, but for peculiar circumstances attending it. A fine of 10l. per month in the reign of Henry VIII. was more than ten times the value of most benefices: its severity therefore was preposterous; and it would have been long forgotten, had it not been occasionally, but very rarely resorted to, in particular and flagrant instances; sometimes by parishioners, who thought themselves aggrieved, and sometimes for the gratification of personal enmity. Viewed in this light by those who knew of its existence, the abuses of it, which had taken place, were in themselves so rare, its good effects in some few instances so presumable, and, perhaps, the check which it afforded upon an oppressive and negligent minister so expedient, that, modified as its severity was by the change in the value of money, it may have been regarded with indulgence, if not with favour.

Of late, this statute has been noticed by the tribe of informers, as affording a fit opportunity for the exercise of their calling, and has, consequently, been made the instrument of much and indiscriminate oppression. Many persons have suffered from it, who knew not of its existence, or knew not that they were exposed to its operation: many who, though conscious of some informality, which exposed them to its effect, yet presumed that the actual and conscientious performance of their real duties, as it exempted them from censure, would exempt them from punishment, though they were not actually resident in the cottage, or the shed, which was called a parsonage. Instances, indeed, of peculiar and affecting cruelty were every where to be seen, occasioned by the unexpected revival of penalties that were virtually obsolete, and hardships which called aloud for remedy.

The most obvious and natural mode of proceeding in an attempt to remedy the abuses of a law, is either to abolish the law itself, or so to modify it, as to prevent the opportunity of abuse. If the existence of occasional prosecutions upon the statute of Henry VIII., usually by parties interested in promoting residence, had been productive of public good, as probably may have been the case, and the abuse complained of was the sudden advantage taken of it by informers, for the purposes of promiscuous and systematic prosecutions, the natural remedy was to shut out informers from the capacity of prosecuting, and, in other respects, to leave the parties in the same situation which they were in before.

It

It may be obſerved, however, that the ſtatute of Henry VIII. was radically abſurd, and entirely unequal in its operation: that it impoſes the ſame fine upon non-reſidence on a large benefice, and on a ſmall one,—a ſum comparatively trifling, when compared with the revenues of the one,—while it amounts to nearly double the clear income of half the livings in the kingdom: that non-reſidence on a valuable benefice is thus made puniſhable only by a tax, which it may very eaſily ſuſtain, while on a ſmall one it is in the power of any perſon to render it impracticable. All this is unqueſtionably true: and it is not denied that the fine for non-reſidence on ſmall preferments ought to be reduced: but the importance of this reduction would be much leſſened, if the power of proſecuting were confined to the perſons intereſted in reſidence. From ſuch we know from experience that they would rarely flow, except in flagrant caſes: the adoption of ſuch a plan, at leaſt, would not be expoſing any deſcription of the clergy to a new injuſtice: and we cannot help conſidering it a *new injuſtice*, to permit the revival of an unjuſt law, which was generally underſtood to be obſolete.

The obligation to reſidence by the common law ariſes from the ſtatute of Henry VIII. The original intention of that ſtatute is of no conſequence. The clergy, who are become poſſeſſed of benefices under its reſtriction, have nothing to ſay to the views of Henry in enacting it. They have ſubmitted, indeed, to its penalties; but they ought not equitably to be conſidered as having ſubmitted to other penalties, than thoſe to which, at the period of chooſing their profeſſion, the act was underſtood efficiently to extend. Now, its efficiency in practice was confined to occaſional, but very rare proſecutions in peculiar inſtances; and thoſe perſons who knew that its powers extended farther, believed the exerciſe of thoſe powers to be almoſt as unlikely, as thoſe of the ſtatutes againſt witchcraft or foreſtalling. So far as it has hitherto been uſually acted upon, ſo far, and no farther, we contend that it might have juſtly been permitted to operate in future. We contend, therefore, not only that to increaſe the penalties of that act upon any deſcription of non-reſident clergy is partial and oppreſſive, but that the legiſlature was bound to relieve them from the operation of the exiſting law, ſo far as common practice had induced a belief of its being antiquated: and this it was bound to do, we conceive, not as a meaſure of indulgence, but as an act of juſtice.

It will be ſaid, that though the obligation of the common law extends no farther than to a fine of 10l. per month, yet that reſidence is preſcribed by the canon law. Let the canon law take care of itſelf. Its injunctions in many points are obſolete, and,

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Heaven be praised, not likely to be revived. The obligations which it imposes can only be commensurate to its powers.

But the clergy make a specific promise of residence at the time that they are instituted to their livings; and that promise they do not perform. The existing laws are insufficient to compel them to its performance; and therefore a new law may justly be enacted for that purpose. Its object is not to impose new restrictions, but to compel the execution of old engagements, which arise, though not from the injunctions of the law, yet from the particular contract which has been entered into at institution. Undoubtedly, if such a contract be made, it is just that its execution should be enforced: but let us examine into its existence and its nature.

English benefices are chiefly divided into rectories and vicarages. Rectories are the most numerous, and usually the richest. With regard to these, *no promise whatever of residence is made at institution.* On admission to vicarages, indeed, previously to the act 43d Geo. III. cap. 84, an oath of residence was administered to the clerk, with the exception, '*unless dispensed with by the bishop.*' This is the only promise on the subject, which is, in any instance, required of a clergyman. The promise made by vicars cannot, in any degree, affect the rectors; and thus we have more than half the clergy, and by far the most opulent part of them, at once set quite free from any promise of residence, from any engagement more precise or determinate than the law. Vicars, wherever the bishop calls upon them to reside in consequence of their oath, are, doubtless, bound to its observance; and if the bishop be deficient in power to compel that observance, we do not object to the *justice* of strengthening his authority. Liberality, indeed, would rather suggest perhaps, that, since the severer discipline, to which one part of the clergy is subject, cannot be extended to their brethren without injustice, it ought to be relaxed even where justice might tolerate its exaction. The inequality between members of the same order would thus be lessened; and the unreasonableness avoided, of subjecting to stricter observances those persons to whom that profession is the least lucrative. Such, very properly, seems to have been the sentiment of parliament in the late act, by which this oath is abolished, and vicars placed precisely upon the same footing with rectors, as to the article of residence.

But, however this peculiar obligation may be considered, it is only indirectly the object of the law. It is directly cognizable by the bishop. Where he claims of a vicar the fulfilment of his oath, and meets with a refusal, it may be just to arm him with sufficient power for enforcing the demand. We cannot indeed

believe, that the obligations of an oath are lightly conſidered by the Engliſh clergy, or that ſuch refuſals can be ſo frequent as to conſtitute an adequate cauſe of legiſlative interference; but, at all events, the general queſtion of reſidence, and the juſtice of compelling it, is not materially varied by this exception. Rectors are not influenced by it at all; nor yet the great majority of non-reſident vicars, whoſe reſidence is diſpenſed with by the dioceſan, either virtually or directly.

It has been objected indeed farther, that, at admiſſion to their benefices, the clergy take upon them the cure of the ſouls of their pariſhioners; that this cure *implies* perſonal reſidence, without which it cannot be properly exerted; and that, therefore, as the cure is a condition of tenure, the reſidence which it implies muſt be a condition alſo.

Now, the cure of ſouls is undoubtedly a condition of eccleſiaſtical tenure; and we are not diſpoſed to think lightly of the reſponſibility which it conveys. We believe alſo, that the paſtoral cure will, in general, be beſt executed by that ſhepherd to whom the flock is moſt immediately committed. That reſidence, where circumſtances permit it, is a moral duty, we neither deny nor doubt. No bread is more diſhonourably eaten, than that of him who enters into the ſacred order merely for the ſake of its emoluments; who takes upon himſelf the high charge of contributing, ſo far as may be in his power, to the promotion of virtue and of religion, and thinks that he can fairly transfer to another the duties of this holy character, while he revels himſelf in idleneſs or in vice. But the morality of the thing, we muſt again repeat, is not the queſtion; and laws cannot juſtly be made to puniſh a claſs of individuals for a breach of contract, unleſs the contract which they are ſuppoſed to have violated, be violated, not according to the nice and delicate ſtandard of a ſcrupulous conſcience, but according to the broad and obvious maxims which are followed in interpreting a penal ſtatute.

What then does the law conſider as a ſufficient diſcharge of this important truſt? Surely we may infer from its authorizing and protecting the eſtabliſhment of *curates*, who are merely deputies in their truſt, that it cannot conſiſtently be regarded as reprobating the ſyſtem of deputation. It cannot juſtly ſay firſt to the incumbent—'If you do not reſide, you ſhall keep a ſufficient curate:' and ſay again, on receiving his aſſent to this condition—'No, that will not do; your duties cannot be properly executed by deputy; you muſt reſide yourſelf.'

It has been ſaid alſo, that the beneficed clergyman is richer than the curate; and that the original intent of aſſigning to him his revenues being that he might uſe hoſpitality, this end, whatever

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may be the case as to the cure of souls, is not answered by the substitution of a poorer person in his room. To this we reply, that the original intent is in no degree the question, but only the present object and obligation of the law. When provisions were first settled on the clergy for this purpose, the kingdom was in an unsettled and semi-barbarous state. No regular inns or accommodations existed for travellers or for pilgrims; and their reception came therefore to be considered as, in a great degree, the province of the clergy. Since pilgrimages have ceased, and the increase of security and civilization has produced a more eligible system of accommodation for the use of travellers, the mode of payment, and the mode of appropriation of clerical revenues has been changed also. To require of the clergy of the nineteenth century the hospitality of the eighth, would be to annihilate their parlours and their libraries, and to degrade their intelligence and manners. It would leave them, indeed, a spacious hearth, and a chimney similar to those of our ancient halls! Their yards would be well stored with wheat; their slaughter-houses with oxen; and their cellars might overflow with ale. Their parsonages, like the Spanish monasteries, by a happy consummation, might then become the resort of innumerable vagabonds, and the nest of incorrigible beggars; but the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants of our isle, would still drive, we believe, to the George, or to the Thistle.

It is expedient, doubtless, that the income drawn by clergymen from country parishes, should be expended by them in the country. They are usually men of education and of intelligence, and, in the present general dereliction of their estates by gentlemen of landed property, the expenditure of the income of a moderate living in a country parish, by a moral and judicious resident, may be of peculiar benefit. This, with other considerations, may have its weight in the future regulation of the clerical order. The residence of a rich rector is likely to be more useful than that of a poor curate. But if the non-resident on his own living perform elsewhere, as is usually the case, the duties of the clerical office (and perhaps the curate whom he employs is in a similar predicament), who sees not that, by a reciprocity of this description, the convenience of individuals is consulted; and that, though the clergyman's income be not expended precisely on the spot from which it is drawn, yet that it is expended elsewhere in a similar manner to what would have been practised there, varying in the individuals to whom it is paid, but, as a national object, not varying at all either in the mode or the extent of its application?

We have stated what we think to be due of right to the exist-

ing body of the clergy. We shall now inquire, what conduct, those rights being preserved, it is politically expedient to pursue towards the order? It is plain that the two questions are entirely distinct. The church revenues are assigned by the legislature to the clergy for the performance of certain duties: and though men, who have adopted a profession, and become possessed of property under the existing laws, cannot justly be subjected to new obligations, yet such obligations may still, with sufficient justice, be imposed upon all persons who may hereafter enter into the same profession, with a knowledge of its increased restrictions; so that, provided all the rights and interests of individuals, and the privileges of its present members be preserved, there is no restriction in legislating for the order, but that of political expediency.

Now, the revival of the statute of Henry is, we think, not only unjust for the present, but impolitic for the future. It has been seen that its pressure is extremely unequal. Its penalty amounts to only the eighth or the tenth part of some livings: it is twice the value of half the benefices in the kingdom. If a statute of penalties must be enacted, it seems but fair that the greater proportional fine should be levied upon the benefice of greater value. But, before we speak of the means of enforcing residence, let us examine the possibility. Half the benefices in the kingdom are under 60l. *per annum*, many under 20l. What law can require a man upon such an income to provide even the necessaries of life for himself and family, and to maintain in any degree the appearance of a gentleman? What equitable law would drive such a man from a curacy, much superior perhaps in value to his living, or from a situation which, from habit or from circumstances, may be favourable to that rigid economy which is necessary to his subsistence? The cure of his living, meanwhile, may probably be administered, at the salary of half its income, by the rector, or the vicar, or the curate of an adjoining parish of equally trifling value, who, while he thus helps to improve the scanty revenue of his neighbour, derives equal benefit to his own. Such, we believe, is very generally the state of non-residence on livings of inconsiderable value; and if it be not without its inconveniences, yet we see not how it can be ameliorated, unless the incomes of the inferior clergy be first increased.

If, in these circumstances, to compel residence would be inexpedient, the unrestricted revival of the statute of Henry VIII. must be given up. On very large livings, its revival might not prove compulsory; but the license which it would give here, is as objectionable as its undiscriminating severity in other instances. There are few clergymen who would not rather reside, than submit to the regular defalcation of 120l. *per annum* to be paid to common informers. If any persons, however, should be willing rather

rather than reside, to subject themselves to this penalty, they are those whose benefices are the most lucrative: and surely, if non-residence is in any degree to be optional, it should be least so with those persons who derive the largest revenues from the church. In those livings, the profits of which may be considered as moderate, and as being fairly adequate to the proper support of an ecclesiastic, the penalty inflicted by this statute may in effect be considered equally compulsory as it is respecting smaller benefices. No clergyman of from 200 to 500*l.* *per annum* can afford to give up so large a proportion of his income; and, if this statute be revived, he *must* reside: he would else sink a step or two in the gradation of society and his order; and this no man is willing to do, in any alternative whatever.

In considering the claims of the present body of the clergy, we have not attempted to deny the immorality of non-residence: we have even argued as if it were likely to be practised to a general and flagrant extent. We have so argued from the conviction, that if, even on that supposition, compulsory statutes concerning residence be unjust, they must be much more so wherever non-residence is morally excusable or justifiable. For the real state of the fact, we refer to the common situation of the English clergy. The great portion of benefices is in the patronage of the crown, of the bishops, of ecclesiastical dignitaries and corporations, and of opulent individuals. The candidates for these prizes are usually men, who from an early age have devoted themselves to the church as a profession, have entered it as curates, and risen to preferment by various interests and merits. As curates, they probably have resided in their native counties. Their lives are not particularly active; and habit strengthens in them, far more than in men who have been thrown into more varied situations, that predilection for their own home and neighbourhood, which is natural to all. Marriage, too, or attachments which have marriage for their object, add new links to the chain which binds them; and, occupied in this mode of life, and with these feelings, they are presented to their benefices. *Where* the benefice may be situated, is a matter of chance. A man who expects provision from the crown, is equally likely to be preferred in Devonshire or in Cumberland. The private patron of a Warwickshire divine may possess advowsons in Lincolnshire or in Kent. Such being the case, loth to shake off those social attachments, and local partialities, which have bound themselves fast round him, he retains his former curacy in his native county, and provides, in return, for the due care of his living by a regular and legally authorised substitute. Such is but a fair picture of English non-residence. The absolute dereliction of the clerical office

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preſs ſtipulation of the act, or the licenſe of the biſhop. A meaſure is little likely to be expedient, into which ſo much complication muſt enter, to make it in any degree compatible with juſtice. In a bill relating to non-reſidence, a ſpecific line muſt certainly be drawn, to diſtinguiſh preciſely what time or degree of abſence from a benefice is, in the eye of the law, to be deemed non-reſidence. This line, by the late act, is fixed at three months; a period, *communibus annis*, perhaps fully adequate to the reaſonable occaſions which may induce a clergyman's abſence from his pariſh. But caſes, however, may be ſuggeſted, in which a man, whoſe uſual abſence from his benefice does not exceed half the time thus permitted, may reaſonably wiſh that that his liberty had been leſs confined. Buſineſs or literature may ſummon him to the metropolis: family connexions, or the call of friendſhip, may urge him to viſit a diſtant county. Buſineſs frequently cannot be interrupted; and the heavy expences of travelling ought not to be accumulated. If the bill muſt be compulſory, its object, we are to ſuppoſe, is to compel a *bona fide* reſidence, and to leave to individuals the utmoſt liberty that is conſiſtent with the attainment of the object. This, we believe, would have been as well accompliſhed, if ſix months abſence had been permitted, inſtead of three. The clergy are not ſo opulent, that they can afford to keep up a permanent eſtabliſhment diſtinct from their parochial reſidences: they cannot ſyſtematically avail themſelves, upon their moderate or ſcanty incomes, of the liberty which would thus be allowed them. Where they muſt reſide one half of the year, in conſequence of the reſidence bill, their circumſtances would oblige them to reſide the other; and if ſix months abſence, inſtead of three months, had been permitted, we think that the permiſſion would in general only have been acted upon, in inſtances which the liberal advocates for reſidence would have thought worthy of diſpenſation.

Reſtrictions, too, are laid on farming; from an apprehenſion, we preſume, leſt the ſacerdotal character ſhould be degraded: a compliment of a ſingular nature to the noblemen and opulent landholders of our age, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their patronage of agriculture! But the elevated rank and ample fortunes of theſe liberal agriculturiſts ſecure them from the mean and ſordid manners of thoſe who are merely farmers. And do the clergy deſerve the imputation of being ſunk below their level, by an illiberal attention to ſimilar objects? Individuals among them may be ruſtic, or may be ſordid: as a body, no aſſertion can be more groundleſs: and thoſe among them who may pay too excluſive an attention to the plough, will not be likely to improve in their manners, or to benefit their country by

by more uſeful avocations, if they are reſtricted from engrafting this ſimple and not illiberal employment on the immediate duties of their office. But the clergy, who exerciſe the ſacred function, are not the only perſons who are ſubjected to theſe reſtrictions. For certain actions, which relate to the detail of agriculture, the penalties of the ſtatute of Henry VIII. are authenticated and revived, touching all perſons, whether curates or without cure, whether beneficed or not beneficed, who have once experienced the myſtic die of ordination. The character of the order may certainly be, in ſome degree, affected by the conduct of all its members, ſupernumeraries, or in actual ſervice; but we need only refer to the ſtrange opinions not long ago avowed in an honourable aſſembly, on the ſubject of ſacerdotal indelibility, to be convinced that it has been greatly influenced by the ſame ſingular perſuaſion, in its later deliberations upon other claims, and extinction of other franchiſes belonging to the ſame body. *

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* The ſuppoſed indelibility of the ſacred character, which ſeems to have had ſo much influence of late upon the fortunes of the Engliſh clergy, is entirely a relic of Popiſh ſuperſtition. It is rather hard, that an impoſition, practiſed upon the public by the prieſts of the dark ages, for the purpoſe of acquiring power which was inconſiſtent with juſt liberty, ſhould be viſited upon the clergy of the preſent age by a deprivation of their natural and conſtitutional rights. A paper ſingularly adapted to illuſtrate the Popiſh complexion of the doctrine of indelibility, appeared in the public prints ſoon after the act was paſſed excluding the Engliſh clergy from a ſeat in Parliament. The paper which we allude to purported to be a reply from one of the French ex-biſhops to the letter of the Pope, which enjoined a compliance with the *Concordatum*. The conjuncture was ſingular. It will be remembered, that at the time when a Britiſh Parliament was voting the indelibility of the clergy, the Pope, at the inſtance of Bonaparte, had requeſted the ex-biſhops to reſign all claims upon their late dioceſes, and, with thoſe claims, of courſe, the duties and reſponſibility of the office by which they were entitled to them. The above mentioned anſwer to this modeſt requeſt aſſured his holineſs, that the writer, who had fallen on evil times, and was ſufficiently wearied with the toils of life, had long ceaſed to be charmed with eccleſiaſtical dignity, or to be influenced by worldly cares: That no expectation of a return of the old *regime*, no value which he affixed to the vain conſciouſneſs of rights, which he expected not ever to reſume, prevented him from paying an inſtant and implicit obedience to the ſignification of the pontiff's will: That his conſcience, however, would not permit him to make that voluntary reſignation of his claims, which otherwiſe he would gladly offer: That

We muſt not omit mentioning, that by an act of Henry VIII. of a date ſubſequent to that which we have already mentioned, all perſons who actually reſided in the univerſities, for the purpoſes of ſtudy, under the age of forty, were exempted from the penalties of the firſt. This age by the new bill is limited to thirty. If any thing could increaſe our ſurpriſe at ſo gratuitous an attack on literature and ſcience, it would be, that the mover of the bill ſhould have been member for the Univerſity of Oxford.

It may poſſibly be ſaid, that though the reſidence-act, without modification or exception, might be very unequal and unjuſt, yet that the ill conſequences which might reſult from it in ſuch caſes as have been enumerated may be obviated by the biſhop's power to grant diſpenſation. There is indeed a partial remedy provided for ſome of the inequalities of the bill; but a remedy clogged with numerous difficulties in moſt of the caſes which have been above enumerated. Where the caſe is ſo ſpecific as to have been pointed out by the act as one in which the biſhop may grant a ſimple licenſe, the meaſure is comparatively eaſy; but, in very many inſtances, ſuch licenſe cannot be valid without farther proceſs. It muſt firſt be ſubmitted to the archbiſhop, and counterſigned by him; a meaſure which the biſhops themſelves will not, in general, be forward to countenance. It muſt afterwards be laid before the Privy Council. A ſucceſſion of formidable gradations, which will almoſt univerſally prevent the applications which it ſeems to ſanction. Even though this remedy were more acceſſible, and however ready the biſhops might be to facilitate thoſe ſteps which depend on them, we are not partial to the diſpenſing ſyſtem. To enact harſh laws, and then to make proviſion for alleviating the oppreſſion they may produce, is not like the legiſlation of an enlightened age. We do not at all queſtion the reſpectability of the Reverend

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he could not forget the indelible character which had been impreſſed by the hands which ſtamped him with epiſcopacy; and that the gift of the Holy Ghoſt was only to be rendered up with life: That the bond thus entered into was entirely indiſſoluble, none, he added, could doubt, who duly conſidered the nature of the ſacrament of ordination; and that even in the church of that country in which he reſided, heretical as it was, and completely eſtranged from the apoſtolic father of true believers, yet that from the laſt degree of impiety it was ſtill free, the renunciation of clerical indelibility; and that this important and fundamental article of faith had, in a recent inſtance, been ſolemnly recognized by the Engliſh Legiſlature. So far the French biſhop of 1802, if we may truſt the authenticity of the performance which we quote; but it appeared in ſo malicious a *contretems*, that we can hardly believe it to be genuine.

Reverend Bench, nor would we willingly convey the slightest insinuation to their prejudice. We believe the power that is assigned them not to be of their own seeking, and that they are disposed to use it with impartiality and discretion. But we are not fond of discretionary powers. If a man have an equitable title to assert any thing as a right, he ought not to be obliged to ask it as a favour. If the health of an incumbent require his removal to Harrowgate or to Bath; if he be an assistant master in a school at London or in York, and the Legislature judge that to be a sufficient plea for his non-residence upon a living in Lancashire, he ought not to be compelled to solicit the consent of his diocesan. He should be made free, and have an original title conferred upon him to vindicate his freedom. If the parsonage be unfit for him to live in, he ought not to be obliged to ask leave to take up his residence in another house. If the glebe be not large enough for the proper supply and convenience of his household, he should have a *right* to rent a few acres in addition. It has been said that the clergy should be subject to their bishop, as the officers of an army are subject to their general. They ought not: unless there be the same necessity for subjection. Military analogies can never be applied, with justice, to the offices of civil life. According to the system of the residence act, it is necessary that a dispensing power should be lodged somewhere; and it could be lodged nowhere with so much propriety as with the ecclesiastical superior; but this necessity shows rather the harsh principle of the bill, than the propriety of the dispensation.

In this discussion of the residence question, it has been our object to shew the general grounds on which it would have been right and politic to act, rather than to enter into an apologetical detail of particular hardships, or an appeal to humanity in favour of the suffering clergy. To these points, the pamphlet of Dr Sturges, which we formerly noticed with approbation, is principally directed; and we need not be long detained either with Mr Howell's observations, or the reports and observations of Dr Clarke. The first is affected, ignorant, and superficial; the other we do not understand. The author seems to have intended the greater part of it to be very witty, eloquent and ironical; but it appears to us to be as pitifully dull as any thing that has lately fallen under our observation. The reports are addressed, evidently without permission, to the Bishop of London; and the work seems intended, in the sequel, to gratify personal malignity, under the pretence of zeal for clerical regularity. We are inclined to hope, that the reception of this first number will be such as to protect us from the appearance of a second.

remain long unobserved, and that they are not, when recognised, accompanied with any recollection of their former existence in the intellect, it is therefore plainly absurd to affirm that they must have existed there, though neither perceived or remembered. 3. Experience also contradicts the supposition; for the ideas that are held to be innate, are precisely those which appear most obscure and indistinct among mankind in general, and particularly among those who approach nearest to the simplicity of nature, and who ought of course to exhibit those original impressions in their most perfect state. 4. Besides, it is in many cases easy to develope those processes of thought by which abstract or general ideas are formed in the mind. And as it is impossible to conceive any one of them without the intervention of some idea of sensation, it is altogether incongruous to suppose them independent of those sensible impressions which render them objects of thought. 5. That we have an innate idea of the Deity, for instance, has been zealously asserted by the most distinguished partizans of this doctrine. But how, upon this supposition, is it possible to account for the monstrous and contradictory conceptions of mankind regarding the Divinity, his nature and attributes?

'We read in the *Cours d'Instruction d'un Sourd-Muet*, par L'Abbe Sicard, that when he had brought his pupil Massieu to conceive the idea of an Author of the universe, he cried, "let me go to my father and mother to inform them of this happy news." This interesting young man concluded that his parents were ignorant of this truth, because he had till then been ignorant of it. He thought the idea as new to all mankind as it was to himself. Massieu has written the history of his life, which he intends to publish. He has there developed the series of thoughts which occupied his mind previous to his instruction; he will himself inform us, that every kind of abstract or intellectual notion was, till then, unknown to him. Will the partizans of innate ideas resist the force of this striking testimony?' p. 131.

After this tedious examination of a doctrine, which has no other merit but that of being connected, like many other absurd doctrines, with some celebrated names, the author proceeds, in the second part of his book, to explain in what manner we become possessed of all our ideas by means of the senses. Among the philosophers, he observes, who have adopted this principle, a considerable diversity of opinion has prevailed regarding the way in which the mind obtains those secondary ideas, which are not immediately produced by external impressions. In order to simplify the process, they have in general excluded all complex agency of the intellectual faculties, and hence the formation of that class of ideas has been ascribed exclusively to one or two of these faculties, whereas it is in fact a common property of all.

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The second is dedicated to the explanation of a new system, which comprehends the truths, whilst it corrects the errors and supplies the defects of those which have been already proposed.

'The first exhibits an accurate analysis of what others have done: the second is an attempt to execute what they have failed to perform.

'The first establishes the principle, "that all our ideas are founded on experience," as well by strengthening the arguments of those who maintain, as by refuting the objections of those who deny that principle. In the second part, this principle is explained in all its results, and the manner of its application fully developed.' p. 5. 6.

The author employs some preliminary chapters to point out the uses of the inquiry, to establish the principles upon which it ought to be conducted, and to explain the meaning of some important but ambiguous words which necessarily enter into the discussion. This is all very judicious; but we cannot say the same of his historical review, which does not compensate its unnecessary intrusion by any profundity of remark or novelty of illustration. Among the ancients, he observes, that Pythagoras and Plato adopted the doctrine of innate ideas, and that Hippocrates, Aristotle and Zeno asserted, on the contrary, that *sensation* furnishes the materials of all knowledge; a principle which has been commonly expressed in the celebrated maxim, *nihil est in intellectu quin prius fuerit in sensu*. These ancients, however, allowed this principle to remain extremely inactive in their respective systems; and it was not till the time of Hobbes that philosophers began to perceive 'its full value and extensive application.' After him, it was more fully developed in the writings of Gassendi, Locke, Condillac, and Bonnet; by all of whom it has been variously modified, and differently applied. The hypothesis of innate ideas, on the other hand, assumed a new aspect in the works of Descartes; and it has likewise appeared in different shapes in those of Malebranche, Leibnitz, and Wolfe.

This absurd hypothesis, M. Degerando, after all that has been said upon it, still thinks it his duty to demolish; and he accordingly attacks it with a multitude of arguments, zealously collected from every hostile corner. As he is pleased to consider this as a fundamental problem in the philosophy of the mind, we shall, out of respect to his opinion, present our readers with a brief outline of his refutation. 1. The difference which the mind readily perceives between sensible and abstract or general ideas, produced the belief that the latter are innate. 2. But this is merely supposition; for, as no one can recollect what ideas were impressed upon his mind from its first existence, it is consequently impossible to prove that any existed there previous to the exercise of the senses. And as it is admitted that many of these ideas remain

importance, and not to have left his readers to conjecture whether or not he connects the definition which he has borrowed with the relative doctrines which are known to have been held by its author. The work itself does not effectually remove every doubt upon the subject; for the author sometimes speaks in the appropriate language of the ideal school. In fact, it does not appear to us that any of the French philosophers have made great progress towards a detection of the manifold errors which the doctrine of ideas has engrafted upon the science of mind. In what they have written, they have by no means gone to the bottom of the matter; and they have accordingly formed very inadequate conceptions of the advantages resulting from a total rejection of the principles, and even the language of the ideal philosophy.

2. The author has, in our apprehension, given himself a great deal of unnecessary trouble, by dedicating half a volume to the refutation of innate ideas. The triumphant reasonings of Gassendi and Locke had long ago overturned every argument in support of that chimerical doctrine: And, so far from retaining any prejudice in its favour, the Continental philosophers seem decidedly partial to that system which, in the most unqualified manner, refers every idea of the mind to external impressions. As, therefore, the prevailing philosophy is completely hostile to the Cartesian hypothesis, the author might have safely confined himself to an explanation of his own system, without expatiating at such length upon this unpopular doctrine. Besides, the second part of his book itself proves (if it prove any thing), that the greater part of the first is altogether superfluous. It is the object of that part of the work to prove, that the senses, either immediately or mediately, furnish all the materials of our knowledge. Now, if this is established by well supported reasoning, it was surely altogether useless to bestow so much attention upon the *direct* refutation of a hypothesis which the author was about to overturn *indirectly*. In fact, it is no more necessary for a metaphysician to enter upon a direct refutation of the hypothesis of innate ideas, when he intends to prove that all ideas arise from experience, than it would be for an astronomer, who is about to demonstrate the true theory of the planetary system upon the principles of gravitation, to expose, at full length, the erroneous disposition of that system in the cycles and epicycles of Eudoxus and Ptolemy. But, independently of these considerations, it must be recollected that innate ideas can only be a subject of controversy among those who, by the word *idea*, mean not merely a notion or conception, but an image, or some other indefinable object of thought immediately present to and existing in the mind. Now, as it has been demonstrated

demonſtrated that ideas, in this latter ſenſe, are mere antiquated fictions, it is conſequently abſurd to inquire whether or not any of them are innate. No one who has attentively ſtudied the works of Dr Reid can entertain any doubt upon this ſubject: but the French philoſophers ſeem but ſuperficially acquainted with the principles of his philoſophy; and therefore we find them engaged in diſcuſſions which that philoſophy has completely ſuperſeded.

3. The author, in ſpeaking of his own ſyſtem, has frequently adopted a language that can only be applied with propriety to the celebrated ſyſtem which makes *ſenſation* the only ſource of ideas. The maxim, *nil eſt in intellectu quod non prius fuit in ſenſu*, commonly, but erroneouſly, aſcribed to Ariſtotle, is generally quoted by thoſe who embrace that ſyſtem, as deſcriptive of their peculiar tenets. The author gives this maxim the ſame meaning which theſe philoſophers affix to it; * the only meaning indeed of which it appears capable; and yet, with great inconſiſtency, he frequently refers to it as equally applicable to the doctrines which he teaches. But, as the ſyſtem to which we have alluded is, upon his principles, altogether incompetent to account for the production of ideas, we are at a loſs to perceive the propriety of his unqualified repetition of its fundamental principle. It was ſurely a very poſſible matter to find terms expreſſive of his rejection of innate ideas, without recurring to thoſe which involve concluſions at variance with his own. It certainly is not the object of his work to deduce all knowledge from *ſenſation*: its object, if we can underſtand him, is to prove that our ſenſations furniſh the occaſions upon which all our ideas are, by the intervention of certain intellectual operations, ſuggeſted to the mind. As this is obviouſly his meaning in contending that the formation of ideas is the joint work of all the intellectual faculties, it is extremely clear that the terms in which he ſo frequently expreſſes himſelf by no means harmonize with the import of his reaſonings. It will not be contended, ſurely, that the primary inſtrumentality of ſenſation towards the production of all our ideas, is a ſufficient juſtification of that mode of ſpeaking to which we object; for, as ſenſation is equally inſtrumental to the developement of every mode of human thought, it would, upon that principle, be as juſt to aſcribe to it the whole of thoſe intellectual powers which conſtitute the inherent and diſtinctive attributes of mind. Condillac, indeed, who refers all knowledge to *ſenſation*, frequently expreſſes himſelf as if he alſo thought that all theſe faculties are enveloped in it. But as this author inculcates a very



* Il n'y a rien dans l'entendement qui n'ait été dans la ſenſation.

very different doctrine, he is evidently guilty of great inaccuracy of language, in combining principles and concluſions reciprocally ſubverſive of each other.

4. We have looked in vain, in the work before us, for that 'new ſyſtem' of which the author gives ſuch confident promiſe. His claim to originality is founded upon his illuſtration of the principle, 'that all the intellectual powers contribute to the formation of ideas.' But this principle is by no means peculiar to him; nor does it owe its evidence entirely to the force of his reaſoning. That principle forms the groundwork of thoſe valuable ſpeculations in which Dr Reid has ſo ſucceſsfully expoſed the inſufficiency of Locke's theory of the origin of knowledge. The diſcoveries of Reid gave a new light to the whole of this queſtion; and it is in fact in his writings, and in thoſe of his diſciples, that we are to look for the moſt ſatisfactory information upon that branch of the philoſophy of mind which regards the origin of ideas. It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that M. Degerando takes no notice of the beſt authorities upon the queſtion which he has ventured to inveſtigate; and that he ſhould have taken to himſelf the merit of a principle which, he muſt be ſatisfied, if he knows any thing at all of the Scotiſh metaphyſical ſchool, did not originate with him. But we do not, after all, intend to depreciate our author's labours merely becauſe he has been anticipated in his fundamental principle. It was ſtill left to him to produce a ſyſtematic account of the origin of all our ideas, founded upon principles thus powerfully ſupported. In this reſpect, we admit he has conſiderable merit; and his work may be of uſe in putting his countrymen in the way of obtaining more correct notions upon this ſubject than they have hitherto attained. It would not be difficult, were we to enter into a minute examination, to point out errors in his account of the generation of particular ideas. But the diſcuſſion would be more prolix than profitable; and we are unwilling to deal very rigorouſly with a work compoſed under circumſtances ſo peculiar. The author is, upon the whole, ſound and correct in his conceptions of the nature and objects of metaphyſical reſearch; and he never teazes his readers with any of thoſe uſeleſs ſubtilties with which ſome thoughtleſs writers of his country are given to torture the brains of thoſe who think ſlowly. We cannot, however, ſay much for his ſtyle; it is vague, figurative, and declamatory, and has little of that preciſion and unambitious ſimplicity ſo indiſpenſably requiſite in all metaphyſical inquiries.

ART.

ART. V. *Mathematical Papers in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. VIII. & IX.* 1804.

*On the Orbits in which Bodies revolve, being acted upon by a Centripetal Force varying as any Function of the Distance, when those Orbits have two Apsides.* By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

IN the 9th section of the first book of the Principia, the illustrious author treats of moveable orbits, and of the motion of the apsides; a part of his subject not a little intricate, and which it has required all the power of the modern calculus fully to develope. The method of Newton is confined to orbits very nearly circular, and indeed only gives the limit of the motion of the apsides, which would ultimately take place, when the real orbit, by becoming less and less eccentric, coincides with a circle.

The paper of Mr Brinkley may be considered as a comment on this part of the Principia. It gives a method of determining the orbit, in the case of two apsides, when the centripetal force varies as any function of the distance. The method of solution is general, and applies to eccentric orbits; and it is therefore preferable to that of Newton, which is only applicable to orbits very nearly circular.

The paper contains three propositions. In the first it is shewn that an orbit, having two apsides, and described by a centripetal force varying in the inverse proportion of the square of the distance, is an ellipse. In the second the case of the 2d Cor. to the 45th Prop. of the first book of the Principia is considered, viz. when the centripetal force consists of two parts, one varying in the inverse ratio of the square of the distance, and the other in the simple ratio of the distance. In the third proposition, the orbit is determined, in the case of two apsides, when the centripetal force varies as an indefinite power of the distance.

Of these propositions, the second is certainly the most important, on account of its application to the lunar orbit. The result obtained by Mr Brinkley agrees with the limit assigned by Newton; and both bring out the motion of the apogee of the Moon just the half of what it really amounts to by observation. It is well known that Clairaut, D'Alembert, and Euler, in their first attempts to resolve the problem of the three bodies, were usually led to the same conclusion as Newton respecting the motion of the lunar apogee. Such a coincidence in result cannot be the effect of chance; and accordingly it will be found, that the determination of those celebrated mathematicians, as well as the limit as-

ſigned by Newton, depends only on the mean quantity of the diſturbing force of the Sun, or rather on that part of the diſturbing force which is independent of the angular diſtance of the Sun and Moon. The *data* actually employed being in effect the ſame, it is not ſurpriſing that the ſame reſult ſhould be obtained, although different methods of ſolution are employed.

On the other hand, ſome mathematicians, and in particular Mr Walmſley, have conceived Newton's concluſion to be erroneous; and, from the very ſame *data*, have brought out a motion of the apogee agreeing with obſervation. But it muſt be confeſſed, that no dependence can be placed on the ſolution of Mr Walmſley; becauſe it is hypothetical, and part of the Sun's diſturbing force is neglected, without any ſufficient reaſon aſſigned. On this head, our ſentiments are conſonant to thoſe of Mr Brinkley.

'In the lunar orbit referred to the ecliptic, the perturbing force in the direction of the radius vector is expreſſed by a function of that radius vector, and of the angular diſtance of the Moon from the Sun; and the perturbing force in a direction perpendicular to the radius vector, is expreſſed by another function of the ſame quantities. The former force, in its mean quantity, is expreſſed by a function of the radius vector only. The mean quantity of the latter = 0. It has therefore been often imagined, that the mean motion of the lunar apogee might be inveſtigated, by conſidering the Moon acted upon by a centripetal force, expreſſed by a function of the diſtance only. The arguments for this opinon are certainly plauſible, but have by no means the weight of demonſtration. The reſult ſhows, that ſuch an opinion reſts upon no ſolid foundation. It does not appear to be poſſible to inveſtigate the mean motion of the lunar apſides, except from the general expreſſions of the forces in the direction of the radius vector, and in the direction perpendicular thereto.' Vol. VIII. p. 225.

*On Determining Innumerable Portions of a Sphere, the Solidities and Spherical Superficies of which Portions are at the ſame time algebraically aſſignable.* By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. Andrews Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in the Univerſity of Dublin.

The famous problem propoſed by Viviani in 1692 has lately been revived. In the ſecond mathematical volume of the French National Inſtitute, M. Boſſut has announced a new theorem, aſſerting, that the conſtruction of the Florentine problem determines a portion of the ſolidity of a ſphere that may be exactly cubed, as well as a portion of its ſurface that may be exactly ſquared. M. Boſſut has contented himſelf with announcing his theorem, and has reſerved his inveſtigation for the preſent.

Problems

Problems of this ſort, although they are certainly to be reckoned more curious than uſeful, yet they ſerve to ſharpen the ingenuity of mathematicians, and may lead to the invention of new methods of inveſtigation, or to the improvement and generalization of ſuch as are already known. They are, for the moſt part, indeterminate, admitting many anſwers; and on this account they are the more difficult. The methods of ſolution employed, may be referred to two claſſes. Thoſe mathematicians who delight in the general methods of the modern analyſis, deduce the ſolution of problems concerning ſurfaces that may be ſquared, and ſolids that may be cubed, by means of double and triple integrals. The reader who is fond of ſpeculations of this kind will find an ingenious ſpecimen in a paper of Mr Woodhouſe, publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of London for 1801, where the new theorem of Boſſut is demonſtrated. Other mathematicians, who prefer the ſimple and elegant, though prolix methods of geometry, to the more abſtruſe and general deductions of modern analyſis, ſeek to inveſtigate ſuch problems by reaſonings drawn from the geometrical properties of the figure under conſideration. In this latter claſs we reckon Mr Brinkley: and to ſuch of our readers as have a taſte congenial to his own, we recommend his paper as containing an ingenious and ſkilful application of geometry to a problem of ſome difficulty.

*On Dr Halley's Series for the Calculations of Logarithms.* By the Rev. Richard Murray, D. D. late Provoſt of Trinity College, Dublin.

We are informed in a note, that this eſſay was found among the papers of Dr Murray after his death. He had drawn it up, ſhortly after his appointment in 1763 to the Profeſſorſhip of Mathematics, for the inſtruction of his pupils; and much of it, therefore, is employed in explanations, which, had he deſigned it for publication, he would have retrenched. This notice ſufficiently explains the nature of the preſent paper.

*An Examination of various Solutions of Kepler's Problem, and a Short Practical Solution of that Problem pointed out.* By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. M. R. I. A. Andrews Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in the Univerſity of Dublin.

This is a very long paper, conſiſting of no leſs than forty-eight pages. Almoſt all the ſolutions of Kepler's problem that have been

been propoſed, are examined with minuteneſs, and the degrees of exactneſs in the reſults pointed out. The practical aſtronomer, to whom is devolved the labour of computing tables of the motions of the planets, will here find much uſeful information to guide him in the choice of the methods of calculation.

In peruſing this paper, we could not help regretting that the learned author did not adopt a more ſcientific arrangement in treating of his ſubject. Moſt of the practical methods for Kepler's problem reſolve themſelves into two parts; viz. a rule for finding a firſt approximation to the eccentric anomaly, and a method of correcting the firſt reſult to the degree of exactneſs required. An attentive examination will eaſily diſcover, that the ulterior corrections, in almoſt all the ſolutions, are in effect the ſame; depending on the variation of one quantity in a certain function, correſponding to a given variation of another quantity in the ſame function. Thus the value of the ſeveral methods, as well as their degree of convergency, depends on the accuracy of the firſt approximation. In the arrangement of Mr Brinkley, each ſolution is ſeparately examined, without much reference to principles previouſly laid down; and the reader is repeatedly obliged to go over the ſame ground.

Mr Brinkley highly extols Newton's firſt practical method, (*Princ. Math. lib.* 1. *ſect.* 6. *Schol.*); yet that method is nothing more than a ſeries of corrections deduced by ſucceſſive ſubſtitutions in the formula that expreſſes the relation of the ſmall variations of the mean and eccentric anomalies. The rate of convergency, meaſured by a ſcale of the powers of the eccentricity, is indeed very great; but, when the ellipſe is evaneſcent, the rapidity of the approximations cannot be eſtimated by ſuch a ſcale; and the ſucceſs of the method depends entirely on the firſt aſſumption, for which no rule is given.

Mr Brinkley has illuſtrated his own practical rule by examples in orbits of all degrees of eccentricity. He has alſo added the method of deriving the place of a comet moving in an eccentric ellipſe from the place in a parabola of the ſame perihelion diſtance.

We cannot diſmiſs this paper without expreſſing our diſapprobation of the very inelegant, and even uncouth, manner in which it is printed. This obſervation applies to all the mathematical papers in the Tranſactions of the Academy that we have ſeen. We have likewiſe to recommend it to Mr Brinkley, in his future ſpeculations, to adopt the ordinary method of notation, when he has occaſion to introduce the arithmetic of ſines.

*A Theorem for finding the Surface of an Oblique Cylinder, with its Geometrical Demonſtration. Alſo, an Appendix, containing ſome Obſervations on the Methods of Finding the Circumference of a very Eccentric Ellipſe; including a Geometrical Demonſtration of the remarkable Property of Elliptic Arcs, diſcovered by Count Fagnani.* By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A.M. M.R.I.A. and Andrews Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in the Univerſity of Dublin.

The theorem contained in this paper is thus enunciated: 'The ſurface of an oblique cylinder is equal to a rectangle under the diameter of its baſe and the circumference of an ellipſe, the axes of which are the length and perpendicular height of the cylinder.' This theorem is very eaſily inveſtigated by the method of fluxions; but it is demonſtrated by Mr Brinkley, after the manner of the ancient geometers, by the method of exhauſtions.

In the Appendix, the lovers of the ancient geometrical method will find a very neat demonſtration of the theorem of Count Fagnani. This theorem is introduced here on account of its uſe in computing the peripheries of ellipſes of great eccentricity; a ſubject which the reader will find diſcuſſed by Mr Wallace in the fifth volume of the Edinburgh Tranſactions, and more fully by Mr Woodhouſe, in the laſt volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions of London, juſt publiſhed.

To the Appendix is added a diſſertation in vindication of the method of prime and ultimate ratios.

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ART. VI. *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correſpondence of Sir William Jones.* By Lord Teignmouth. 4to. pp. 530. Hatchard, London 1804.

THOUGH this book is leſs intereſting, on the whole, than the title of it had led us to expect, and though it contain but little original information of any great importance, we believe it will be read with very general ſatisfaction, and feel that it cannot be judged of but with indulgence and reſpect. It is written with conſiderable elegance, and very great modeſty, by Lord Teignmouth; and its prolixity—for it is ſometimes prolix—ſeems evidently to proceed from an unfeigned and affectionate partiality to the memory of the friend whoſe hiſtory it profeſſes to record.

The work, indeed, is indebted for its chief attraction to the intereſting and engaging character of its ſubject. The name of Sir William Jones is aſſociated, not only with the ſplendour of a great

great reputation, but with almoſt all the amiable and exemplary virtues; and the gentler affections, which were a little chilled by the aſpect of his vaſt literary attainments, are won ſweetly back, and reſt with delight upon the view, which is here exhibited, of the purity, the integrity, and the mildneſs of his private manners. His life, indeed, ſeems, from his earlieſt youth, not only to have been undefiled by thoſe coarſer blemiſhes of exceſs and debauchery, which are generally excluded by an addiction to letters, but to have been diſtinguiſhed for all that manly exertion, and varied activity, which ſo rarely eſcapes unimpaired from the languor of an academical retirement; while it was adorned by the poliſhed manners and elegant accompliſhments which are ſtill more frequently neglected by the man of buſineſs and the ſcholar.

The moſt remarkable features in his character, indeed, ſeem to have reſulted from the union of this gentleneſs and modeſty of diſpoſition, with a very lofty conception of his own capability and deſtination. Without ever appearing to preſume upon the force of his genius or the vigour of his underſtanding, he ſeems to have thought nothing beyond the reach of his induſtry and perſeverance. From the very commencement of his career, accordingly, he appears to have taſked himſelf very highly; and having, in his early youth, ſet before his eyes the ſtandard of a noble and accompliſhed character in every department of excellence, he ſeems never to have loſt ſight of this object of emulation, and never to have remitted his exertions to elevate and conform himſelf to it in every particular. Though born in a condition very remote from affluence, he very ſoon determined to give himſelf the education of a finiſhed gentleman, and not only to cultivate all the elegance and refinement that is implied in that appellation, but to carry into the practice of an honourable profeſſion all the lights and ornaments of philoſophy and learning, and, extending his ambition beyond the attainment of mere literary or profeſſional eminence, to qualify himſelf for the management of public affairs, and to look forward to the higher rewards of patriotic virtue and political ſkill.

The perſeverance and exemplary induſtry with which he laboured in the proſecution of this magnificent plan, and the diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs which attended the accompliſhment of all that part of it which the ſhortneſs of his life permitted him to execute, afford an inſtructive leſſon to all who may be inclined, by equal diligence, to deſerve an equal reward. The more that we learn, indeed, of the early hiſtory of thoſe who have left a great name to poſterity, we ſhall probably be the more firmly perſuaded, that no ſubſtantial or permanent excellence can ever be attained without much pains, labour and preparation, and that extra-

ordinary

ordinary talents are leſs neceſſary to the moſt brilliant ſucceſs than perſeverance and application. Great as Sir William Jones's attainments unqueſtionably were, they may be contemplated without deſpair by any one who is not frightened at his induſtry.

In expreſſing this ſentiment, we have perhaps already inſinuated pretty clearly the opinion which we have been led to form of the genius of this exemplary ſtudent, and the limits which we are inclined to aſſign to our admiration of his intellectual attainments. A conſummate ſcholar, an accompliſhed philologiſt, an elegant critic, a candid and perſpicuous reaſoner, he was undoubtedly; and it is impoſſible to read either his works or his hiſtory, without feeling that, in all theſe capacities, he was entitled to the very higheſt diſtinction; but we do not feel quite ſo well aſſured of the extent of his *philoſophical* capacity, of the original ſtrength of his underſtanding, or of his familiarity with thoſe general principles which lead to great and ſimple diſcoveries, and bind together, into one uſeful whole, the particulars of our miſcellaneous knowledge. His ſtudies and purſuits were principally directed to particulars; and in all his reſearches and inquiries, it ſeems to have been his object rather to follow out aſſumed and admitted principles to more extenſive or preciſe concluſions, than to inveſtigate the authority of the principles themſelves, or to ſettle the truth of the concluſion on a ſolid baſis of philoſophy, independent of the aid of poſtulates, or the ſupports of authority.

We are ſufficiently ſenſible that we expoſe ourſelves both to the imputation, and to the vengeance of national partiality, when we venture to ſuggeſt, that the labour which Sir William Jones beſtowed to acquire the reputation of a great ſcholar in the ſouthern part of the iſland, has rather obſtructed than aſſiſted his pretenſions to that of a philoſophical writer in the North. Our Scotiſh prejudices lead us irreſiſtibly to believe, that he was a little ſpoiled by the claſſical and metrical diſcipline of Engliſh ſchools and univerſities; and we cannot help fancying, that his underſtanding would have been more vigorous, and his judgment more deciſive, if he had not imbibed ſo deeply that affection for Greek and proſody, and claſſical and mythological alluſions, which characteriſes ſo decidedly the ſeminaries in which he was bred. Theſe things are the proper boaſt and ornament of a ſchoolboy, but will not long go far in procuring glory to a man. The fame of Sir William Jones reſts indeed upon a firmer baſis; but it has rather been reſtrained than extended, we conceive, by the effects of this early partiality. Though his language be in general pure, poliſhed and harmonious, it is not entirely free from a certain air of pedantry; and many of his beſt compoſitions are rendered languid and inſipid by thoſe claſſical affectations which

may ſtill be permitted to adorn an academical declamation. We can excuſe him at fourteen for talking to his ſiſter of Solon and Crœſus; but we have leſs toleration for a barriſter, who profeſſes to write a treatiſe of Engliſh law in imitation of the analytic method of Ariſtotle, or a politician who compares the balance of the Britiſh conſtitution to the harmony produced by the flute of Ariſtoxenus, or the lyre of Timotheus. The mythological digreſſions of Pindar have alſo been too carefully copied in his poetical addreſſes to the divinities of the Eaſt; and, indeed, by far the greater part of his poetry is ſo learned and elaborate, that the peruſal of it is rather a labour than a relaxation.

This volume conſiſts of a narrative and obſervations from the pen of Lord Teignmouth, interſperſed with a great variety of letters from Sir William Jones, and a few from ſome of his correſpondents. We ſhall firſt lay before our readers a ſhort abſtract of the biography, and afterwards ſubjoin a few extracts from the correſpondence, which fills up the largeſt part of the book.

Sir William Jones was born in London in the year 1746. His father, who was a teacher of mathematics, died when his ſon was only three years of age, and left him, with a very ſmall fortune, to the care of a mother of unuſual accompliſhments and merit. Under her tuition, he imbibed a paſſion for reading and inquiry, that had already manifeſted itſelf in a very decided manner when he was ſent to Harrow ſchool in the ſeventh year of his age. At this ſeminary he made ſuch a remarkable proficiency under the direction of Dr Thackeray and Dr Sumner, that he was often flattered, by the inquiries of ſtrangers, under the title of the Great Scholar, and drew, from the former of theſe intelligent preceptors, an opinion, that 'Jones was a boy of ſo active a mind, that if he were left naked and friendleſs on Salisbury plain, he would nevertheleſs find the road to fame and fortune.' In the year 1764, he entered at Univerſity College, Oxford. To the very extraordinary ſhare of claſſical erudition which he carried with him to that ſeminary, he here added a knowledge of Arabic, which he acquired by the aſſiſtance of a native of Aleppo, whom his zeal for the ſtudy induced him to maintain at college for ſeveral months, at an expence which his finances could ill afford. By the help of Meninſki and Gentius, he made at the ſame time a conſiderable progreſs in the Perſic.

'His vacations were paſſed in London, where he daily attended the ſchools of Angelo, for the purpoſe of acquiring the elegant accompliſhments of riding and fencing. He was always a ſtrenuous advocate for the practice of bodily exerciſes, as no leſs uſeful to invigorate his frame, than as a neceſſary qualification for any active exertions to which he might eventually be called. At home, his attention was directed to the

the modern languages; and he read the beſt authors in Italian, Spaniſh, and Portugeſe, following in all reſpects the plan of education recommended by Milton, which he had by heart; and thus, to tranſcribe an obſervation of his own, with the fortune of a peaſant giving himſelf the education of a prince.' p. 33–4.

In 1765 he accepted the ſituation of private tutor in the family of Lord Spencer, and in the year following was appointed to a fellowſhip in the Univerſity. In the family where he had now fixed his reſidence, he not only purſued his claſſical ſtudies with unremitting eagerneſs, but indulged his ambition for univerſal accompliſhment, by taking private leſſons in dancing from the celebrated Gallini, and practiſing the broadſword with an old penſioner at Chelſea. In 1767 he attended the noble family in a ſhort viſit to the Continent, and dedicated a conſiderable part of the three weeks he remained at Spa 'to the leſſons of Janſon of Aix-la-Chapelle, a moſt incomparable dancing-maſter.' In 1768 he was applied to, on the part of the King of Denmark, to tranſlate into French a Perſian manuſcript, containing the life of Nadir Shah, a propoſal which he at firſt declined; but finding that no other perſon was diſpoſed to undertake it, and unwilling that his royal employer ſhould be obliged to go to France for the performance of any literary taſk, he was at length prevailed on to engage in it, and finiſhed it in the courſe of a ſingle year. About this period he formed an intimate acquaintance with Count Reviczki, afterwards the imperial miniſter at Warſaw, and ambaſſador at the Court of England, but diſtinguiſhed and recommended at this time chiefly by his literary accompliſhments, and his proficiency in the oriental languages. Lord Teignmouth has inſerted a pretty extenſive ſeries of letters between him and the ſubject of his biography. The winter of 1769 was ſpent by Mr Jones and his pupil at Nice; in ſpring they travelled through a conſiderable part of France, paſſed the ſummer at Spa, and returned to England in Auguſt 1770. During this tour he ſeems to have compoſed a tragedy called Solyman, which he afterwards deſtroyed, and a treatiſe on education, of which nothing but the plan or argument has been preſerved.

Soon after his return to England he left the family of Lord Spencer, and finally dedicated himſelf to the ſtudy of the law as a profeſſion. In 1772 he ſeems to have entertained ſome expectation of being appointed ambaſſador to the Sublime Porte, though we are rather at a loſs to conceive through what intereſt he could then pretend to ſo exalted a ſituation. He continued his profeſſional ſtudies with great diligence, though he found leiſure, in the intervals, to write his celebrated letter to Anque-

til de Rerron, and to project an epic poem and a hiſtory of the Turks, neither of which were ever completed. In 1774 he publiſhed his Commentaries on Aſiatic Poetry, and in the end of the ſame year was called to the Bar. His practice was not very extenſive; but his reputation for learning, diligence, and independence of character, was continually riſing. In 1778 he publiſhed a tranſlation of the Speeches of Iſæus, and in 1780 propoſed himſelf as a candidate for repreſenting the Univerſity of Oxford in Parliament; but after receiving the moſt flattering marks of reſpect from many of the members of that learned body, he found it expedient to decline the conteſt, and withdrew from the competition. In the end of that year he publiſhed a tranſlation of the ſeven famous Arabic poems, and in the courſe of the two following years his Eſſay on the Law of Bailments, and ſeveral odes and pamphlets, of a temporary and political nature.

In ſpring 1783 he was gratified by an appointment to the ſituation of a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal—an office to which his hopes and wiſhes had been directed from his firſt entrance into life, and which appeared to give him all the opportunities, both of ſtudy and beneficence, which he had long earneſtly deſired. Immediately upon his nomination he married Miſs Shipley, daughter of the biſhop of St Aſaph, to whom he had been long and tenderly attached, and embarked in April for that country, from which he was never to return.

His employments in India are pretty well known to all who have any acquaintance with his writings. He was regular and indefatigable in his attendance on the duties of his office, and, beſides the extenſive and diverſified inquiries into the literature and philoſophy of Aſia, which have given him ſo diſtinguiſhed a place in the annals of oriental learning, he ſeems to have made no mean proficiency in botany and natural hiſtory. In the midſt of theſe refined and diverſified employments, his health, which had been conſiderably weakened by repeated attacks of the fever of the country, was aſſailed at laſt by an inflammation of the liver, and, after a very ſhort illneſs, he expired in the month of April 1794.

Such, in a few words, is the outline of the life of Sir William Jones; a life diverſified with a greater variety of events than uſually occur in the hiſtory of a man of letters; but chiefly remarkable for its unblemiſhed purity, and for the unexampled induſtry, which was able to crowd into ſo ſhort a period ſo many and ſo difficult acquiſitions.

The correſpondence, which occupies rather more than one half of the preſent publication, has, upon the whole, diſappointed

pointed us. The greater part of the letters written before the author's departure to India are addreſſed to Count Reviczki and to Mr Schultens, and conſiſt almoſt entirely of critical remarks on Aſiatic literature, and communications with regard to the reading and ſtudies of the parties. They have nothing of that intimacy, familiarity or freedom, therefore, which forms the great charm of epiſtolary writing, and neither amuſe us by the gaiety of anecdote, nor intereſt us by the traits which they diſcloſe of the feelings and characters of the writers. In a diſſertation on the merits of Hafez, we cannot reaſonably expect either ſcandal or pleaſantry; and a man is not led to exhibit any of the finer features of his mind, in giving an account of the keys of the Chineſe language. This part of the correſpondence, therefore, bears but little reſemblance to a collection of modern letters, and puts us more in mind of the *Epiſtolæ eruditorum virorum*, or the proluſions of ſome German academicians. To make the parallel more complete, the greater part of them are written in Latin, and are exhibited in that form in the Appendix, though the noble biographer has inſerted a tranſlation in the body of the work.

From this collection it would not be eaſy to extract much that would ſuit the taſte of the general reader. To juſtify, in ſome meaſure, the cenſure we have ventured to paſs upon the claſſical affectation of Sir William Jones, and the general deſcription we have given of this part of his letters, we ſhall quote the following paſſage from an epiſtle to Schultens, the ſubject of which certainly did not naturally ſuggeſt ſo many Greek and Roman recollections.

'The conſtitution of England is in no reſpect inferior to that of Rome or Athens; this is my fixed opinion, which I formed in my earlieſt years, and ſhall ever retain. Although I ſincerely acknowledge the charms of polite literature, I muſt at the ſame time adopt the ſentiment of Neoptolemus in the tragedy, that we can philoſophiſe with a few only, and no leſs the axiom of Hippocrates, that life is ſhort, art long, and time ſwift. But I will alſo maintain the excellence and the delight of other ſtudies. What, ſhall we deny that there is pleaſure in mathematics, when we recollect Archimedes, the prince of geometricians, who was ſo intenſely abſorbed in the demonſtration of a problem, that he did not diſcover Syracuſe was taken? Can we conceive any ſtudy more important, than the ſingle one of the laws of our own country? Let me recal to your recollection the obſervations of L. Craſſus and Q. Scævola on this ſubject, in the treatiſe of Cicero de Oratore. What! do you imagine the goddeſs of eloquence to poſſeſs leſs attractions than Thalia or Polyhymnia, or have you forgotten the epithets which Ennius beſtows on Cethegus, the quinteſſence of eloquence, and the flower of the people? Is there a man exiſting who would

would not rather reſemble Cicero, whom I wiſh abſolutely to make my model, both in the courſe of his life and ſtudies, than be like Varro, however learned, or Lucretius, however ingenious as a poet? If the ſtudy of the law were really unpleaſant and diſguſting, which is far from the truth, the example of the wiſeſt of the ancients, and of Minerva herſelf, the goddeſs of wiſdom, would juſtify me in preferring the uſeful olive to the barren laurel.' p. 123.

It is not eaſy to conceive that a grown man of thirty years of age, with ſome pretenſions to the character of a philoſopher, ſhould have addreſſed an epiſtle of this kind to a foreigner, who would infallibly ſhew it to all his aſſociates. The ſtyle of Sir William Jones, in his complimentary addreſſes to foreign literati, appears to us to be equally pedantic and unnatural. The infant Don Gabriel it ſeems (or rather we may preſume his tutor) tranſlated the hiſtory of Salluſt into Spaniſh, and a loyal Doctor of Madrid tranſmitted a copy of the regal verſion to Sir William Jones, who makes his acknowledgements in the following ſtrain of ſcholaſtic panegyric.

'I really was at a loſs to decide, whether I ſhould begin my letter by congratulating you on having ſo excellent a tranſlator, or by thanking you for this agreeable proof of your remembrance. I look forward to the increaſing ſplendour, which the arts and ſciences muſt attain in a country, where the ſon of the king poſſeſſes genius and erudition, capable of tranſlating and illuſtrating, with learned notes, the firſt of the Roman hiſtorians: How few youths amongſt the nobility in other countries poſſeſs the requiſite ability or inclination for ſuch a taſk! The hiſtory of Salluſt is a performance of great depth, wiſdom, and dignity; to underſtand it well is no ſmall praiſe, to explain it properly is ſtill more commendable, but to tranſlate it elegantly excites admiration. If all this had been accompliſhed by a private individual, he would have merited applauſe, if by a youth he would have had a claim to literary honours, but when to the title of youth that of prince is added, we cannot too highly extol, or too loudly applaud, his diſtinguiſhed merit.' p. 129.

Theſe paſſages certainly are more in the taſte of a Greek rhetorician than of an Engliſh gentleman. But Sir William Jones does not always write ſo affectedly. There are one or two letters in the collection that are remarkably eaſy, good-humoured, and flowing, though it can ſcarcely be ſaid for any of the correſpondence, that it is playful, brilliant, or witty. The following paſſage from a letter to Lady Spencer is certainly in a very pleaſing ſtyle.

'While Mrs Poyntz ſtaid at Lyons, I made an excurſion to Geneva, in hopes of ſeeing Voltaire, but was diſappointed. I ſent him a note with a few verſes, implying that the muſe of tragedy had left her ancient ſeat in Greece and Italy, and had fixed her abode on the borders of a lake, &c. He returned this anſwer: "The worſt of French poets

and

and philoſophers is almoſt dying; age and ſickneſs have brought him to his laſt day; he can converſe with nobody, and entreats Mr Jones to excuſe and pity him. He preſents him with his humble reſpects." But he was not ſo ill as he imagined; for he had been walking in his court, and went into his houſe juſt as I came to it. The ſervants ſhewed me ſomebody at a window, who they ſaid was he; but I had ſcarce a glimpſe of him. I am inclined to think that Voltaire begins to be rather ſerious, when he finds himſelf upon the brink of eternity; and that he refuſes to ſee company, becauſe he cannot diſplay his former wit and ſprightlineſs. I find my book is publiſhed; * I am not at all ſolicitous about its ſucceſs; as I did not chooſe the ſubject myſelf, I am not anſwerable for the wild extravagance of the ſtyle, nor for the faults of the original; but if your ladyſhip takes the trouble to read the diſſertation at the end, you may perhaps find ſome new and pleaſing images. The work has one advantage, it is certainly authentic. Lady Georgiana is ſo good as to inquire how Soliman goes on; pray tell her he is in great affliction, as he begins to ſuſpect the innocence of Muſtafa, who is juſt ſlain. To be ſerious, my tragedy is juſt finiſhed; and I hope to ſhew it to your Ladyſhip in a ſhort time.

'De la Fontaine is with us; he ſeems very well, but is ſtill weak and complaining. I muſt add a little ſtroke of French courage, which I have juſt heard. In the midſt of all the diſaſters of the fire-works, the Mareſchal de Richlieu was in ſuch a panic, that he got out of his carriage, and ſcreamed out, Eſt-ce qu'on veut laiſſer perir un Mareſchal de France? N'y a-t-il perſonne pour ſecourir un Mareſchal de France? —This will be an eternal joke againſt him!—' p. 78. 79.

We add alſo the following account of the author's excurſion to a country reſidence of Milton, both for the ſake of the information it contains, and for the unaſſuming elegance of the deſcription.

'The neceſſary trouble of correcting the firſt printed ſheets of my hiſtory, prevented me to-day from paying a proper reſpect to the memory of Shakeſpeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was reſolved to do all the honour in my power to as great a poet, and ſet out in the morning, in company with a friend, to viſit a place where Milton ſpent ſome part of his life, and where, in all probability, he compoſed ſeveral of his earlieſt productions. It is a ſmall village, ſituated on a pleaſant hill, about three miles from Oxford, and called Foreſt Hill, becauſe it formerly lay contiguous to a foreſt, which has ſince been cut down. The poet choſe this place of retirement after his firſt marriage; and he deſcribes the beauties of his retreat in that fine paſſage of his L'Allegro:

Strait mine eye hath caught new pleaſures,
Whilſt the landſcape round it meaſures:
Ruſſet lawns, and fallows grey
Where the nibbling flocks do ſtray;

Mountains,

* Tranſlation of the Life of Nadir Shah.

Mountains, on whoſe barren breaſt,
The lab'ring clouds do often reſt;
Meadows trim, with daiſies pied,
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide;
Towers and battlements it ſees,
Boſom'd high in tufted trees.
* * * * * *
Hard by a cottage chimney ſmokes,
From betwixt two aged oaks, &c.

'It was neither the proper ſeaſon of the year nor time of the day to hear all the rural ſounds, and ſee all the objects mentioned in this deſcription; but, by a pleaſing concurrence of circumſtances, we were ſaluted, upon our approach to the village, with the muſic of the mower and his ſcythe; we ſaw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milkmaid returning from her country employment.

'As we aſcended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable ſtillneſs and natural ſimplicity of the whole ſcene, gave us the higheſt pleaſure. We at length reached the ſpot whence Milton undoubtedly took moſt of his images: it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a moſt extenſive proſpect on all ſides: the diſtant mountains that ſeemed to ſupport the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly ſhaded with trees of the fineſt verdure, and partly raiſed above the groves that ſurrounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyiſh colour, where the ſheep were feeding at large; in ſhort, the view of the ſtreams and rivers,—convinced us that there was not a ſingle uſeleſs or idle word in the above mentioned deſcription, but that it was a moſt exact and lively repreſentation of nature. Thus will this fine paſſage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exactneſs. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthuſiam, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

'The poet's houſe is cloſe to the church; the greateſt part of it has been pulled down, and what remains belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that ſeveral papers in Milton's own hand, were found by the gentleman who was laſt in poſſeſſion of the eſtate. The tradition of his having lived there is current among the villagers: one of them ſhowed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleaſed with another, who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of The Poet.

'It muſt not be omitted that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales, which are ſo elegantly deſcribed in the Penſieroſo. Moſt of the cottage windows are overgrown with ſweetbriars, vines, and honeyſuckles; and that Milton's habitation had the ſame ruſtic ornament, we may conclude from his deſcription of the lark bidding him good-morrow,

Thro' the ſweetbriar, or the vine,
Or the twiſted eglantine:

for it is evident, that he meant a ſort of honeyſuckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly uſed for the ſweetbriar, which he could not mention twice in the ſame couplet.' p. 67—69.

As an additional proof of the occaſional gaiety and pleaſantry of this profound ſtudent, we annex two ſtanzas of a light and airy ſong, compoſed by him almoſt *ex tempore*, to enliven a ſort of fête champêtre given by the barriſters on a circuit, on the banks of the Wye—

'Fair Tivy, how ſweet are thy waves gently flowing,
Thy wild oaken woods, and green eglantine bow'rs,
Thy banks with the bluſh-roſe and amaranth glowing;
While friendſhip and mirth claim theſe laborleſs hours!
Yet weak is our vaunt, while ſomething we want,
More ſweet than the pleaſure which *proſpects* can give;
Come, ſmile, damſels of Cardigan,
Love can alone make it bliſsful to live.'

'How gay is the circle of friends round a table,
Where ſtately Kilgarran * o'erhangs the brown dale,
Where none are unwilling, and few are unable,
To ſing a wild ſong, or repeat a wild tale!
Yet weak is our vaunt, while ſomething we want,
More ſweet than the pleaſure that *friendſhip* can give:
Come, ſmile, damſels of Cardigan,
Love can alone make it bliſsful to live.' p. 200.

The following letter, addreſſed to his former pupil Lord Althorpe a ſhort time after his marriage, is amiable and eaſy:

'*O la bella coſa de far niente!* This was my exclamation, my dear Lord, on the 12th of laſt month, when I found myſelf, as I thought, at liberty to be a rambler, or an idler, or any thing I pleaſed: but my *mal di gola* took ample revenge for my abuſe and contempt of it when I wrote to you, by confining me twelve days with a fever and quinſey; and I am now ſo cramped by the approaching ſeſſion at Oxford, that I cannot make any long excurſion. Pray preſent the encloſed, in my name, to Lady Althorpe. I hope that I ſhall in a ſhort time be able to think of you, when I read theſe charming lines of Catullus:

'Torquatus volo parvulus,
Matris e gremio ſuæ
Porrigens teneras manus
Dulce rideat ad patrem,
Semi-hiante labello.

'What a beautiful picture! can Dominichino equal it? How weak are all arts in compariſon of poetry and rhetoric! Inſtead, however, of *Torquatus*, I would read Spencerus. Do you not think that I have diſcovered the true uſe of the fine arts, namely, in relaxing the mind after toil? Man was born for *labour*; his configuration, his paſſions, his reſtleſsneſs, all prove it; but labour would wear him out, and the purpoſe of it be defeated, if he had not intervals of *pleaſure*; and unleſs



* A ruin of a caſtle on the banks of the Tivy.

leſs that pleaſure be *innocent*, both he and ſociety muſt ſuffer. Now what pleaſures are more harmleſs, if they be nothing elſe, than thoſe afforded by polite arts and polite literature? love was given us by the Author of our being as the reward of virtue, and the ſolace of care; but the baſe and ſordid forms of *artificial* ſociety in which we live, have encircled that heavenly roſe with ſo many thorns, that the wealthy alone can gather it with prudence. On the other hand, mere pleaſure, to which the idle are not juſtly entitled, ſoon ſatiates, and leaves a vacuity in the mind more unpleaſant than actual pain. A juſt mixture, or interchange of labour and pleaſures, appears alone conducive to ſuch happineſs as this life affords. Farewell, I have no room to add my uſeleſs name, and ſtill more uſeleſs profeſſions of friendſhip.' p. 206. 207.

Sir William Jones's politics were thoſe of a decided Whig; and they make a conſiderable figure in ſome parts of his correſpondence. It does not appear to us, however, that there are any paſſages of this deſcription that deſerve to be particularly noticed. Indeed, the deficiency of his philoſophical genius is more apparent, in our apprehenſion, upon theſe ſubjects, than upon any other. His ideas upon the theory and abſtract principles of government, appear to be very crude and ſuperficial; and his zeal in the cauſe of liberty ſeems rather to have ariſen from the warmth of his own benevolent heart, and from an habitual admiration of the claſſic republics of Greece and Italy, than from any profound ſtudy or juſt apprehenſion of the conſtitution of modern ſociety. There is ſome prejudice, and a good deal of imprudence in ſome of his political effuſions: but the purity of his motives, and the incorruptible and unaffected independence of his principles, entitle him to no vulgar ſtation in the liſt of practical politicians. The following extract from a letter to Lord Spencer, written at the time when his appointment to India was in ſuſpenſe, ſhews, in a ſtriking manner, the extent of his honourable ambition, and the ſteadineſs of his independent ſpirit:

'I cannot legally be appointed till January, or next month at ſooneſt, becauſe I am not a barriſter of five years ſtanding till that time: now many believe that they keep the place open for me till I am qualified. I certainly wiſh to have it, becauſe I wiſh to have twenty thouſand pounds in my pocket before I am eight-and-thirty years old, and then I might contribute in ſome little degree towards the ſervice of my country in Parliament, as well as at the Bar, without ſelling my liberty to a patron, as too many of my profeſſion are not aſhamed of doing; and I might be a Speaker in the Houſe of Commons in the full vigour and maturity of my age; whereas, in the ſlow career of Weſtminſter-Hall, I ſhould not perhaps, even with the beſt ſucceſs, acquire the ſame independent ſtation, till the age at which Cicero was killed. But be aſſured, my dear lord, that if the miniſter be offended at the ſtyle in which

which I have ſpoken, do ſpeak, and will ſpeak, of public affairs, and on that account ſhould refuſe to give me the judgeſhip, I ſhall not be at all mortified, having already a very decent competence, without a debt, or a care of any kind.' p. 163.

The ſame pleaſing ſentiments recur in a letter to Sir John M'Pherſon, relating to the publication of the firſt volume of the Aſiatic Tranſactions—

'Always excepting my own imperfect eſſays, I may venture to foretel, that the learned in Europe will not be diſappointed by our firſt volume. But my great object, at which I have long been labouring, is to give our country a complete digeſt of Hindu and Muſſulman law. I have enabled myſelf by exceſſive care to read the oldeſt Sanſcrit law books, with the help of a looſe Perſian paraphraſe; and I have begun a tranſlation of Menu into Engliſh; the beſt Arabian law-tract, I tranſlated laſt year. What I can poſſibly perform alone, I will by God's bleſſing perform; and I would write on the ſubject to the Miniſter, Chancellor, the Board of Controul, and the Directors, if I were not apprehenſive that they who know the world, but do not fully know me, would think that I expected ſome advantage either of fame or patronage, by purpoſing to be made the Juſtinian of India; whereas I am conſcious of deſiring no advantage, but the pleaſure of doing general good. I ſhall conſequently proceed in the work by my own ſtrength, and will print my digeſt by degrees at my own expence, giving copies of it where I know they will be uſeful. One point I have already attained; I made the pundit of our court read and correct a copy of Halhed's * book in the original Sanſcrit, and I then obliged him to atteſt it as good law, ſo that he never now can give corrupt opinions, without certain detection.' p. 276. 277.

From the correſpondence of Sir William Jones in India, we are not tempted to make many extracts. It relates chiefly to the buſineſs of his official ſituation, and to thoſe reſearches of which he has himſelf given the reſults to the world, in his different publications on the philoſophy and literature of the Aſiatic nations. It is not, upon the whole, we think, exceedingly intereſting, nor was it perhaps very neceſſary to make it public; but it ſhews the aſtoniſhing induſtry and unremitting activity of this exemplary ſcholar, and affords a pleaſing evidence, both of the mild cheerfulneſs of his diſpoſition, and of the harmony in which he lived with all the reſpectable members of the ſettlement. As a ſpecimen of the happy and amiable temper of mind in which he continued to the end, we ſhall content ourſelves with tranſcribing the laſt letter which the author of this volume received from him not many months before his death. The laſt paragraph is written with a great deal of unaffected gentleneſs and dignity.



* A tranſlation by N. B. Halhed, Eſq. of the code compiled by Pundits, by the direction of Mr Haſtings.

'A few days after I trembled you about the yacht, I felt a severe pang on hearing of your domestic misfortune; and I felt more for you than I should for most men, on so melancholy an occasion, because I well know the sensibility of your heart. The only topic of consolation happily presented itself to you: reason perhaps might convince us, that the death of a created being never happens without the will of the Creator, who governs this world by a special interposition of his providential care; but as this is a truth which revelation expressly teaches us, our only true comfort in affliction must be derived from Christian philosophy, which is so far from encouraging us to stifle our natural feelings, that even the divine author of it wept on the death of a friend. This doctrine, though superfluous to you, is always present to my mind; and I shall have occasion in a few years, by the course of nature, to press it on the mind of Lady Jones, the great age of whose mother is one of my reasons for hoping most anxiously that nothing may prevent her returning to England this season. * * * *
I will follow her as soon as I can, possibly at the beginning of 1795, but probably not till the season after that; for although I shall have more than enough to supply all the wants of a man, who would rather have been Cincinnatus with his plough, than Lucullus with all his wealth, yet I wish to complete the system of Indian laws while I remain in India, because I wish to perform whatever I promise with the least possible imperfection; and in so difficult a work doubts might arise, which the pundits alone could remove. You continue I hope to find the gardens healthy; nothing can be more pleasant than the house in which we live: but it might justly be called the temple of the winds, especially as it has an octagonal form, like that erected at Athens to those boisterous divinities. I cannot get rid of the rheumatism which their keen breath has given me, and submit with reluctance to the necessity of wrapping myself in shawls and flannel. We continue to be charmed with the perspicuity, moderation, and eloquence of Filangieri.

'Of European politics I think as little as possible, not because they do not interest my heart, but because they give me too much pain. I have 'good will towards men, and wish peace on earth;' but I see chiefly under the sun, the two classes of men whom Solomon describes, the oppressor and the oppressed. I have no fear in England of open despotism, nor of anarchy. I shall cultivate my fields and gardens, and think as little as possible of monarchs or oligarchs.' p. 354–55–56.

We add the sincere and affectionate reflections annexed by the noble biographer to the letter we have now copied.

'It would not be easy to give expression to the feelings excited by the perusal of this letter, nine years after the date of it. In recalling the memory of domestic misfortunes, which time had nearly obliterated, it revives with new force the recollection of that friend, whose sympathy endeavoured to sooth the sorrows of a father for the loss of his children. The transition by Sir William Jones to the circumstances of his own situation is natural, and the conjugal bosom may perhaps sympathise with

with a fond husband, anticipating the affliction of the wife of his affections, and his own efforts to console her. That wife however still survives to lament her irreparable loss in the death of Sir William Jones himself, and has had for some years the happiness to console, by the tenderest assiduities, the increasing infirmities of an aged mother.' p. 356.

Lord Teignmouth, in several parts of his work, has manifested a laudable, but apparently a very unnecessary, anxiety to prove, that Sir William Jones was a sincere believer in the pure doctrines of Christianity. We are not aware that his orthodoxy was ever called in question, and do not perceive, indeed, how it could easily have been so in the face of his own express and repeated declarations to the contrary, in so many parts of his writings. The most distinct, perhaps, is that which occurs in a discourse addressed to the Asiatic Society in 1791.

"Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject: But I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence the *Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected, within the same compass, from all other books that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance, in form or style, to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning. The antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief, that they were genuine compositions, and consequently inspired. But, if any thing be the absolute exclusive property of each individual, it is his belief; and I hope I should be one of the last men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others." p. 365. 366.

To those and to other public testimonies of Sir William Jones's pious acquiescence in the pure faith of his country, Lord Teignmouth has now added the evidence of several prayers and devout reflections, found among his private manuscripts after his death.

We should have great pleasure in laying before our readers the whole of the eloquent and affectionate representation which Lord Teignmouth has given, in the concluding pages of these memoirs, of the character of his departed friend. Our limits, however, will not admit of more than the following extracts.

'In the short space of forty-seven years, by the exertion of rare intellectual talents, he acquired a knowledge of arts, sciences, and languages, which has seldom been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. If he did not attain the critical proficiency of a Porson or Parr in Grecian literature, yet his knowledge of it was most extensive and profound,

found, and entitled him to a high rank in the firſt claſs of ſcholars, while, as a philologiſt, he could boaſt an univerſality in which he had no rival. His ſkill in the idioms of India, Perſia, and Arabia, has perhaps never been equalled by any European; and his compoſitions on Oriental ſubjects diſplay a taſte which we ſeldom find in the writings of thoſe who had preceded him in theſe tracts of literature. The language of Conſtantinople was alſo familiar to him; and of the Chineſe characters and tongue, he had learned enough to enable him to tranſlate an ode of Confucius. In the modern dialects of Europe, French, Italian, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and German, he was thoroughly converſant, and had peruſed the moſt admired writers in thoſe languages. I might extend the liſt by ſpecifying other dialects which he underſtood, but which he had leſs perfectly ſtudied.'

'By his knowledge of the Sanſcrit and Arabic, he was eminently qualified to promote the adminiſtration of juſtice in the Supreme Court, by detecting miſrepreſentations of the Hindu or Mahommedan laws, and by correcting impoſitions in the form of adminiſtering oaths to the followers of Brahma and Mahommed. If no other benefit had reſulted from his ſtudy of theſe languages, than the compilation of the Digeſt, and the tranſlation of Menu, and of two Mahommedan law tracts, this application of his talents to promote objects of the firſt importance to India and Europe, would have entitled him to the acknowledgements of both countries. Of his ſtudies in general it may be obſerved, that the end which he always had in view, was practical utility; that knowledge was not accumulated by him as a ſource of mere intellectual recreation, or to gratify an idle curioſity, or for the idler purpoſe of oſtentatiouſly diſplaying his aquiſitions. To render himſelf uſeful to his country and mankind; and to promote the proſperity of both, were the primary and permanent motives of his indefatigable exertions in acquiring knowledge.

'The inflexible integrity with which he diſcharged the ſolemn duty of this ſtation, will long be remembered in Calcutta, both by Europeans and natives. So cautious was he to guard the independence of his character from any poſſibility of violation or imputation, that no ſolicitation could prevail upon him, to uſe his perſonal influence with the members of adminiſtration in India, to advance the private intereſts of friends whom he eſteemed, and which he would have been happy to promote. He knew the dignity, and felt the importance of his office; and, convinced that none could afford him more ample ſcope for exerting his talents to the benefit of mankind, his ambition never extended beyond it. No circumſtance occaſioned his death to be more lamented by the public, than the loſs of his abilities as judge, of which they had had the experience of eleven years.'

'Of his private and ſocial virtues it ſtill remains to ſpeak; and I could with pleaſure expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity and probity, as well as his benevolence, which every living creature participated.

'Could

'Could the figure, (I quote with pleaſure his own words) inſtincts, and qualities of birds, beaſts, inſects, reptiles, and fiſh, be aſcertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few ſtudies would afford us more ſolid inſtruction, or more exquiſite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturaliſt can occaſion the miſery of an innocent bird, and leave its young, perhaps, to periſh in a cold neſt, becauſe it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, becauſe it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful: nor ſhall I ever forget the couplet of Ferdauſi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applauſe, pours bleſſings on his departed ſpirit.

Ah! ſpare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain,
He lives with pleaſure, and he dies with pain.

'This may be only a confeſſion of weakneſs, and it certainly is not meant as a boaſt of peculiar ſenſibility; but whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has ſuch an effect on my conduct, that I never would ſuffer the *cocila*, whoſe wild native woodnotes announce the approach of ſpring, to be caught in my garden, for the ſake of comparing it with Buffon's deſcription; though I have often examined the domeſtic and engaging *mayana*, which "bids us good-morrow" at our windows, and expects, as its reward, little more than ſecurity: even when a fine young *manis* or *pangolin* was brought to me, againſt my wiſh, from the mountains, I ſolicited his reſtoration to his beloved rocks, becauſe I found it impoſſible to preſerve him in comfort at a diſtance from them.'

'His intercourſe with the Indian natives of character and abilities was extenſive: he liberally rewarded thoſe by whom he was ſerved and aſſiſted, and his dependants were treated by him as friends. Under this denomination he has frequently mentioned in his works the name of Bahman, a native of Yezd, and follower of the doctrines of Zoroaſter, whom he retained in his pay, and whoſe death he often adverted to with regret. Nor can I reſiſt the impulſe which I feel, to repeat an anecdote of what occurred after his demiſe: the pundits who were in the habit of attending him, when I ſaw them at a public *durbar*, a few days after that melancholy event, could neither reſtrain their tears for his loſs, nor find terms to expreſs their admiration at the wonderful progreſs which he had made in the ſciences which they profeſſed.' p. 400.

The Appendix contains the originals of the Latin letters, of which Lord Teignmouth has given a tranſlation in the text, and which appear to be written with great elegance and purity;—the plan, and ſome very inconſiderable fragments of the epic poem which we formerly mentioned as having occupied the attention of Sir William Jones in 1770, and of which we are inclined to think the abandonment more judicious than the undertaking;—a prefatory diſcourſe to his projected Hiſtory of the Turks, written in

a very pleasing and lively style, but rather diffuse and feeble for the introduction to a philosophical history;—and, finally, a short collection of occasional poems, which might have been permitted, without injury to the author's reputation, to have remained in his portfolio. We are tempted, however, as a curiosity, to transcribe the following translation of an ode of Jami, which, in the form, rhime, and measure, is an exact pattern of the original Persian.

How sweet the gale of morning breathes!
News, that the rose will soon approach
Soon will a thousand parted souls
Since tidings, which in every heart
Late near my charmer's flowing robe
Thence, odour to the rose bud's veil,
Painful is absence, and that pain
Thou know'st, dear maid! when to thine ear
Why should I trace love's mazy path,
Black destiny! my lot is woe,
In vain, a friend his mind disturbs,
When sage physician to the couch
A roving stranger in thy town
'Till this his name, and rambling lay

Sweet news of my *delight* he brings;
the tuneful bird of *night*, he brings.
be led, his captives, through the sky,
must ardent flames *excite*, he brings.
he pass'd, and kiss'd the fragrant hem;
and jasmine's mantle *white*, he brings.
to some base rival oft is ow'd;
false tales, contriv'd in *spite*, he brings.
since destiny my bliss forbids?
to me no ray of *light* he brings.
in vain a childish trouble given,
of heartsick love torn *sighs*, he brings.
no guidance can sad JAMI find,
to thine all piercing *sight* he brings.

p. 519.

We now take our leave of this publication with sentiments of the utmost veneration for the virtuous and learned person whose history it contains, and with feelings of no common gratitude to his noble biographer. The rank to which he belongs affords many temptations to idleness, and has sometimes been considered as an apology for some degree of licentiousness. There is more than usual merit, therefore, in every instance which it presents, either of literary activity, or of zeal for morality and religion; and as examples and lessons of this kind come with most effect from those whose station enables them to influence a larger circle of observers, Lord Teignmouth must be held to have deserved well of society, by the publication of a work so friendly to the interests of learning and of virtue. Independently of these considerations, however, this book is entitled to praise. The elegance of the composition, and the zeal and knowledge in literature which it displays, would do credit to the most practised author; while the uniform candour and liberality of the sentiments it contains, lay claim to a far higher commendation.

ART.

ART. VII. *Sir John Froiſſart's Chronicles of England, France, and the adjoining Countries, from the latter part of the Reign of Edward II. to the Coronation of Henry IV.* Newly Tranſlated from the beſt French Editions, with Variations and Additions from many celebrated Manuſcripts, by Thomas Johnes. 4to. pp. 835. At the Hafod Preſs. By James Henderſon.

IT has long been, and we fear will long remain a reproach to the literary character of Britain, that ſo very little has been done for the preſervation of her early hiſtorians. An uniform edition of our chronicles corrected from the beſt manuſcripts, and elucidated by ſuitable notes and references, might ſurely be expected from our colleges; and a wealthy and patriotic public would encourage and reward the undertaking. Since, however, it is the fate of ſo many of our hiſtorians to ſlumber in manuſcript and black letter, we ought to view, with indulgent gratitude, the exertions of an individual who has drawn from obſcurity the moſt faſcinating of this venerable band. Whoever has taken up the chronicle of Froiſſart, muſt have been dull indeed if he did not find himſelf tranſported back to the days of Creſſy and Poitiers. In truth, his hiſtory has leſs the air of a narrative than of a dramatic repreſentation. The figures live and move before us; we not only know what they did, but learn the mode and proceſs of the action, and the very words with which it was accompanied. This ſort of colloquial hiſtory is of all others the moſt intereſting. The ſimple fact, that a great battle was won or loſt, makes little impreſſion on our mind, as it occurs in the dry pages of an annaliſt, while our imagination and attention are alike excited by the detailed deſcription of a much more trifling event. In Froiſſart, we hear the gallant knights, of whom he wrote, arrange the terms of combat and the manner of the onſet; we hear their ſoldiers cry their war-cries; we ſee them ſtrike their horſes with the ſpur; and the livelineſs of the narration hurries us along with them into the whirlwind of battle. We have no heſitation to ſay, that a ſkirmiſh before a petty fortreſs, thus told, intereſts us more than the general information that twenty thouſand Frenchmen bled on the field of Creſſy. This muſt ever be the caſe, while we prefer a knowledge of mankind to a mere acquaintance with their actions; and ſo long alſo muſt we account Froiſſart the moſt entertaining, and perhaps the moſt valuable hiſtorian of the middle ages. Till now, his chronicles have only exiſted in three black letter editions printed at Paris, all we believe very rare; in that which was publiſhed by Denys Sauvage about 1560, and reprinted in 1574; and finally, in an Engliſh

tranſlattion by Bourchier Lord Berners, which we believe ſells for about twenty guineas, and is hardly ever to be met with. Under theſe circumſtances, we are bound to receive with gratitude every attempt to give more general acceſs to the treaſures of Froiſſart, eſpecially as the ſize of his chronicles prohibits the idea of an edition undertaken with the uſual views of profit. Mr Johnes, the preſent tranſlator, we underſtand to be a gentleman of fortune, whoſe hours of leiſure and retirement are dedicated to literary reſearch, and who ſends the preſent volume forth from his private preſs at Haſod. Like his predeceſſor Lord Berners, he is probably pricked on to his undertaking 'by the love and honour which he bears to our moſt puiſſant ſovereign, and to do pleaſure to his ſubjects both nobles and commons,' and, like that good baron, he 'prays them that ſhall deſault find, to conſyder the greatneſs of the hiſtorie and his good will that aſks nothing elſe of them for his great labour, but of their curteſye to amende where nede ſhall be, and yet for their ſo doing prays to God finally to ſend them the bliſs of heaven.' If, therefore, in the courſe of our preſent inveſtigation, we find it neceſſary to deſcend into the liſts with ſo gentle a knight, he may reſt aſſured that the arms we employ ſhall only be thoſe of courteſy.

The preſent tranſlation of Froiſſart will conſiſt, when finiſhed, of four large quarto volumes. The beſt authorities have been reſorted to for various readings, and large additions are in many places made from manuſcripts in the tranſlator's library.

It appears to us an omiſſion of ſome conſequence, that nothing is told the Engliſh reader of the hiſtory of Froiſſart himſelf, the mode which he took to acquire the knowledge of the events he narrates, the diſtribution of his hiſtory into books, and the arrangement of his chronology. We are the more diſappointed in this reſpect, becauſe the tranſlator could be no ſtranger to three Memoires on theſe ſubjects publiſhed in the Tranſactions of the Academie Royale, vol. 10. 13. 14. by Monſ. de la Curne de Ste. Palaye. We are tempted in ſome degree to ſupply this defect, by giving, chiefly from theſe authorities, a ſhort ſketch of the life and character of this venerable hiſtorian.

Jean Froiſſart, prieſt, canon and treaſurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, was born at Valenciennes about 1337. He was the ſon, as is conjectured from a paſſage in his poems, of Thomas Froiſſart a herald painter, no inconſiderable profeſſion in thoſe days, and which required a good deal of ſuch knowledge as was then in faſhion. The youth of Froiſſart, from 12 years upwards, as in his poems he has frequently informed us, was ſpent in every ſpecies of elegant indulgence. 'Well I loved,'

oved,' ſays he, 'to ſee danſes and carolling, well to hear minſtrelſy and tales of glee, well to attach myſelf to thoſe who loved hounds and hawks, well to toy with my fair companions at ſchool, and methought I had the art well to win their grace.' In a ſimilar alluſion to this joyous period, he gives the following account of the luxuries in which he delighted to revel. 'My ears quickened at the ſound of uncorking the wine flaſk, for I took great pleaſure in drinking, and in fair array, and in delicate and freſh cates. I love to ſee (as is reaſon) the early violets and the white and red roſes, and alſo chambers fairly lighted; juſts, danſes and late vigils, and fair beds for refreſhment; and, for my better repoſe, a night draught of claret or Rochelle wine mingled with ſpice.' This merry mode of life promiſed but a ſlender progreſs in divinity. Accordingly Froiſſart in his hiſtory (meaning, we believe, Judas Machabæus), calls Nebuchadnezzar* 'the prince and leader of God's chivalry;' and tells us, without comment on their ignorance, that the weſtern chivalry who attended the Duke of Bourbon upon his African expedition, juſtified their invaſion of the Moors, becauſe theſe paynin Saracens had put to death the Saviour of the world. But the Mahometans, better inſtructed, only laughed at the charge, which they transferred to the Jews. In the midſt of his diſſipation, however, Froiſſart early diſcovered the ardent and inquiſitive ſpirit to which we owe ſo much; and even at the age of twenty, at the command of his 'dear Lord and Maſter Sir Robert of Namur, Lord of Beaufort,' he began to write the hiſtory of the French wars. The period from 1326 to 1356, was chiefly filled up from the chronicles of Jean le Bel, canon of Liege, a confident of John of Hainault, and celebrated by Froiſſart for his diligence and accuracy. It is reaſonable to believe, that this work was interrupted during a journey to England, in the train of Philippa of Hainault, the heroic wife of Edward III, and mother of the Black Prince. Froiſſart was for three or four years ſecretary or clerk of her chamber; a ſituation which he would probably have retained, but for an ill-fated and deep-rooted paſſion for a lady of Flanders, which induced him to return to that country; a circumſtance equally favourable to the hiſtory of the Continent, and unfortunate for that of Britain. During his reſidence in England, he viſited our Scotiſh mountains, which he traverſed on a palfrey carrying his own portmanteau, and attended only by a greyhound.



* This, however, may be a miſtake, for any thing we know, of the worſhipful Lord Berners. We are uncertain if it occurs in Everard's edition of Froiſſart.

Notwithſtanding the ſimplicity of his equipment and retinue, his character of a poet and hiſtorian introduced him to the court of David II. and to the hardly leſs honourable diſtinction of fifteen days abode at the caſtle of Dalkeith with William Earl of Douglas, where he learned perſonally to know that race of heroes whoſe deeds he has repeatedly celebrated. After this he attended the Black Prince, then bound on his Spaniſh expedition againſt Henry the Baſtard; in which he would not, however, permit Froiſſart to accompany him, but ſent him back to attend his mother Queen Philippa.

In the year 1368, Froiſſart was preſent at the ſplendid nuptials of Lionel Duke of Clarence, ſon of Edward III., with Jolande of Milan. In his return he attended Lionel at the court of the Duke of Savoy, who gave our hiſtorian a ſplendid garment worth twenty florins. He boaſts in his poems of ſimilar favours from the king of Cyprus, and of having ſeen an emperor at the papal court. * While thus travelling from court to court, and from caſtle to caſtle, his train was gradually augmented by an attendant and hackney. The death of Philippa removed Froiſſart's deſire to return to England; but he ſtill kept up a friendly intercourſe with that court, and had prepared to ſend to King Edward a ſplendid copy of his Chronicle, when it was arreſted by the Duke of Anjou as deſtined to the enemy of France. At this time he had become curate of Leſtines in the dioceſe of Liege, where he ſays that the vintners had 500 francs of his money during a very ſhort time. It may be conjectured from this circumſtance, that *they* were more obliged to his attention than any of his other pariſhioners. He was probably ſoon convinced that it was better to drink at free coſt; for, previous to 1384, he became an attendant on the court of the Duke of Brabant, whom he aſſiſted in compoſing a ſort of poetical romance, called Meliador, or the Knight of the Golden Sun; and after the death of that prince, he attached himſelf to the Earl of Blois, who engaged him to reſume his hiſtorical labours. Accordingly, he ſeems now to have commenced the ſecond volume of his Chronicle, which was finiſhed about 1388, three years after the peace betwixt the Duke of Burgundy and the Citizens of Ghent, which is one of the laſt events recorded in that performance. About the ſame year, this active and inquiſitive hiſtorian made his celebrated viſit to Gaſton Earl of Foix, travelling in company with a gallant knight of that court called Eſpaing de Lyon. He has narrated the hiſtory of this journey with great *naiveté* and livelineſs. The inteſtine wars of France had raged in every

* Perhaps the Grecian Emperor Paleologus, who viſited Rome in 1369 to crave aſſiſtance againſt Mahomet.

every corner of the territories they were to traverſe: ſcarce a ſtream, a hill, or a paſs, but had been the diſtinguiſhed ſcene of obſtinate and bloody conflict. Froiſſart's curioſity was every moment awakened by ſome memorial of deeds of chivalry; and his courteous and communicative companion readily detailed events with which he was well acquainted, and many of which he had witneſſed. In conſideration of theſe lively narratives, the good-natured reader will eaſily pardon the minute information, that the two travellers lodged and took their eaſe at the ſign of the ſtar, and that they were viſited by the Chaſtellan of Malvoiſin, who brought with him four flaggons of the beſt wine our hiſtorian ever drank in his life. At length they arrived at the Earl of Foix's court of Ortez, where Froiſſart was courteouſly received and admitted as a member of his houſehold: 'I know you well,' ſaid the earl, 'although we have never ſeen each other.' This courteous prince not only deigned to accept a copy of the Romance of Meliador, containing the ſongs, ballads, roundeaux and virelays compiled and made by the gentle Duke of Brabant in his time, but he indulged Froiſſart in reading his compoſitions aloud: 'and every night after ſupper I read thereon to him, *and while I read there was none durſt ſpeak any word*, becauſe he would that I ſhould be well underſtood, wherein he took great ſolace.' The great virtue and nobleneſs of the Earl of Foix, the concourſe of valiant chivalry from every ſcene of glory who crowded his court, the long diſcourſes of arms and amours amongſt the noble dames, knights, pages and damſels, the tidings which daily arrived from every ſeat of war, and perhaps the patient audience afforded by the earl to our hiſtorian's recitations, induced him to prefer Ortez to every court he had ſeen, whether of king, duke, earl or great ladye. In truth the daily oriſons and almsgiving of that worthy prince, his bounty in gifts to heralds and minſtrels, his love of hounds, hawks and hunting, his eaſy and amorous converſation, his delight in arms, chivalry and lady's love, were far more than enough, in Froiſſart's eſtimation, to counterbalance the count's treacherous murder of his couſin, and his cutting with his own hands the throat of his only ſon who had moſt unreaſonably refuſed to eat his dinner. *

After

* Froiſſart expreſſes this laſt incident very delicately: 'And ſo in great diſpleaſure he thruſt his hand to his ſon's throat; and the point of the knife a little entered into his throat, into a certain vein; and the earl ſaid, "Ah, traitor, why doeſt not thou eat thy meat?" and therewith the earl departed, without any more doing or ſaying, and went

After a long ſojourn at the court of Ortez he returned to Flanders by the route of Avignon. We learn from a poem referred to by Mons. de Ste Palaye, that on this occaſion the hiſtorian, always in queſt of adventures, met a perſonal one with which he could have diſpenſed, being robbed of all the ready money which his travels had left him. We may hope this was no great ſum; for beſides the expence of tranſcribing his hiſtory, for which he anticipates his claim on the gratitude of poſterity, he had ſpent above 2000 francs among the tavern-keepers of Leſtines, as well as in his frequent journies, in which he takes care to tell us he was always handſomely dreſſed and well mounted, and above all made admirable cheer. After this ſad event, we find Froiſſart following the annunciation of every feaſt, bridal, or tournament from Avignon to Paris, from Paris to Hainault, to Holland, to Picardie, to Languedoc, to Valenciennes, &c. &c. &c. About the year 1390, having collected what appeared to him ſufficient materials, he ſettled in Flanders, and recommenced his hiſtory. Here, however, an interruption occurred highly evincing his zealous and impartial ſearch after truth. He bethought him, that in narrating the wars of Spain upon the ſole authority of the Spaniſh and Gaſcon warriors whom he had ſeen at Ortez, he could only give the ſtatement of the one party, contrary to his conſtant practice and indiſpenſable duty. It happened that a Portugueſe nobleman had juſt arrived in Zealand. Froiſſart inſtantly took ſhipping, joined him at Middleburg, inſinuated himſelf into the acquaintance of the ſtranger with an art that never failed him, and obtained from him a full account of the affairs of Portugal. After this interview, he is believed to have again viſited Rome, perhaps in ſearch of preferment; for we find him ſhortly afterwards deſigning himſelf canon and treaſurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, and expectant canon of Liſle. This laſt dignity he never attained.

In 1395, Froiſſart reviſited England; and at the ſhrine of Canterbury he ſaw Richard II., grandſon of his early patroneſs Philippa of Hainault. Edmond of York, brother to the Black Prince, received our hiſtorian graciouſly; and, patronized by that Prince, and by Thomas Percy, he was introduced to the royal preſence, which he thus deſcribes: 'I have delight to write this matter at length, to inform you of the truth; for I that

went into his own chamber. The child was abaſhed, and afraid of the comyng of his father, and alſo was feeble for faſting; *and the point of the knife a little entered into a vein of his throat;* ſo he fell down ſuddenly and died.' Vol. II. Berners' Froiſſart, cap. XXVI.

that am author of this hiſtory, was preſent in all theſe matters; and the valiant knight, Sir Richard Surry, ſhewed me every thing. And ſo it was, that, on the Sunday following, all ſuch as had been there were departed, and all their counſellors except the Duke of York, who abode ſtill about the king; and the Lord Thomas Percy and Sir Richard Surrey ſhewed my buſineſs to the king. Then the king deſired to ſee my book that I had brought for him. So he ſaw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there ready upon his bed. When the king opened it, it pleaſed him well; for it was fairly illuminated, and written and covered with crimſon velvet, with ten buttons of ſilver gilt, and roſes of gold in the midſt, with two great claſps gilt, richly wrought. Then the king demanded of me whereof it treated; and I ſhewed him how it treated of matters of love; whereof the king was glad, and looked in it, and read it in many places, for he could ſpeak and read French very well. And he took it to a knight of his chamber, named Sir Richard Credon, to bear it to his ſecret chamber.' Beſides the honourable reception of Froiſſart in England, he was much delighted with the ſociety of a certain ſquire who had been long priſoner in Ireland, through whom he became acquainted with the manners of the natives of that country, and with the hiſtory of Richard's expedition againſt them, all which information he has inſerted in the 4th volume of his Chronicle.

After a reſidence of three months, Froiſſart left England for ever, and, at his departure, received from the king a ſilver goblet containing a hundred nobles. He finally ſettled at his benefice of Chimay, and employed as uſual the hours of his leiſure in arranging and detailing the information collected in his travels. Four years brought him to 1399, when the melancholy fate of his benefactor Richard II. became the ſubject of his lateſt labours. With the credulity of his age, he tells us of a prophecy in the book of Brut preſaging this event, and of a favourite and cheriſhed greyhound who left the dethroned monarch to fawn on his ſucceſſor Bolingbroke. But he feelingly enumerates the different benefits he had received from Richard, and from his family; 'wherefore,' ſays the grateful hiſtorian, 'I am bound to write of his death with much ſorrow, and to pray to God for his ſoul.' It is uncertain how long Froiſſart ſurvived the death of Richard, and the concluſion of his Chronicle; he was then about ſixty years old, and died ſhortly after at Chimay, according to an entry in the obituary of the Chapter.

From this ſhort ſketch, by which we have endeavoured, in ſome meaſure, to ſupply a great omiſſion in Mr Johnes's tranſlation, our readers may gather ſome idea of the character of Froiſſart and his writings. He was no ſequeſtered monk, who from the

the depth of his cloiſter caſts a timid and inexperienced eye upon the tranſactions of mankind; ſtill leſs could he contract that ſpirit of prejudice and intereſted ſuperſtition which too often deface the writings of an aſcetic. Froiſſart, though a churchman, was, in every ſenſe, a man of the world, but actuated by a ſpirit of ardent inveſtigation, and breathing in every page the high ſpirit of chivalry imbibed in the courts and caſtles where he loved to dwell. He is ſuperſtitious according to the manner of his age, but it is the ſuperſtition of an ignorant ſoldier, who tells a wonderful ſtory merely becauſe he believes it true, or of a poet who loves the marvellous that excites his imagination, and not that of a monk whoſe intereſt either warps his own judgement or induces him to practiſe on the credulity of others. When he degenerates, therefore, into the marvellous, it is uſually in ſome ſuch romantic tale as that of the ſpirit who ſo long ſerved the Lord of Coraſſe, and brought him news of all that paſſed in foreign kingdoms, or of the wonderful bear which was hunted and ſlain by Sir Peter of Berne, after which he became a noctambuliſt, and by his midnight wanderings and gambols terrified his wife into a pilgrimage to St James of Compoſtella, from which ſhe declined to return to ſo unruly a bedfellow. But while we are ſometimes amuſed with theſe popular tales of terror, we are delivered from the dull and deliberate legends of ſaints and miracles with which the pages of the monkiſh hiſtorians are ſo unmercifully garniſhed. The curate of Leſtines, though a good Catholic, by no means piqued himſelf upon zeal for the church, that *ignis fatuus* which leads aſtray his contemporaries. Indeed, from the tenor of his life we think he may be ſafely truſted, when he aſſerts that he was prompted to his laborious taſk by the wiſh to record the deeds of chivalry which he loved, and to ſtigmatize with eternal ſhame the actions of the recreant or diſhonourable. He alſo had this very great advantage over contemporary hiſtorians, that, excepting the aſſiſtance derived from the Chronicle of Jean le Bel in compiling his firſt volume, his materials were drawn from original ſources. Not only the inferior knights and ſquires, but even the petty potentates at whoſe courts he reſided, communicated freely to him their actions and motives, and, by hearing both ſides, and comparing them together, he was uſually able to diſcover the truth, or at leaſt to ſtate to his readers in what the beſt authorities differed. As his chronicles were regularly written out, and preſented to his patrons during the intervals of his travels, he afforded to his contemporaries a ſure pledge of his veracity. For ſurely he would have been but ill adviſed, who, during the fourteenth century, would have forged a falſe tale upon the pretended averment of a feudal prince or baron who was yet alive to avenge the inſult while he corrected the error. Neither was

our

our hiſtorian remiſs in examining the written documents of the time. He has preſerved ſeveral leagues, letters, &c. and refers to many others; and the heralds to whom the tranſactions of diplomacy were then uſually committed, underwent many a cloſe examination from our indefatigable traveller. Above all, we muſt allow Froiſſart the praiſe of the moſt unblemiſhed impartiality, in ſpite of the peeviſh impeachment of Bodin, Brantome, and moſt of the French writers. It is true, it would have been difficult to narrate the victories of Creſſy and Poitiers, without wounding the national vanity of France; but if Froiſſart was patronized by Queen Philippa, he was alſo admitted a member of the houſehold of King John of France; if he was the familiar friend of Percy, he had been the gueſt of Douglas; if he admired the Black Prince, he admired equally Bertrand du Gueſclin; and if a diſtinction can be made, his natural generoſity ſeems rather to have inclined towards the ſide of the French chivalry, who, by individual valour, and the moſt generous ſelf-devotion, ſtruggled to ſupport, in an overwhelming tempeſt, the throne of their monarchs and the independence of their country. The tranſactions in his own country were comparatively too inſignificant to bias his integrity, though he always ſpeaks with warmth and pride of the race and arms of Hainault. Laſtly, let it be remembered, that if a part of his chronicle was compoſed at the requeſt of the Count of Namur, the ally of England, he was induced to continue it by the Earl of Blois, the ſteady friend of France. In the latter caſe, he thus anticipates and repels the accuſation of being ſwayed by the prejudices of his patron. 'Let it not be ſaid that I have been corrupted by the favours of Guy Count of Blois, who cauſed me write this work, and has paid me for it liberally----Nay, truly! I will not ſpeak ſave the downright truth, without colour or favour; and it is the will alſo of the gentle Prince and Earl that I ſhould record only the very fact.'

It remains to notice the defective points in this celebrated work. Formed upon a variety of detached converſations, the Chronicle contains a maſs of information, more or leſs accurate, concerning almoſt every country in Europe, and upon every ſpecies of tranſaction civil and military, from the attack and defence of a fortreſs to the ordering of a feſtive banquet. But it muſt be owned that this information is ſtrangely and confuſedly piled together; and it oftener happens to the man who has recourſe to Froiſſart's authority, that he lights unexpectedly upon ſomething curious and valuable, which he was not looking for, than that he is able to find the information which he wiſhed to obtain. Froiſſart wrote with the haſte of a traveller, and with the ardent impetuoſity of a mind too much engroſſed with the immediate narrative, to think of

what had gone before, or of what was to follow after. We have, ſays Monſieur de Ste Palaye, lively deſcriptions of tumultuous meetings of warriors, of all ages, kindreds and languages: the riotous banquet is protracted late into the night; while each, in emulation of his companions, details what he has ſeen, heard or acted; and the fatigued traveller throws the lively but confuſed dialogue upon paper ere he retires to reſt. It is alſo neceſſary to obſerve, that the events are often inſerted not in the order in which they took place, but in that in which they came to Froiſſart's knowledge, to the utter confuſion of all chronology. Nay, ſometimes when an event has been already told in its regular order, as the battle of Aljubarotta in Spain, the hiſtorian, having afterwards acquired new lights on the ſubject from a different quarter, is not at the pains to new-model the whole narration, but thruſts his ſecond edition into the middle of whatever he was writing when he heard it, and leaves the gentle reader to compare and reconcile the accounts as he beſt may. In this reſpect, his ſplendid work may be likened to a piece of ancient tapeſtry full of knights, ladies, caſtles, tilts, tournaments, battles and pageants, but preſenting to the eye no regular or uniform picture. It muſt be alſo admitted, that if Froiſſart was unfettered by the prejudices and ſuperſtition of the cloiſter, he was ſtrongly imbued with the romantic ſpirit peculiar to his age. Hence, his credulity muſt have frequently been impoſed on by thoſe who were willing to ſatisfy with a marvellous tale the wandering prieſt's eager thirſt after information; and hence too, himſelf a poet, we may be permitted to ſuppoſe him partial to that edition of a ſtory which produced the higheſt effect, and rather unwilling too narrowly to queſtion the preciſe truth of the chivalrous narrations which he eſteemed ſo delicious. There is much room to ſuſpect that the ſtory of the ſelf-devoted burghers of Calais received its higher and more romantic colouring from Froiſſart (See p. 267, Note); and our accurate countryman, Lord Hailes, has proved that Froiſſart erred in placing Queen Philippa at the head of the Engliſh army at the battle of Nevil's-croſs, in which David II. of Scotland was routed and made priſoner (p. 347. Note). We may add to his Lordſhip's argument, that Laurence Minot, a court-poet of the day, would not have omitted ſo favourable a ſubject of panygeric in his poem on that engagement.

It remains to examine the merits of the preſent tranſlation, which will perhaps be beſt accompliſhed by pointing out in what it excels or falls ſhort of that which was executed by Lord Berners. In one reſpect, the tranſlators are in a ſimilar ſituation, being both, we believe, ſoldiers, and both above that rank of fortune which is uſually the ſtation of literary adventurers. John Bourchier,

Bourchier, lord of Berners, was chancellor of the exchequer, and governor of Calais during the reign of Henry VIII., and had the ſingular good fortune to retain the precarious favour of his jealous maſter, although he was at once a man of talents, and deſcended from the Plantagenets. He died at Calais about 1532. His tranſlation of Froiſſart was executed at the command of Henry himſelf, and may be ſuppoſed to mark a dawning taſte for the Engliſh language at the court of that monarch. In the reign of Henry VII. the tranſlation of French romances had juſt commenced. Lord Berners's verſion of Froiſſart was publiſhed by Pynſon in 1523. It is written in the pure and nervous Engliſh of that early period, and deſerves to be carefully conſulted by the philologiſt. In one reſpect, the old baron muſt be allowed to poſſeſs an infinite advantage over Mr Johnes. He lived when the ideas of chivalry yet exiſted, and when its appropriate language was yet ſpoken among his readers; ſo that he was enabled to tranſlate the converſation of Froiſſart's knights and nobles by the correſponding expreſſions in Engliſh which he, himſelf a knight and noble, daily uſed and heard at the court of Henry. Mr Johnes, on the other hand, has undertaken the very difficult and hazardous taſk of tranſlating the French expreſſions of chivalry into what is, with reſpect to the ordinary communications of life, a dialect abſolutely extinct: for it muſt be obvious, that Froiſſart can no more be rendered with truth and effect into modern Engliſh, than Lord Berners could be introduced in the preſent drawing-room in his buff-coat, ſlaſhed ſleeves, and trunk hoſe. In deſcribing the war-cry of 'A Douglas, a Douglas!' the tranſlator renders it 'Douglas *for ever!*' by which the *enſenzie* of a feudal chieftain is degraded into the ſhout of a mob. We fear alſo that Mr Johnes is deficient in a very important part of Froiſſart's language, that which relates to heraldry. The arms of Douglas are deſcribed (p. 32.) as 'argent on a chef argent,' which it is impoſſible to blazon. In p. 201, they are rightly given, 'Argent a chief azure;' but he has omitted 'three ſtars gules on the chief,' as mentioned by Froiſſart, edit. 1559, p. 95.

We proceed to compare the tranſlations in the following intereſting paſſage, reducing the orthography of Lord Berners, which is extremely vague, to nearly the modern ſtandard. The ſubject is the battle of Creſſy; and the hiſtorian has already deſcribed, in the moſt lively colours, the diſorder in which the French multitude came pouring on the ſmall, but compact and well-ordered hoſt of England.

'When the French king ſaw the Engliſhmen, his blood changed, and (he) ſaid to his marſhalls, "Make the Genoeſe go on before, and begin the battle in the name of God and St Denis." There were of the Genoeſe croſs-bows about a fifteen thouſand,

but they were ſo weary of going a-foot that day, a ſix leagues, armed with their croſs-bows, that they ſaid to their conſtables, "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the caſe to do any great deed of arms; we have more need of reſt." Theſe words came to the Earl of Alençon, who ſaid, "A man is well at eaſe to be charged with ſuch a ſort of raſcals, to be faint and fail now at moſt need." Alſo, the ſame ſeaſon, there fell a great rain and an eclipſe, with a terrible thunder; and before the rain, there came flying over the battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempeſt coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the ſun to ſhine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmens' eyen, and on the Engliſhmens' back. When the Genoeſe were aſſembled together, and began to approach, they made a great leape and cry, to abaſhe the Engliſhmen; but they ſtood ſtill, and ſtirred not for all that. Then the Genoeſe again the ſecond time made another leape and a fell cry, and ſtepped forwafd a little; and the Engliſhmen removed not one foot. Thirdly again, they leaped and cryed, and went forth till they came within ſhot; then they ſhot fiercely with their croſs-bows. Then the Engliſh archers ſtepped forth one pace, and lette fly their arrows ſo wholly and thick that it ſeemed ſnow. When the Genoeſe felt the arrows piercing through heads and arms and breaſts, many of them caſt down their croſs-bows, and did cut their ſtrings, and returned diſcomfited. When the French king ſaw them flee away, he ſaid, "Slay theſe raſcals, for they ſhall let and trouble us without reaſon." Then ye ſhould have ſeen the men-at-arms daſh in among them, and killed a great number of them, and ever ſtill the Engliſhmen ſhot where as they ſaw the thickeſt preſs; the ſharp arrows ran into the men-at-arms and into their horſes; and many fell horſe and men among the Genoeſe; and when they were down, they could not relieve again, the preſs was ſo thick that one overthrew another. And alſo, among the Engliſhmen, there were certain raſcals that went on foot with great knives, and they went in among the men-at-arms, and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights and ſquires, whereof the King of England was after diſpleaſed, for he had rather they had been taken priſoners.

This remarkable paſſage is thus rendered by Mr Johnes.

'You muſt know, that theſe kings, dukes, earls, barons and lords of France, did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way moſt pleaſing to themſelves. As ſoon as the king of France came in ſight of the Engliſh, his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his marſhals, "Order the Genoeſe forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St Denis."

These

'There were about fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day ſix leagues, completely armed, and with their croſs-bows.

'They told the conſtable, they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The earl of Alençon, hearing this, ſaid, "This is what one gets by employing ſuch ſcoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them."

'During this time, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipſe of the ſun; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all thoſe battalions, making a loud noiſe. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and the ſun ſhone very bright; but the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the Engliſh in their backs.

'When the Genoeſe were ſomewhat in order, and approached the Engliſh, they ſet up a loud ſhout, in order to frighten them; but they remained quite ſtill, and did not ſeem to attend to it. They then ſet up a ſecond ſhout, and advanced a little forward; but the Engliſh never moved. They hooted a third time, advancing with their croſs-bows preſented, and began to ſhoot. The Engliſh archers then advanced one ſtep forward, and ſhot their arrows with ſuch force and quickneſs, that it ſeemed as if it ſnowed.

'When the Genoeſe felt theſe arrows, which pierced their arms, heads, and through their armour, ſome of them cut the ſtrings of their croſs-bows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about, and retreated, quite diſcomfited. The French had a large body of men at arms on horſeback, richly dreſſed, to ſupport the Genoeſe.

'The king of France, ſeeing them thus fall back, cried out, "Kill me thoſe ſcoundrels; for they ſtop up our road, without any reaſon." You would then have ſeen the above mentioned men at arms lay about them, killing all they could of theſe runaways.

'The Engliſh continued ſhooting as vigorouſly and quickly as before; ſome of their arrows fell among the horſemen, who were ſumptuouſly equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoeſe, ſo that they were in ſuch confuſion they could never rally again. In the Engliſh army there were ſome Corniſh and Welſhmen on foot, who had armed themſelves with large knives: theſe, advancing through the ranks of the men at arms and archers, who made way for them, came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon earls, barons, knights and ſquires, ſlew many, at which the king of England was afterwards much exaſperated.' p. 324. 325.

Upon the mere point of ſtyle in this paſſage, we are of opinion that the ancient tranſlator has conſiderably the advantage. In deſcribing the ſhouts with which the Genoeſe endeavoured to ſuſtain their own dubious courage, and appal their enemies, contraſted with the obſtinate and ominous ſilence of the Engliſh, the words of Lord Berners are not only better choſen, but the ſentences are better arranged, and convey a more lively picture to the eye. On the other hand, the modern tranſlation is more accurate, mentioning

mentioning the original purpose of the body of men-at-arms * by whom the Genoese were to have been supported, but who in the end trampled them down, and the country of the light infantry who were mingled among the English archers and cavalry. †

We give another example of the language of the two translations, in the celebrated answer of Edward. 'They with the prince sent a messanger to the kynge, who was on a little windmill-hill: than the knight said to the king, "Sir, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of *Camfort*, Sir Reynold Cobham, and other such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado. Then the king said, "Is my son dead or hurt, or on the earth felled?"—"No, Sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid."—"Well," said the king, "return to him, and to those that sent you hither, and say to them, that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth so long as my son is alive; and also say to them, that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this *journee* be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him."

Mr Johnes's version runs thus—

'The first division, seeing the danger they were in, sent a knight * in great haste to the king of England, who was posted upon an eminence, near a windmill. On the knight's arrival, he said, "Sir, the earl of Warwick, the lord Stafford, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your son are vigorously attacked by the French; and they intreat that you would come to their assistance with your battalion, for, if their numbers should increase, they fear he will have too much to do."

'The king replied: "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded, that he cannot support himself?" "Nothing of the sort, thank God," rejoined the knight, "but he is in so hot an engagement, that he has great need of your help." The king answered, "Now, sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me, not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what will

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* Denis Sauvage's edition bears that this body of cavalry was English; but we presume Mr Johnes followed a better authority. The Black Prince's men-at-arms were in the rear of the archers.

† Berners calls them 'rascals,' Mr Johnes 'Cornish and Welchmen.' Froissart seems to give them both characters, '*pillars et bidaux, Gallois et Cornuaillois.*' The slaughter must have been greatly increased by these irregular troops; for the dismounted knights were usually unable to rise, from the weight of their armour.

* Sir Thomas Norwich.—MSS.

will happen, as long as my son has life; and say, that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honour of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have entrusted him." p. 327.

In this passage also, we may remark a sort of flatness in the modern version. For example, '*so hot an engagement*' does not convey quite the idea of 'so hardly matched,' nor does it well express '*il est en dur parti d'armes*,' which implies personal conflict as well as presence in a battle. Upon the whole, there is a sort of amplification, perhaps unavoidable in modern language, which sounds tamer and less like the tone of chivalry than that employed by Lord Berners. In short, the Chronicle is as it were neatly bound in calf extra; nay the leaves, back and edges are gilt; but it wants the massy garniture of antique clasps, gilt knosps, and silver roses, which add to the dignity of Lord Berners's version.

Although the style of Mr Johnes is unquestionably inferior to Lord Berners, and although it is occasionally degraded by such quaint expressions as *sheering off, making off, shewing their heels*, and the like, we cannot but bestow high commendation on the fidelity and attention with which the task of translation has been executed. In a historical point of view, there can be no comparison betwixt the usefulness of Mr Johnes's version and Lord Berners's, as the latter has not only failed to correct the errors of Froissart as to proper names of persons and places, but has deplorably aggravated them. The Earl of Stamford, to recur to the passage last quoted, is in Froissart called le Compte D'Estanfort, and in Berners's hands he becomes Camfort. Mr Johnes, on the contrary, though his notes are not numerous, has bestowed laudable diligence in correcting the text of his author; has left few blunders, and we trust has made none. The opportunity of comparing so many various manuscripts has doubtless tended much to reform the text, and we do not venture to offer criticism where we have not an opportunity of seeing the original authorities. It might be worth Mr Johnes's while to consult the splendid manuscript of Froissart, formerly belonging to the Conventual Library of Newbottle, and now to the Earl of Ancram.

Engravings from many rare and curious illuminations are given in this volume. They present to us the dresses, costume and manners of Froissart's heroes, and add greatly to the interest of the publication.

After all, it may occur to our readers, that an edition of Lord Berners's translation, reduced to a systematic orthography, and corrected and enlarged where correction and enlargement was necessary, might have superseded the labours of Mr Johnes, and, at the same time, have preserved an ancient English classic. But we are more disposed to be grateful for what may be considered

as a free gift made to the public, than ſtrictly to examine how far it might have been made more acceptable. If the Hafod preſs performs what is incumbent on that of Clarendon, the founder is ſurely entitled to chooſe betwixt the character of a tranſlator and editor; and while, as a private individual, he diſcharges at his own expence a public duty, we willingly ſay, God ſpeed his labours.

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ART. VIII. *Memoires ſur la Reſpiration, par Lazare Spallanzani.* Traduits en Français d'après ſon manuſcript inédit, par Jean Senebier, Membre de diverſes Académies et Sociétés ſavantes, Aſſocié correſpondant de l'Inſtitut National, et Bibliothécaire à Genève. 8vo. A Genève, chez J. J. Pachaud, An XI, (1803.) pp. 373.

THIS work ſeems entitled to attention, both from the importance of the ſubject and the celebrity of the author. Few of the modern phyſiologiſts of Italy are ſo well known in this iſland as Lazarus Spallanzani. The novelty of his phyſiological inquiries, the ingenuity of his experimental reſearches, and the unwearied perſeverance with which he inveſtigated the moſt minute circumſtances connected with them, have given to moſt of his works the reputation of originality and uncommon accuracy. Some of his diſcoveries, indeed, were ſo unexpected, and ſo contrary to analogy, that they were at firſt received with very general diſtruſt; and, by detailing again and again the ſame experiment under circumſtances but ſlightly varied, he frequently carries his deſire of extreme preciſion ſo far as to become prolix and fatiguing. This, however, is a fault which will meet with a ready excuſe from all lovers of ſcience; at leaſt, we have much oftener had occaſion to lament an injudicious conciſeneſs, which has limited the utility of experimental inquiries, by ſuppreſſing circumſtances which, although at the time they ſeemed unimportant, afterwards have become of the greateſt conſequence when connected with ſubſequent diſcoveries or opinions.

To theſe poſthumous memoirs, Senebier has with great propriety prefixed an hiſtorical account of the life and writings of their author. Although, from its extreme partiality, it can lay no claim to biographical excellence, it is not without its utility as a record of facts and dates.

Lazarus Spallanzani was born at Scandiano, in the dutchy of Modena, on the 10th January 1729. At the age of fifteen he went to Reggio, where, under the tuition of the Jeſuits, his progreſs in belles-lettres was ſo rapid, that he became an object of attention to the Dominicans, who endeavoured to entice him to enter their order; but, fortunately, his thirſt for knowledge led him

him to Bologna, where his relation Laura Baſſi, deſervedly celebrated for her genius, her eloquence, and her mathematical knowledge, was profeſſor in the Inſtitute. By her he was taught the valuable leſſon of preferring the ſtudy of nature to that of its commentators, and to judge of the latter by comparing them with the former. But notwithſtanding his attachment to belles-lettres and natural philoſophy, in compliance with the wiſhes of his father he ſubmitted to the drudgery of ſtudying law, and was about to take his degree, when his countryman Anthony Valiſnieri, profeſſor of natural hiſtory in Padua, interpoſed, and he was permitted to follow the bent of his genius. In 1754 he was choſen profeſſor of Greek, Logic and Mathematics, in the univerſity of Reggio; and notwithſtanding the duties of this multifarious charge, he began his experiments on infuſory animals with ſo much ſucceſs, as to attract the notice of Haller and Bonnet, the latter of whom, eſpecially, contributed much to confirm his taſte for natural hiſtory. In 1760 he accepted a chair in the univerſity of Modena, although he had received more advantageous offers from Coimbra, Parma and Ceſena; and ſome years afterwards he rejected overtures from the Academy of Peterſburg. His patriotiſm, however, yielded to the ſeducing advances of the Empreſs Maria Thereſa, who appointed him, in 1768, profeſſor of Natural Hiſtory, and keeper of the Muſeum in her newly reeſtabliſhed and much favoured Univerſity of Pavia. On the death of Valiſnieri he was offered his chair at Padua; but the government of Lombardy thought proper to bribe him to remain, by doubling his ſalary, and allowing him to travel to Conſtantinople. After the conqueſt of Italy by the French, he was offered the chair of Natural Hiſtory at Paris, which he declined on account of his advanced period of life. He died at Pavia in conſequence of a ſuppreſſion of urine, on the 3d of February 1799.

Such are the outlines of the life of this celebrated naturaliſt, whoſe talents and amiable qualities, if we were to give implicit faith to the repreſentations of his friend, were of the very higheſt order of excellence. Of his merits as a philoſopher and as an author, his numerous publications afford a ſafer criterion. He has not only contributed to increaſe our knowledge of the important functions of generation, digeſtion and circulation, but an immenſe variety of minor objects have received illuſtrations from his ingenuity. His mind ſeems to have been always uncommonly active; for no ſooner were his annual academical labours at an end, than he haſtened to explore ſome of the diſtricts of Italy, principally with the view of enriching the muſeum of Pavia; and the publiſhed accounts of ſeveral of theſe excurſions are undeniable proofs of his zeal and talents for obſervation. Even to the

lateſt period of his life, he ſeems to have kept pace with the progreſs of ſcience. At the age of 68, he refuted with ſucceſs the celebrated experiments of Goettling, and publiſhed an account of the ſtill more celebrated ſhower of ſtones at Sienna; and at the time of his death he was engaged in preparing ſeveral works for the preſs, and in completing a well-imagined and very extenſive inquiry into the complicated phenomena of reſpiration. His ſtyle of writing is diffuſe and verboſe, and he is apt on every occaſion to exaggerate the importance of his own obſervations and diſcoveries. As an Italian, however, theſe blemiſhes are his birthright; and, by his countrymen, his works are eſteemed as models of pure and chaſte compoſition. In the chair he was animated and eloquent beyond any profeſſor to whom we have ever liſtened; and the elegance of his language, and the varied modulation of his voice, always commanded attention. In the diſtribution of his ſubject, he chiefly followed Bonnet; and his manner was diffuſe and popular, rather than condenſed and ſyſtematic; ſo that he occupied three ſeſſions in completing one courſe. His eloquence always filled his claſs-room; yet, as far as we could judge, he was not a favourite either with his colleagues or his pupils. His conduct in a diſpute with Scopoli, which is ſaid to have broken his rival's heart, was almoſt univerſally reprobated. In his latter days, he was accuſed, we believe unjuſtly, of dilapidating that muſeum which owed its magnificence to his enthuſiaſm, and was reproached with a want of ſyſtematic knowledge of the very ſcience which he was appointed to teach. But although, with regard to Spallanzani, the old adage 'Minuit præſentia famam' was ſtrictly true, we are rather inclined to aſcribe it to the malice of envy, than to any real deficiency of merit; and it is with pleaſure that we proceed to the examination of the preſent poſthumous volume.

On opening the book, we were immediately ſtruck with the title-page, and haſtened to peruſe the preface, that we might learn why the literary relics of the eloquent profeſſor of Pavia ſhould be firſt introduced to the public through the medium of a French tranſlation. It was not without ſome indignation or regret that we learned, that in the preſent circumſtances of Italy, a ſmall octavo volume, from one of its moſt celebrated writers, could not be publiſhed in his native language without a certain loſs to the editor. To what a ſtate of degrading poverty muſt that fair country be reduced! How completely muſt ſcience be baniſhed from its once favoured abode! It may perhaps afford our readers ſome conſolation, however, to be informed, that theſe evils were brought upon their country by the very individuals who are now moſt ſeverely oppreſſed by them. The recent ſubjugation of Italy was effected rather by the

the treachery of the inhabitants, than by the arms of the
vaders; and in this treachery no claſs was more deeply invol
than the men of letters. In the univerſity of Pavia, in parti
lar, very few of the profeſſors remained true to their allegian
or attempted to oppoſe the progreſs of revolutionary principl
the greater part affected an abſolute indifference towards eve
which were to decide the fate of their country; while m
took advantage of the influence they poſſeſſed over the mi
of the youth committed to their charge, to excite them to a
of violence, which they themſelves did not dare to perfor
but of which they expected to reap the advantage. The
tural conſequence was, that almoſt every ſtudent in Pavia h
ed the approach of the French as an incalculable bleſſing
his country; and in his ardent imagination already beh
Italy regenerated, the grandeur of republican Rome reſtor
and perſonal merit the only ſource of diſtinction. The inf
Ciſalpine republick teemed with embryo heroes, legiſlators a
philoſophers. But, alas, its heroes have only ſwelled the
mies of its conquerors; the wiſeſt plans of its legiſlators h
been rejected with contempt; and the works of its philoſoph
are forced to ſeek their way to public notice through the n
dium of a foreign language.

For three years before his death, Spallanzani had been engag
in an extenſive experimental inquiry into the function of reſpi
tion; and he was ſo far advanced in it, that, in a letter addr
ed to Senebier, and prefixed to the preſent work, he has gi
a general abſtract of the whole. Beſides, in an introduct
of conſiderable length, he not only developes his plan, b
amidſt a number of judicious and new remarks on the reſpi
tion of the different claſſes of animals, he has given us
general reſults of his inquiries. The principal objects wh
he propoſed to himſelf were to inveſtigate,

1. The reſpiration of the ſix claſſes of animals, beginni
with the loweſt, and proceeding in ſucceſſion to the higheſt,
mammalia, in which man is included.

2. The reſpiration of thoſe animals which become torpid fr
the action of cold.

3. The chemical changes induced on the air by the ſkins
thoſe animals which are deſtitute of lungs.

4. The changes which are produced by dead animal mat
on air in which it is confined.

In proſecution of this plan, Spallanzani had completed four r
moirs before his death, but Senebier only received the three wh
are printed in this volume; on the reſpiration of the terreſt
teſtacea; of ſlugs; and of the aquatic teſtacea. But they c

tain a number of other facts, which will enable us to conjecture with great probability what the reſults of his inquiries would have been, had he lived to complete them. The idea of examining the reſpiration of the different claſſes of animals is not new, but it has never before been carried ſo ſyſtematically into effect. The only chemiſt who has anticipated Spallanzani in examining the reſpiration of any of the Vermes, is Vauquelin. He found reaſon to conclude that the reſpiration of oxygen gas is neceſſary to their life; that carbonic acid is formed; that they are inſenſible to its deleterious action; and that they analyze perfectly and completely atmoſpheric air, by conſuming all its oxygen. All theſe concluſions are confirmed by the experiments of Spallanzani, except the laſt; for he clearly proves, that in almoſt every inſtance a proportion of azote is alſo abſorbed, and that the whole of the oxygen is not always conſumed. The ſubjects of his experiments were, in the firſt place, the Helix nemoralis. This ſnail is of two ſexes, and is oviparous. From October to April it remains in a lethargic ſtate, buried in the earth, with its ſhell hermetically ſealed up by a calcareous membrane. In ſome very ſevere winters, ſuch as that of 1795, it has been found completely frozen, and yet has revived on being expoſed to a mild temperature. Its organs of reſpiration conſiſt of a ſmall membranous bladder, which communicates with the external air by means of a ſmall hole which the animal ſeems to open and ſhut at pleaſure. The heart is ſituated ſo as to be expoſed to the immediate action of the air contained in the pulmonary veſicle. The abſolute neceſſity of air for their exiſtence is proved, not only by their dying when confined in the exhauſted receiver of an air-pump, or when immerſed in water, but by confining them in 100 meaſures of atmoſpherical air until they periſhed. On analyſis, Spallanzani found that about 18 parts of oxygen and 5 of azote were abſorbed, while 6.5 of carbonic acid gas were produced. On confining them only half the time neceſſary to kill them, 18 of oxygen and 5 of azote were conſumed, and 4.5 of carbonic acid were produced. When confined equal times in atmoſpheric air and in oxygen gas, in the former caſe 20 of oxygen and 4 of azote were conſumed, and 6 of carbonic acid gas produced; in the latter 38 of oxygen gas were conſumed, and 14 of carbonic acid gas produced. Theſe changes, as well as the death of the animal, take place more ſlowly as the temperature is diminiſhed; until, at laſt, about the freezing point they ceaſe altogether, and both reſpiration and circulation ſeem to be ſuſpended, although they are ſtill capable of being revived, by gradually increaſing the temperature. Spallanzani therefore thinks it highly probable, that during their winter lethargy both theſe functions

are

are entirely suspended. But our author did not rest satisfied with merely ascertaining the changes produced on these gaseous fluids by the living animal; he was aware of the absolute necessity of examining into the effects produced on them by the dead animal, before he could be warranted to draw any conclusion with regard to the share which respiration and life may have in producing these changes; and the result of his inquiries affords an useful lesson to those engaged in physiological experiments, not to be too hasty in drawing conclusions; for he found that these changes on atmospheric air and oxygen gas, at least so far as the consumption of oxygen and the production of carbonic acid gas was concerned, were also produced by snails when deprived of life by immersion in boiling water, by snails in every stage of putrefaction, and even by their shells, until they were reduced to mere carbonate of lime. For example, two snails killed by boiling water, consumed in twenty-four hours 9 parts of oxygen gas out of 100 of atmospheric air, and produced 6 of carbonic acid, and 5 of azote. But he also found that the dead snails were four times longer than the living in producing the same consumption of oxygen. Now, as these changes are totally independent of life and respiration, it seems probable, that when living snails are confined in respirable gases, part of the oxygen is consumed independently of respiration.

The same experiments were repeated, with exactly the same results, on the Helix Lusitanica and Helix Itala. A long tract of dry weather in summer, such as frequently occurs in Lombardy during the months of July and August, produces the same effect on snails as the cold of winter. They retire to some shady situation, and seal up their shells; and during this long fast, they become even more emaciated than in winter. On reviving, they eat with great greediness. Spallanzani took advantage of this circumstance to make comparative experiments between snails starved and after a full meal; and in corroboration of the experiments of Lavoisier, he found that although the consumption of oxygen gas was nearly the same, the production of carbonic acid gas was much greater, and the consumption of azote somewhat less in the latter case. In all the experiments on living snails, oxygen gas was consumed, and carbonic acid gas produced: but the same uniformity did not take place with regard to the azote; for although, in general, a portion of it was consumed, yet sometimes, on the contrary, there was a production of it, especially after a full meal devoured with great greediness, or when the animal was moribund.

Several species of *slugs* were the next subjects of Spallanzani's experiments, and they afford nearly the same conclusions. They absorb

niſh with ſpirits of wine; the reaſon of which is evident, as, by means of this varniſh, they are not only prevented from abſorbing the oxygen, but rendered incapable of exhaling the carbonic acid, the expulſion of which ſeems equally eſſential to the continuance of their exiſtence; whilſt, on the contrary, if the experiment be made in mephitic gaſes, the carbonic acid is always found in a gaſeous ſtate.

'I have been able, however, to determine the preciſe quantity of oxygen abſorbed by the ſkin, without cutting out the lungs from theſe amphibia, by confining their bodies in recipients in ſuch a manner that, while the head alone had any communication with the external air, they could breathe without pain or difficulty. In this way, I aſcertained that the abſorption which takes place after the death of the animals, is only a continuation of that which was carried on during their life.' p. 76-8.

After obſerving that oxygen was abſorbed in the ſame way by the external ſurface of birds and warm-blooded animals, he proceeds to ſum up the doctrine by the following experiments and obſervations.

'As the circumſtance was ſomewhat curious, you may perhaps recollect my marmot, which became ſo extremely torpid during the rigorous winter of 1795. I kept this animal, at that period, four hours in carbonic acid gas, the thermometer marking 12°; yet it continued to live in this gas, which is ſo very deleterious that a bird and a rat which I expoſed to its influence at the ſame time periſhed inſtantaneouſly. It appears, then, that a total ſuſpenſion of reſpiration had taken place during the whole of that period. The ſame experiment was repeated on a bat equally lethargic, with a ſimilar reſult.

'In purſuing ſtill farther my experiments, I preferred theſe flying quadrupeds to the marmot, afraid that this animal might ſink under repeated trials; and I had only two, which I wiſhed to reſerve for other experiments; whilſt, on the contrary, I poſſeſſed a great number of bats.

'I firſt wiſhed to aſcertain if, when reſpiration was ſuſpended in theſe animals, there would be any production of carbonic acid from the ſkin; for which purpoſe I ſubſtituted azotic for carbonic acid gas. I then placed in this gas two bats, the thermometer ſtanding at 9°, and allowed them to remain in it about two hours; after which I gradually removed them into a warmer medium, when they exhibited evident ſigns of life; but I could diſcover no carbonic acid gas in the azotic gas, from which I was led to conclude that the temperature was too low for the exhalation of this gas. I repeated theſe experiments at different temperatures ſucceſſively raiſed to 3½°, when $\frac{5}{100}$ of carbonic acid gas were produced, although the torpidity of the animals was equally great.

'In this ſtate of things I repeated the experiments under ſimilar circumſtances, only removing the bats into another veſſel filled with atmoſpheric air; when I found not only the production of 5½ hundredths of

animals are preciſely ſimilar to that of the lower claſſes; and from both facts, a very powerful and apparently incontrovertible argument may be deduced againſt the hypotheſis, that life depends altogether on the continued exhibition of ſtimulants.

As oxygen gas is conſumed, and carbonic acid gas formed during reſpiration, it becomes of importance to know, whether the latter is formed in the act of reſpiration by the combination of carbon evolved from the lungs with the oxygen inſpired. To determine this point, Spallanzani took advantage of the fact which he had obſerved, that ſnails are capable of ſurviving ſome hours when confined in the irreſpirable gaſes. He accordingly confined ſnails, choſen in every reſpect as ſimilar as poſſible, in atmoſpheric air, in azotic and in hydrogen gas; and he found that in general there was a larger quantity of carbonic acid gas produced in the azotic and hydrogen gaſes than in the atmoſpheric air, proving that the carbonic acid, in theſe inſtances at leaſt, is not formed by the combination of carbon with the oxygen of the ambient air, but that it exiſted ready formed in the animal matter. Reſults affording the ſame concluſion were obtained in experiments made with ſnails deprived of life by immerſion in boiling water.

Although theſe Memoirs treat profeſſedly only of the reſpiration of a few of the loweſt claſſes of animals, yet we have ſeen that they contain ſeveral intereſting facts on the reſpiration of animals rendered lethargic by cold. We are likewiſe enabled to draw ſome concluſions with regard to the third object of Spallanzani's inquiry, from the information regarding it communicated in the prefatory letter to Senebier. We quote a part of it from an Engliſh tranſlation, as a ſpecimen of the author's manner.

'The amphibia after death diſplayed the ſame phenomena as the worms, inſects, and fiſhes; but when alive, they preſented other ſubjects of inquiry. Having obſerved that ſome of them ſurvived the deſtruction of their lungs ſeveral days, I was enabled to ſubmit them in this ſtate to examination, and thus to aſcertain with preciſion the different quantity of oxygen abſorbed by the lungs and the ſkin. I was likewiſe enabled to inſtitute a compariſon between the quantity of oxygen abſorbed by theſe mutilated animals, and by thoſe which had not undergone this operation.

'You will ſee, in my work, what a ſmall quantity of oxygen is abſorbed by the lungs, in proportion to that taken in by the ſkin; although it is generally believed that in this, as well as in the two higher claſſes of animals, the deſtruction of the oxygen contained in the atmoſphere is attributable to that organ alone. Some ſpecies of amphibia, from which I cut out the lungs, lived even longer in free air than thoſe which were not deprived of this organ when confined in mephitic gas, or air wholly deſtitute of oxygen. I diſcovered, farther, that ſome of them died much ſooner when their ſkin was ſlightly covered by a varniſh

ART. IX. *An account of the Operations carried on for accomplishing a Trigonometrical Survey of England and Wales; begun under the Direction of the Royal Society, and continued by order of the Honourable Board of Ordnance.* Revised from the Philosophical Transactions by Captain William Mudge F. R. S. and Mr Isaac Dalby. Printed for W. Faden, Charing-Cross. Vol. I. 1799. Vol. II. 1801, 1804.

THE work here announced is composed of papers read at different periods in the Royal Society of London, since the commencement of the Trigonometrical Survey in 1784, down to the present time. As the interest excited by that survey, created an unusual demand for the volumes of the Philosophical Transactions in which the accounts of it were contained, the publisher of this work thought he would do a thing useful to science, and acceptable to the public, by collecting all these accounts into one. In this he has had the assistance of the Royal Society, and has been furnished with the plates already engraved for the Transactions; an indulgence, of which he has made a very fair use, by selling the book at a lower price than the elegance of the work and the number of the plates might have entitled him to demand.

The first volume of the Trigonometrical Survey was published in 1799; and it is only the second part of the second volume, which by its date falls immediately under our notice: but we trust that the importance of a great national undertaking will justify the retrospect which we are about to take of the whole.

The idea of a Geometrical Survey, to be undertaken by Government, and executed at the public expence, first occurred on the suppression of the rebellion in 1745, at the suggestion of the late Lieutenant General Watson, at that time deputy quarter-master general in North Britain. It fell to the late General Roy, who was then assistant quarter-master, to have a great share in the execution of this work; and the survey, which was at first meant to be confined to the Highlands, was extended to the low country, and made general for Scotland. Of the map produced from this survey, and which has remained in manuscript in the hands of Government, the General himself tells us that though it answered the purpose for which it was intended, and is not without considerable merit, yet the survey having been made with instruments of an inferior kind, and the sum annually allowed being very inadequate to so great a design, it is rather to be considered as a magnificent military sketch, than as an accurate map of a country.

At the conclusion of the peace of 1763, it came under the consideration

ſideration of Government to make a map of the whole iſland from actual ſurvey, to which the map juſt mentioned was to be made ſubſervient: the execution of the whole was to be committed to General then Colonel Roy, whoſe experience, acquired in the Scotiſh ſurvey, had been improved by as conſtant an exerciſe in the operations of practical geometry and aſtronomy as the duties of his profeſſion would admit, and whom, his love of ſuch purſuits, and his indefatigable activity, pointed out as eminently qualified for this ſervice.

Circumſtances, however, which it is eaſy to conceive in general, but which it would be uſeleſs to know in detail, prevented any ſtep from being taken toward the execution of this deſign, till after the peace of 1783, when a memoir drawn up by Caſſini de Thury was preſented to our Government by the French ambaſſador ſetting forth the advantages that would accrue to geography and aſtronomy from carrying a ſeries of triangles from Greenwich to Dunkirk, (to which place the meridian of Paris had already been extended), ſo that the relative poſition of the two moſt celebrated obſervatories in the world might be aſcertained by actual meaſurement.

This memoir having been communicated by the ſecretary of ſtate (Mr Fox) to Sir Joſeph Banks, and the plan propoſed in it having received the approbation of the Royal Society, the execution of it was committed to General Roy, who was at that moment engaged in a ſurvey of London and its environs for the purpoſe of connecting together the different obſervatories in and about that metropolis; a work which, with his uſual ardour and activity, he had undertaken for his own amuſement.

As a ſeries of triangles was now to be extended from about Greenwich through Kent, and acroſs the Channel to Calais and Dunkirk, the firſt thing to be done was to meaſure a baſe, from the length of which the lengths of the ſides of all the triangles might be inferred. Such a line was accordingly traced out on Hounſlow-heath, extending from a point near Hampton Poorhouſe, to a place called the King's Arbour, a diſtance of more than five miles, which was meaſured with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs. The deſcription which General Roy has given of this meaſurement, deſerves the attention of every one who is concerned in the operations of practical geometry, and who wiſhes to be made acquainted with the utmoſt reſources of his art. He will perhaps ſee with ſurpriſe, that many of the things which he is accuſtomed to do with very little expence, either of time or of thought, require, when they are to be done with preciſion, no ſmall proportion of both; that to make two rods exactly of the

ſame length, to place them in the ſame ſtraight line, and to make the beginning of one coincide with the end of another, demand much ſkill and patience; in a word, that the moſt common matter, when executed with extreme accuracy, becomes difficult; and that ſcience and art muſt combine to diſcover and to remove thoſe minute obſtacles, of which the bulk of mankind do not even ſuſpect the exiſtence.

The meaſurement of the baſe was firſt undertaken with deal rods of twenty feet in length; but though theſe were made of the beſt ſeaſoned timber, from an old maſt cut up on purpoſe, though they were perfectly ſtraight, and ſecured from bending in the moſt effectual manner, yet the changes in their lengths, produced by the moiſture and dryneſs of the air, were ſo conſiderable, as to take away all confidence in the reſults deduced from them. Glaſs rods were therefore ſubſtituted in their room, conſiſting of ſtraight tubes twenty feet in length, encloſed in wooden frames; and theſe had the advantage of being ſuſceptible of alteration only from heat or cold, according to laws which could be accurately aſcertained. The baſe meaſured with theſe rods was found to be 27404.08 feet preciſely, or 5.19 miles.

We refer for the particulars to the account itſelf, where General Roy has deſcribed the apparatus uſed, and the precautions taken to enſure the ſucceſs of the operation. The detail, though minute, is intereſting, and muſt be highly inſtructive to thoſe engaged in operations any way ſimilar. We would particularly recommend his deſcription of the deal rods, the method of laying off their lengths, of the ſtands for ſupporting them, of the boning teleſcope, &c.

As the meaſurement of lines by a chain is, however, much more convenient and expeditious than by any other means, it was thought deſirable to aſcertain how far the accuracy of ſuch a meaſurement could be depended on, and how near, in the preſent inſtance, it might approximate to that by the glaſs rods. For the purpoſe of this experiment, Ramſden had prepared a chain of the very beſt conſtruction, made of hardened ſteel, one hundred feet in length, and jointed ſomewhat like a watch-chain. General Roy having meaſured a part of the baſe with this chain, and with the glaſs rods at the ſame time, found that the reſults differed by a quantity wholly inconſiderable. Several years afterwards, the whole baſe was meaſured with the ſteel chain; and the difference between that and the meaſurement by the rods was found not to exceed two inches and three quarters of an inch, a difference on the length of five miles that is plainly of no account. Hence it was inferred, that meaſurements made with ſuch a chain as has juſt been mentioned, and with due precautions, viz. ſtretching

ing it always in the ſame degree, ſupporting it on troughs laid horizontally, allowing for change of temperature, &c. are as much to be relied on, as thoſe made in any other way whatſoever. This experiment, therefore, involved the determination of a material queſtion with reſpect to the conduct of all future ſurveys. *

General Roy was aſſiſted in theſe operations by Mr Iſaac Dalby, a mathematician of eminence, and now profeſſor of the mathematics in the Military College at High Wickham. A party of ſoldiers was alſo attached to the ſurvey, for the purpoſe of doing ſuch parts of the work as were merely laborious, and had a ſmall encampment on the heath. The performance of this great experiment, for ſo it may very properly be called, could not fail to draw the attention of the men of ſcience about London. The Maſter General of the Ordnance, the Preſident of the Royal Society, the Aſtronomer Royal, and many other diſtinguiſhed perſons, frequently witneſſed the ſkill and attention employed in conducting it. The menſuration of the baſe (including the repetition of it, and ſeveral collateral matters, as well as delays from bad weather) took up from the middle of June to the end of Auguſt 1784. The extremities of the baſe were then marked by the centres of two wooden tubes, and have ſince been more permanently aſcertained by the centres of two iron cannon ſunk in the ground.

Experiments and obſervations, of the kind which we are now conſidering, ſeldom fail to benefit ſcience, not only directly, but indirectly, by the collateral objects to which they lead. A pyrometer, conſtructed by Ramſden, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the expanſion of ſolid bodies by heat, is probably the beſt inſtrument of the kind which has yet been made, and is one of the monuments of ſkill and genius that will long preſerve the memory of that incomparable artiſt.

It was not till the ſummer 1787, that the meaſurement was reſumed by actually extending a ſeries of triangles from Greenwich to Dunkirk. For this purpoſe, ſignals were erected, in ſuch conſpicuous ſituations, and at ſuch diſtances, as were judged convenient; the ſtraight lines joining theſe points, formed a ſet of triangles, the angles of which were meaſured by a theodolite which Ramſden had conſtructed, and which was carried ſucceſſively to all the ſtations. In theſe triangles, therefore, which

* It may be proper to remark, however, that Le Gendre, after having conſidered the method of the ſteel chain, ſeems ſtill to prefer that by *rods of metal*, becauſe of the difficulty of giving the chain always a ſufficient and uniform degree of tenſion.

which were ſo formed that one ſide was always common to two of them, all the angles became known, and a ſide of one of them being alſo given, viz. the baſe on Honſlow-heath, the ſides of all the reſt could be found by trigonometrical computation. So alſo, the bearing of any one of the ſides in reſpect of the meridian being known by obſervation, the bearings of all the reſt with reſpect to the ſame meridian were determined.

The theodolite by which the angles of theſe triangles were meaſured, was ſuperior to any thing that had ever been uſed in geodetical obſervations, and might be compared with the beſt inſtruments of aſtronomy. Ramſden had exerted himſelf to the utmoſt both in the deſign and execution of it; he had united in it the powers of a theodolite, a quadrant, and a tranſit inſtrument, and had made it capable of meaſuring horizontal angles to fractions of a ſecond. It was furniſhed with a teleſcope of a much higher magnifying power than had ever been before applied to obſervations purely terreſtrial; and by this ſuperiority in its conſtruction, even if it were the only one, we are perſuaded that the ſurveys made with it are more accurate than any other. The French academicians, for example, who joined General Roy at Dover, as we ſhall ſee preſently, employed in their meaſurement a very excellent inſtrument, a circle of repetition, of the kind invented by Borda; and by taking the ſame angle ſeveral times over on different parts of the limb, they could diminiſh the error ariſing from the diviſion of the inſtrument to an indefinite degree. But there was another error which they could not diminiſh, viz. that which aroſe from the ſmall power of their glaſſes, and the conſequent largeneſs of the real diameters of the objects which appeared to them as points or lines. Though their obſervations were therefore extremely good, and far exceeding any that had been made in France previous to the introduction of Borda's circle, they do not ſeem to equal thoſe in the Engliſh ſurvey. As England was later in undertaking works of this ſort than France, and ſome other nations on the continent, it ſeemed but juſt that ſhe ſhould aim at ſuperior excellence: and poſſeſſing, as Caſſini ſays, the firſt artiſt in the world, it was not difficult for her to attain it.

The high power of the teleſcope juſt mentioned, obviated many of the difficulties concerning the ſignals employed to diſtinguiſh the preciſe point at each ſtation that was to be interſected from the reſt. When the object to be interſected was not the ſpire of a ſteeple, a flag-ſtaff was commonly uſed; but when the diſtance was great, or the weather not very favourable, *lights* were employed, and the obſervations were made in the night. Theſe lights were either reverberatory lamps, or *white lights*, (ſo called from

from their extreme brilliancy), fired at a particular time previouſly agreed on. The ſignals made in this manner were viſible at a great diſtance even in bad weather. Caſſini ſays that he hardly expects to be believed, when he tells that he obſerved one from about Calais, which was fired on the oppoſite ſhore, about 40 miles off, and in bad weather.

The precaution taken of placing the great theodolite at all times with its centre exactly perpendicular to the point that was to be interſected from the other ſtations, deſerves alſo to be mentioned. Though the allowance to be made for the diſtance of the inſtrument from the angular point is eaſily computed, yet it is difficult to avoid ſome error in doing ſo; and the frequent recurrence of ſuch errors is a ſource of inaccuracy which it is much better to have entirely cut off.

From all theſe circumſtances, added to others which we cannot here enumerate, the angles were generally obſerved with ſuch accuracy, as to manifeſt the effect of the earth's ſphericity by giving the ſum of the three angles of a triangle ſomewhat greater than 180°, and that even where the ſides did not exceed 15 or 20 miles. This exceſs above 180° is produced by the plane of the inſtrument at the three angular points of the triangle not being parallel to itſelf, but perpendicular to three lines which meet (at leaſt nearly), in one point, the centre of the earth. It is called the ſpherical exceſs; and it was in this ſurvey that there came, for the firſt time, to be any queſtion concerning the quantity of it, in each triangle. The inſtruments uſed in former ſurveys had never been accurate enough to bring a quantity ſo ſmall as hardly ever to amount to 4″ in one triangle, to be an object of inveſtigation. In the obſervations made for verifying the meridian of Paris about fifty years ago, the error in the three angles of a triangle often amounts to 20 or 30 ſeconds; and then of courſe, no queſtion could occur about a connexion which cannot exceed the tenth part of that quantity. But in General Roy's obſervations, the error in the three angles of a triangle never reaches 3″; and, therefore, the ſpherical exceſs is of importance to be aſcertained. In juſtice to the French academicians who cooperated with the General, it muſt be obſerved that the angles taken by them with Borda's inſtrument, were accurate within 1″ or 2″ on each angle, ſo that they found equal reaſon for employing the ſpherical exceſs.

This remark is applicable to all the meaſurements made in France ſince the period we are here treating of. They have all been made with the *repeating* circle, and ſeem to have reached a very high degree of accuracy.

The introduction of a new element into trigonometrical computation,

putation, is of great importance, and will probably be found to mark a precise æra in all measurements relating to the figure of the earth. The spherical excess in any triangle, has a given relation to the area of that triangle; for it is to 180° as that area is to the area of a great circle of the sphere; and it was from this theorem that General Roy deduced the rule which he has given for computing the spherical excess, independently of the angles themselves. For this purpose, the area of the triangle is to be estimated as if it were rectilineal; and it is sufficient to do this even by a very rude approximation, because it requires an area of about 75 square miles to produce a single second of spherical excess.

As it was necessary that the French geometers should unite with the English in carrying into full effect the plan which they themselves were the first to propose, three distinguished members of the Academy of Sciences, Cassini, Mechain, and Le Gendre, met General Roy and Dr Blagden at Dover, where measures were concerted for the corresponding observations to be made on the coasts of France and England. The French academicians were furnished by General Roy with white lights to be fired on their side, while corresponding observations were made at Dover and Fairlight-Down on the coast of England. The operations on both sides succeeded perfectly, notwithstanding that the weather was by no means favourable. The three academicians above named, having crossed the Channel again, after their observations were finished, repaired to London, and appear to have been highly gratified by the objects they saw, and the reception they met with in that metropolis. It is painful to reflect, that this is the last amicable interview which has taken place even among the men of letters of the two countries; and that the hostile armies of both nations are now encamped on the very ground which was the theatre of these scientific operations.

Besides measuring all the angles in the triangles that have been mentioned, it was necessary to fix the bearing of some one of the sides of those triangles in respect of the meridian. This was done by observing the azimuth of the pole-star, relatively to the given line, at its greatest distance from the meridian, both on the east and west sides. This method of ascertaining the angle which any line on the earth's surface makes with the meridian, we apprehend to be greatly preferable, for expedition as well as accuracy, to any other that is known. It cannot, however, be practised to advantage, but with such an instrument as the great theodolite, which answers for a transit, and carries a telescope of power sufficient to render the pole-star visible

ſible during the day. This, therefore, is one of the circumſtances on account of which we think the Britiſh ſurvey entitled to a preference above every other.

That a check might not be wanting on any errors that had crept into a work of ſuch variety and extent, General Roy cauſed a ſecond baſe to be meaſured on the flat ground of Rumney-Marſh, which was not far diſtant from the ſouthern extremity of the ſeries of triangles. When the length of this baſe, as actually meaſured, was compared with that deduced by connecting it with the baſe on Hounſlow-Heath, the two reſults were found to differ only by twenty-eight inches, which muſt appear very inconſiderable when we reflect that the two lines are more than ſixty miles aſunder. There was reaſon, nevertheleſs, to ſuſpect that this baſe of verification was not ſo correctly meaſured as that on Hounſlow-Heath.

The concluſions deduced from all theſe obſervations, as far as reſpects the relative poſition of the obſervatories of Greenwich and Paris, are, firſt, that the diſtance between their parallels of latitude is 963954 feet, = 182.567 miles, which correſponds on the earth's ſurface to an arch of 2° 38′ 26″ in the heavens (the difference of latitude), and therefore the length of a degree of the meridian in the latitude 50° 10′ comes out = 60843 fathoms = 69.14 miles.

Again, the perpendicular from the tower of Dunkirk on the meridian of Greenwich is found to be 547058 feet; from which, ſubtracting 9080 feet, the diſtance of Dunkirk eaſt of the meridian of Paris, we have the perpendicular let fall from the point in the meridian of Paris, which is in the parallel of Greenwich, on the meridan of this laſt = 537978 feet = 101.89 miles. * The General alſo having determined, from the length and azimuth of one of the lines in the ſurvey (between Botley-Hill and Goudhurſt in Kent) to how many fathoms a degree of longitude in that parallel correſponds, has from thence deduced the difference of longitude of Greenwich and Paris = 2° 19′ 51″, or, in time, 9$^{m}$ 19$^{s}$.4; which agrees with the concluſion which Dr Maſkelyne had before drawn from *data* purely aſtronomical. It muſt however



* Another reſult, not unintereſting, is the breadth of the Engliſh channel, where it is narroweſt. The line from the Keep of Dover Caſtle to the ſtation at Blancnez, is 116660 feet = 22.095 miles. The ſouth foreland appears to be about two miles nearer to Blancnez, if we meaſure on the map, which accompanies the ſurvey. The leaſt breadth of the channel, therefore, does not exceed twenty miles;—a narrow but a ſtrong barrier,—one of thoſe indelible lines which nature has kindly traced out on the ſurface of the earth to reſiſt the ambition and preſerve the independence of nations.

ever be observed, that Le Gendre deduces from the same measurement a result considerably different, and makes the difference of longitude of the two observatories $9^m\ 21^s$ (*Mem. de l'Acad.* 1788), which is 1.$\frac{4}{5}$ seconds in time greater than the preceding.

But though nothing certainly can exceed the accuracy of General Roy's observations, we cannot bestow praise equally unqualified on the methods by which the results are deduced from them. The General has made use, as before mentioned, of the spherical excess, for the purpose of estimating the accuracy of his observations; yet he has not derived, from the introduction of that new element, all the advantage which it is capable of affording. He has great merit in being the first to make use of it, though he did not perceive the whole of its importance. This was indeed first made known by a theorem of Le Gendre, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for 1787, from which it appears, that if each of the angles of a small spherical triangle be diminished by one third of the spherical excess, the sines of the angles thus diminished will be very nearly proportional to the lengths of the sides themselves; so that the computations with respect to such spherical triangles may be made by the rules of plane trigonometry. General Roy was probably unacquainted with this theorem, which is not of very easy investigation; and though he has virtually employed it in part, because he always reduced the angles of his triangles to 180° before he used them in calculation, yet he derives no benefit from it in many of the cases where it is of the greatest importance. These are when two angles only of a triangle have been observed, and it is required to find the third angle; or, again, in calculating the distances of the stations from the meridian, or the perpendicular to it, where the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle is given, and one of the oblique angles. In such cases, an attention to the above theorem will enable the calculator to bring out a far more accurate conclusion than he can otherwise obtain. It must be confessed, that the General has not calculated on this principle, and that he has not taken as a substitute for it, the reduction of the observed angles to the angles contained by the chords of the arches, (the method that Major Mudge has adopted in the farther prosecution of the trigonometrical survey); and that therefore his calculations are deficient in accuracy, at least in that extreme accuracy, which the correctness of the observations themselves entitles us to expect. His method is sufficiently correct for any of the older measurements,—for those in Peru, Lapland, France formerly, and indeed for all that were made any where, till the great theodolite of Ramsden, or the repeating circle of Borda were introduced. It in effect supposes the series of triangles to be laid out or extended on a plain

surface;

ſurface, and to this plane every thing is underſtood to be reduced. This ſuppoſition is no doubt inaccurate; yet the inaccuracy is not conſiderable, and of no account at all, when the angles of a triangle have not been obſerved within twenty or thirty ſeconds of the truth. But when the error of obſervation is reduced to leſs than a tenth part of that quantity, a more exact method of calculating muſt neceſſarily be purſued; as the *calculus* ſhould ever be ſo inſtituted as to preſerve to the concluſions all the accuracy poſſeſſed by the *data* themſelves. No portion of this, however ſmall, ſhould be ſuffered to eſcape; and ſince it is a quantity which the calculator cannot increaſe, he ſhould be careful not to diminiſh it.

The ſlight degree of incorrectneſs, therefore, which we have remarked in General Roy's computations, would not deſerve to be mentioned, if it were not for the excellence of his obſervations. It is, beſides, an imperfection which it is eaſy to remove: the part of the work which no one could emend, fortunately ſtands in need of no emendation.

It is not wonderful if theſe ſlight inaccuracies eſcaped General Roy. The only principle on which they can be completely avoided, without a mode of calculating extremely long and laborious, is the theorem already mentioned, a propoſition by no means obvious, and drawn by the excellent mathematician who diſcovered it from the receſſes of the new geometry. The General, poſſeſſing from his youth a decided turn for the mathematics, had bent the whole force of a very ſtrong and vigorous underſtanding chiefly to the practical parts of that ſcience, and thoſe moſt immediately connected with his profeſſion, but probably was not much converſant with the branches which are more theoretical and abſtruſe. A life ſpent in continual activity, and of which a large proportion had been paſſed in the camp or the field, afforded no leiſure for ſuch acquirements, and held out, even to the mathematician, more intereſting objects of purſuit. The duties of the field-engineer and the quarter-maſter-general had particularly engaged his attention; and in every thing connected with them he was profoundly verſed. He drew excellently, and thoroughly underſtood the art of repreſenting the inequalities of ground with admirable diſtinctneſs, and great beauty of effect. How perfectly he was ſkilled in ſurveying, in the higheſt ſenſe of the word, how converſant in the uſe of mathematical inſtruments, and in aſtronomical obſervation, it is unneceſſary to ſtate, after what has been already ſaid. He was beſides a moſt expert and indefatigable calculator; his acquaintance with natural philoſophy, too, was extenſive and accurate; and his paper on the meaſurement of heights by the barometer is a proof of his ſkill in

conducting experimental inquiries, even when very remote from the line of his ordinary purſuits. General Roy, it ſhould be obſerved, had purſued this tract while the Britiſh army afforded few inſtances of the ſame kind, either to encourage him by example, or rouſe him by emulation, and when the connexion between the mathematical ſciences and the military art was not ſo well perceived as it perhaps begins to be, at the preſent moment.

The death of this excellent and accompliſhed officer, which took place ſoon after the period we now ſpeak of, ſeemed for a long time to have put a ſtop to any deſign that might have been formed of extending the operations, already ſo happily begun, to the ſurvey of the whole iſland: and here we muſt be permitted to remark, that the account given of the reſuming of the ſurvey is unſatisfactory and imperfect. After acknowledging the liberal aſſiſtance which the Duke of Richmond, as maſter-general of the Ordnance, had given to every part of the preceding operations (an acknowledgement which we believe to be moſt juſtly due), it is ſaid that a conſiderable time had elapſed without any apparent intention of renewing the ſurvey, 'when a caſual opportunity preſented itſelf (to the Duke of Richmond) of purchaſing a very fine inſtrument, the workmanſhip of Ramſden, of a conſtruction ſimilar to that which was uſed by General Roy, but with ſome improvements; as alſo two ſteel chains, of one hundred feet each, made by the ſame incomparable artiſt.'

Are we then to ſuppoſe that a great and national object was in danger of being dropt, or indefinitely delayed, but for a fortunate and unforeſeen accident? Did not the inſtrument which General Roy had uſed ſtill remain in the poſſeſſion of the Royal Society? and if the work was now to be proſecuted, not under the immediate direction of that Society, but of the Board of Ordnance, can we ſuppoſe that, on that account, the uſe of it would have been withheld? This is the leſs probable, that it has ſince been actually put into the hands of Major Mudge, and is at preſent employed by him in the ſurvey. But be this as it may, the purchaſe of the new theodolite by the Duke of Richmond was indeed purely accidental; for it had been made, if we are not miſinformed, by order of the Eaſt India Company, for the purpoſe of ſurveying their poſſeſſions in the Eaſt; and Ramſden, in the conſtruction of it, had exerted that increaſed ingenuity and attention with which the preſence of a great and new object uſed always to inſpire him. In the end, ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe; and a fit of ill-humour, or of ill-timed economy, induced the ſovereigns of India to refuſe an inſtrument which could do nothing to enlarge their dominions, though in ſkilful hands it might have done much to render them more ſecure. The Duke of Richmond was

a better judge of its value; and has rendered it no less useful to the public than if it had followed its original destination.

In 1791, Captain Mudge of the Royal Artillery, and Mr Dalby, who has been already mentioned, both well qualified for the work they were to undertake, had the care of the trigonometrical survey committed to them, and received their instructions from the Master-General of the Ordnance. They began by the remeasurement of the base on Hounslow-Heath with the new steel chain (of the same nature with the former, but somewhat improved), and found its length, as before stated, two inches and three quarters greater than when measured with the glass rods. The chain was here reduced, as it had been before, to the temperature of 62°, Captain Mudge having previously ascertained, by a series of experiments made with the chain extended at its full length, and stretched with a considerable weight, that it lengthened 0.0075 of an inch for one degree of heat, on Fahrenheit's thermometer, which agrees well with General Roy's determination of the same by means of the pyrometer.

As a series of triangles was now to be carried from Hounslow-Heath to the coast of Kent and Sussex, and from thence westward to the Land's-End, it was thought right to measure another base of verification on Salisbury-Plain. This was done with all the precautions used in the former measurements; the length of the line was found to be 36574.4 feet; and when this was connected by a series of triangles with the base on Hounslow-Heath, and its length deduced from this last by trigonometrical calculation, it did not differ by more than an inch from the actual measurement as here set down. This singular coincidence was a sufficient proof of the accuracy with which the two bases and the angles of the connecting triangles had been measured.

One of the principal objects now in view, was of importance both in general geography, and in the topography of England. This was the measurement of a degree of a circle perpendicular to the meridian, for which two stations on the coast of the Channel, Beachy-Head in Sussex, and Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, afforded a good opportunity, being visible from one another in fine weather, though more than 64 miles distant, and the line between them being not far from the direction of east and west. The distance between the two stations just mentioned, as deduced from a mean of four different series of triangles, is 339397 feet (= 64.28 miles); and it is remarkable, that the extremes of these four determinations do not, even in so long a line, differ more than seven feet from one another: but coincidences of this sort are frequent in the trigonometrical survey, and prove how much more good instruments, used by skilful and attentive observers,

are

are capable of performing, than the moſt ſanguine theoriſt could have ever ventured to foretel. In two diſtances that were deduced from ſets of triangles, the one meaſured by General Roy in 1787, the other by Major Mudge in 1794, one of 24.133 miles, and the other 38.688, the two meaſures agree within a foot as to the firſt diſtance, and 16 inches as to the ſecond. Such an agreement, where the obſervers and the inſtruments were both different, where the lines meaſured were of ſuch extent, and deduced from ſuch a variety of *data*, is probably without any other example. We believe it is quite unneceſſary to add, that theſe deductions are all made in the faireſt and moſt unexceptionable manner, without any means being taken, purpoſely, to bring about a coincidence that would not have otherwiſe taken place.

Beſides the determination of the diſtance from Dunneſe to Beachy-Head, the azimuth or bearing of the line between them, with reſpect to the meridian, was carefully obſerved, by means of the pole-ſtar, after the manner practiſed by General Roy. From theſe obſervations Major Mudge has drawn the following concluſions. At Beachy-Head, in latitude 50° 44′ 24″, the degree of longitude, meaſured on the above parallel, is 38718 fathoms; the degree of a circle perpendicular to the meridian 61832; the degree of the meridian itſelf in that latitude being taken at 60851 fathoms, as deduced from General Roy's meaſurement. From the lengths of theſe degrees of the meridian, and of the circle perpendicular to it, it follows, that if the earth be an ellipſoid, the diameter of the equator is to the polar axis as 149 to 148, which makes the inequality between theſe two lines more than twice as great as it appears to be by taking the moſt probable average, deduced from all the obſervations that have been made in different latitudes. What reaſon can be aſſigned for this peculiarity in the phyſical conſtitution of our iſland, ſeems impoſſible at preſent to explain, though the continuation of the Trigonometrical Survey may be expected to throw ſome light on it. Local cauſes may perhaps affect the direction of gravity in the ſouth of England, and may make that country appear to be a portion of a ſmaller and more oblate ſpheroid than agrees with the general configuration of the earth's ſurface. Or perhaps too, as many have imagined, and as Major Mudge ſeems diſpoſed to think, the figure of the earth is not a ſolid formed by the revolution of an ellipſis on its axis; and the agreement or diſagreement of the meaſures of degrees with one another, is not to be judged of by their agreement or diſagreement with this hypotheſis. To attempt to judge of them in that manner, may be offering violence to nature, and may be only

only trying to reconcile her phenomena with our conjectural or arbitrary theories.

From the proſecution of the Trigonometrical Survey we may expect a ſolution of theſe queſtions: the unexpectedneſs of the reſults makes the work more valuable to ſcience; and as we are ſure that the obſervations are accurate, the leſs they agree with our preconceived opinions the more intereſting do they become, and the more likely are they to furniſh important information.

It has already been obſerved, that Major Mudge deduced the reſults of his obſervations on a principle more accurate than General Roy, by reducing every angle meaſured with the theodolite to a plane paſſing through the three angular points of the triangle, and thus computing the chords inſtead of the arches themſelves.

'As the lengths,' ſays he, 'of ſmall arcs and their chords are nearly the ſame, it is evident that the calculations might be performed ſufficiently near the truth in any extent of a ſeries of triangles, by plane trigonometry, if the angles formed by the chords could be determined pretty exact. We have endeavoured to adopt this method in computing the ſides of the principal triangles, in order to avoid an arbitrary correction of the obſerved angles, as well as that of reducing the whole extent of the triangles to a flat, which evidently would introduce erroneous reſults, and theſe in proportion as the ſeries of triangles extended.' Vol. I. p. 271.

Now, concerning the method of calculation here referred to, we muſt obſerve, that though it is certainly much preferable to that which ſuppoſes the triangles to be all ſpread out over one flat ſurface, and is not liable to any conſiderable inaccuracy, yet is it much more complex and operoſe than one which we have already pointed out as being derived from Le Gendre's theorem, that the arches which form the ſides of ſmall ſpherical triangles, are proportional to the fines of the oppoſite angles, when each of theſe angles is diminiſhed by the third part of the *ſpherical exceſs*. By means of this propoſition, the ſides themſelves may be directly computed, and the inveſtigation of the chords avoided as unneceſſary. From this it alſo appears, that the correction made on the obſerved angles, by taking from each of them one third of the ſpherical exceſs, can be no longer viewed as an *arbitrary correction*, but as a legitimate and neceſſary inference from a geometrical theorem extremely curious in itſelf, as it marks the *continuity* of plane and ſpherical triangles; and extremely valuable, as it leads to the moſt accurate and ſimple rules of calculation. Though it is a theorem that, in ſtrictneſs, is only an approximation to the truth, yet its accuracy, in all ſuch caſes as can come under conſideration in a ſurvey of any portion of the earth's ſurface, may be ſafely relied on, the quantities which it rejects being then really evaneſcent.

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In reducing the obſerved angles in the manner of Major Mudge, (which is alſo that of De Lambre), there is always the inconvenience of an operoſe and unneceſſary *calculus*, and, in certain caſes, ſuch as the computation of the diſtances of the ſtations from the meridian or the perpendicular to it, it is not quite evident but that inaccuracies of ſome conſequence may be introduced. If, on the other hand, in the ſolution of this laſt problem, ſince the hypothenuſe and one of the oblique angles of a right-angled triangle are given to find the ſides; if we firſt calculate the ſpherical exceſs, and proceed to find the other oblique angle by making the ſum of it and the given angle = 90° + that exceſs; if we then ſubtract one third of the ſpherical exceſs from each of theſe oblique angles, and, with the angles ſo corrected, compute the ſides by the rules of plane trigonometry; we ſhall obtain them with great eaſe, and with all the preciſion that the problem admits of. It would ſeem, then, that this laſt method of calculation is greatly preferable to the former.

We are perfectly aware of the caution with which theoretical men, ſitting quietly in their cloſets, ſhould offer advice to thoſe who add the practice of art to the ſpeculation of ſcience; who ſacrifice eaſe and comfort to literary purſuits, and earn their reputation not merely by deep ſtudy, but by the ſweat of the brow and the labour of the hands. We feel the full force of this maxim, and are writing at the preſent moment under the ſtrongeſt impreſſion of its truth. Yet, when we venture to recommend the method of calculation juſt deſcribed, as fit to be employed in the trigonometrical ſurvey, we are not much afraid that the perſon beſt able, and moſt intereſted to judge correctly on that ſubject, after making the trial, will be inclined to cenſure our raſhneſs.

The length to which theſe remarks have already extended, forces us to paſs over the operations of ſeveral of the ſubſequent years when the ſurvey was carried weſtward as far as the Land's End, and again eaſtward to the remaining part of Kent, to Eſſex and the interior of the country, Oxfordſhire, &c. Though theſe accounts are intereſting from the importance of the places ſurveyed, and particularly from the drawing of four different meridians, and the determination of their difference of longitude, we ſhall paſs to the conſideration of the laſt thing performed in the ſurvey, which is the meaſure of an arch of the meridian between Dunnoſe in the Iſle of Wight, and Clifton near Doncaſter. For the purpoſe of this meaſurement, Major Mudge was furniſhed with a new inſtrument, of the workmanſhip of Ramſden, viz. a zenith ſector for the celeſtial obſervations, which were now required to be made with the greateſt poſſible exactneſs. Though

ſeveral

ſeveral inſtruments of this kind have been conſtructed by former artiſts, and many of them excellent, yet that which we have juſt mentioned ſeems greatly ſuperior to them all. In it, the defects of former conſtructions are obviated, and many new improvements introduced. Among theſe muſt be reckoned the method of ſuſpending the inſtrument, of bringing it into the vertical plane, of turning it to face oppoſite ways, and, moſt of all, the contrivance for adjuſting the plumb-line perpendicularly over the centre of the ſector, in which the ſkill of the optician and the mechaniſt are eminently combined. The inſtrument is ſupported by a ſtrong pyramidal frame; the teleſcope is an achromatic, eight feet long; the radius of the ſector is nearly the ſame; and the angles meaſured on its limb may be read off to decimals of a ſecond. The whole is a maſterpiece of original deſign and ſkilful execution; and to its intrinſic value adds that of being almoſt the laſt work of an artiſt who was never equalled by thoſe who went before him, and will not ſoon be ſurpaſſed by thoſe who ſhall come after.

The meridian of Dunnoſe, in the Iſle of Wight, was pitched on by Major Mudge to be extended northward, as affording a better opportunity than any other of meaſuring on it a large arch, free, as far as could be foreſeen, from the action of any diſturbing force. The meridians farther to the weſt, though they might be produced to a greater length before they reached the ſea, entered ſooner into a mountainous, or at leaſt a hilly country, where the direction of gravity muſt be affected by the inequalities of the ſurface. The meridian of Dunnoſe, traverſing the plains of Hampſhire, Berkſhire, &c. and ſo on to Yorkſhire, interſects the ſea-coaſt near the mouth of the Tees, without having paſſed over any high land, except on the confines of Northamptonſhire and Warwickſhire, near the ſources of the Nen and the Avon, where the ground riſes to the height of 800 or 900 feet above the level of the ſea, with a gradual ſlope both to the ſouth and to the north. The part of this line which has been actually meaſured, extends from Dunnoſe to Clifton, not far from Doncaſter, a diſtance of more than 196 miles, the length of which was determined by a ſeries of triangles carried from one end of it to the other, like thoſe that have been already mentioned. The ſides of theſe triangles were deduced from the baſes on Hounſlow-heath and Saliſbury-plain, as in other parts of the ſurvey; but, for the greater ſecurity, another baſe of about five miles was meaſured on Miſterton Car, near the northern extremity of the chain of triangles; and this was done with the ſame precautions which have been before enumerated. The latitude of Dunnoſe and Cliſton were then ac-

curately determined by the ſector, from ſtars near the zenith, obſerved in their paſſage over the meridian. The inſtrument was alſo carried to Ardbury-Hill (near Daventry in Northamptonſhire), not far from the middle of the line, the latitude of which was alſo exactly determined. Beſides this, as Blenheim was not far diſtant from this meridian, and as its parallel of latitude had been accurately determined by the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, from a ſeries of obſervations made with the beſt inſtruments, the interſection of this parallel with the meridian could be fixed with accuracy, and gave of courſe another ſubdiviſion, both of the geodetical diſtance and the celeſtial arch. The ſame was done with reſpect to the parallel of Greenwich; and thus, beſides the total length of the meridian line from Dunnoſe to Clifton, there were given three intermediate points in that line, with the diſtances between them, and alſo the amplitudes of the correſponding arches in the heavens. From the compariſon of all theſe determinations, ſome curious and unexpected concluſions have been deduced.

1. The entire length of the meridian line, from Dunnoſe to Clifton, is 1036337 feet, or 196.29 miles; the latitude of Dunnoſe being 50° 37′ 8″.21, and the arch between its zenith and that of Clifton 2° 50′ 23″.38. Hence, the length of a degree in the middle between theſe places, or in lat. 52° 2′ 20″, is 60820 fathoms.

2. In the ſame way, by computing the length of a degree for the middle latitude between Ardbury-Hill and Dunnoſe, viz. 51° 35′ 18″, it is found equal to 60864 fathoms. This is 44 fathoms greater than the former, though, being about 27′ more to the ſouth, it ought, according to every notion of the earth's oblate figure, to be ſeveral fathoms leſs.

3. Comparing, in like manner, the diſtance between Ardbury-Hill and Clifton with the arch intercepted by their zeniths, the degree in the latitude of 52° 50′ 30″ is 60766 fathoms, which is leſs than either of the former, though, by being a good deal farther to the north, it ought to be conſiderably greater.

4. The interſections of the parallels of Blenheim and Greenwich with this meridian, give reſults of the ſame kind, all tending to ſhew that the degrees diminiſh on going from the ſouth to the north, though not regularly, nor according to any law yet known. Theſe inconſiſtencies are very ſtriking, when it is conſidered that, on the ſuppoſition of the earth being compreſſed at the poles, the degrees of the meridian muſt go on increaſing as we proceed northward, and in our latitudes nearly at a uniform rate, each degree exceeding that immediately to the ſouth of it by about twenty fathoms, according to the theories

theories that make the earth's oblateneſs the greateſt, and about ten, according to thoſe which make it the leaſt.

To whatever cauſe theſe irregularities are to be attributed, it cannot be, we are well convinced, to the inaccuracy of the obſervations. The probable limits of ſuch inaccuracy are conſidered by Major Mudge himſelf; and though he eſtimates them as very ſmall, yet, by any one who has carefully ſtudied the obſervations themſelves, and remarked their cloſeneſs to one another, he will not be thought to have diminiſhed them more than the circumſtances authoriſed him to do.

He ſtates it as his opinion, after a reexamination of all his *data*, that the extreme of the error in the meaſurement of the whole diſtance, though nearly 197 miles, is not more than 100 feet, anſwering to about 1″ of a degree, and that the probable error does not exceed one half of that quantity. In the determination of the celeſtial arch he does not ſtate ſo preciſely his eſtimation of the error, or the limits within which it is contained; but, taking in the multitude, and the agreement of the obſervations, we ſhould imagine that at any one ſtation it can hardly amount to a ſecond. It is therefore to the action of ſome external cauſe affecting the direction of the plumb-line, that the irregularities above ſtated are to be aſcribed. 'I am diſpoſed,' ſays the Major, 'to believe that the plumb-line was drawn towards the ſouth from the action of matter, both at the northern extremity of the arch and at Ardbury-Hill; but more particularly at the firſt mentioned ſtation.'—'The general tenor of the obſervations ſeems to prove that the plumb-line of the ſector has been drawn toward the ſouth at all the ſtations, and that by attractive forces, which increaſe as we proceed northward.' From what phyſical cauſe this attraction proceeds, from what circumſtance in the ſtructure or formation of the iſland, he does not offer any conjecture, neither ſhall we preſume to do ſo. The continuation of the meridian to the north will probably throw ſome farther light on this intereſting ſubject.

It is, however, material to be obſerved, that when the degrees are irregular, as they appear to be here, the magnitude of the middle degree between two given latitudes is not rightly found, by dividing the terreſtrial diſtance by the celeſtial arch. This proceſs is only correct on the ſuppoſition that the degrees increaſe or decreaſe in arithmetical progreſſion, or at an uniform rate; if they vary according to any other law whatever, the degree found by the above operation will not be the degree in the middle point of the arch. This caution is neceſſary to be attended to, if we would deduce from the obſervations no more

than what neceſſarily follows from them. It may be farther remarked, that in the doubt we are in about the figure of the earth, whether it be a ſolid of revolution, and whether different meridians may not be unequal and diſſimilar curves, it may be queſtioned whether the places on one meridian can be ſafely reduced to another, by the ſuppoſed interſections of their parellels with this laſt; and whether, by ſuppoſing ſuch reduction, as when the obſervatories of Greenwich and Blenheim are placed on the meridian of Dunnoſe, we do not complicate the queſtion unneceſſarily by the introduction of a new and unknown element. The diſtances of theſe places to the eaſtward of the meridian being but ſmall, it is indeed probable that, in the preſent caſe, any error introduced by them muſt be very inconſiderable; but it is at leaſt right to be appriſed of the poſſibility of its exiſtence.

Though we have no doubt that irregularities, which are at preſent ſo difficult to be accounted for, will, by the proſecution of the ſubject, become perfectly explained, we confeſs that we have felt ſome diſappointment on reflecting, that hitherto the more that has been done to aſcertain the figure of the earth by the meaſurement of degrees, the leſs ſatisfactory, in ſome reſpects, has our knowledge of it become. The more microſcopically we have obſerved, the more irregularities we have diſcovered; and in the laſt experiment, which may be juſtly reckoned the beſt, what is accounted the natural order of things, has been almoſt completely inverted. All this, however, is only a motive for continuing the reſearch, which, if proſecuted with ſkill and perſeverance, muſt ultimately lead to the knowledge of the truth. The time was, when the planetary motions were involved in the ſame confuſion, and ſeemed the more unaccountable and perplexed, the more carefully they were ſtudied. We may hope for the ſame iſſue in both caſes; and that the figure of the earth will one day be as perfectly known as the orbit of a planet.

In ſuch circumſtances, we may congratulate the public, or thoſe, at leaſt, who are intereſted in the progreſs of ſcience, on the continuance of the Trigonometrical Survey of England, notwithſtanding the long and expenſive wars in which the country has been engaged ſince the commencement of it. The expence of the Survey, indeed, is of little moment, compared with the object to be attained by it; but in all times of difficulty, and in all plans of economy, the indulgences moſt intellectual and ſcientific are the firſt things to be ſacrificed. It is to the credit of Government that it has been ſo far otherwiſe in the preſent inſtance.

A reflection naturally called forth by the contemplation of ſo much accuracy as is diſplayed in the whole of the work now un-

der

der our review, is, how much ſlower the mathematical arts have advanced than the mathematical ſciences. Though the former were no doubt the firſt to ſtart in the progreſs of improvement, they appear to have fallen behind almoſt from the firſt outſet. The rude manner in which Archimedes meaſured the apparent diameter of the ſun is well known; and while that great geometer was inveſtigating the properties of the ſphere and cylinder with an acuteneſs and depth that have been the admiration of all ſucceeding ages, he was reſolving one of the ſimpleſt problems of practical aſtronomy, in a more inaccurate manner than would be ſuffered in an ordinary ſeaman of modern times. When the great problem of meaſuring the circumference of the earth was firſt thought of, the principle upon which the ſolution was attempted was perfectly ſcientific, and the ſame, in fact, with that which we have juſt been conſidering; but the execution, though in the hands of able mathematicians, was *ſlovenly* and inaccurate in the extreme. The academicians of modern Europe have traverſed the globe, from the equator to the polar circle, in order to reſolve this great problem, and are ſtill labouring hard, as we have ſeen, to give perfect accuracy to their concluſions. The academicians of Greece and Egypt put themſelves to no ſuch inconveniency. Eratoſthenes, when he engaged in the inquiry, never quitted his obſervatory; but having meaſured the ſun's ſolſtitial elevation at Alexandria, where he lived, he took for granted, on report, that on the ſame day the ſun was in the zenith of Syene, being ſeen there from the bottom of a deep well. He alſo aſſumed, on no better authority, the diſtance and bearing of the two places, and, with ſuch *data*, was not aſhamed to ſay that he had computed the circumference of the earth.

At a much later period, our countryman Norwood ſet about determining the circumference of the earth, with an accuracy as much ſuperior to that of the Greek geometer as it was inferior to that which has been the ſubject of the preceding remarks. Having determined the latitudes of London and York by obſervation, he travelled from the one place to the other, meaſuring along the high road with a chain, and taking the bearings with a compaſs. He was well ſatisfied with the accuracy of his work: 'When I meaſured not,' ſays he, '*I paced*, and I believe the experiment has come within a *ſcantling* of the truth.'

It is curious to compare theſe early eſſays of practical geometry with the perfection to which its operations have now reached, and to conſider, that while the artiſt had made ſo little progreſs, the theoriſt had reached many of the ſublimeſt heights of mathematical ſpeculation; that the latter had found out the area of the circle, and calculated its circumference to more than a hundred

places

places of decimals, when the former could hardly divide an arch into minutes of a degree; and that many excellent treatiſes had been written on the properties of curve lines, before a ſtraight line, of conſiderable length, had ever been carefully drawn, or exactly meaſured, on the ſurface of the earth.

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ART. X. *An Account of the Preſent State of Medicine among the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.* By Thomas Winterbottom, Phyſician to the Colony. 8vo. London, 1803.

THIS is the ſequel of a publication which was noticed with approbation in a preceding article; * and we have peruſed the preſent volume with great eaſe and ſatisfaction. The medical information which it contains is not perhaps very original or important; but the author writes like a ſcholar, and a man of judgement and veracity, and in a ſtyle which is upon the whole ſo neat and amuſing, that thoſe who are too wiſe to be inſtructed by his performance, can ſcarcely refuſe to be pleaſed.

The practice of medicine in Africa is in the hands of old women; and it is curious to obſerve, that almoſt all barbarous people, whether black or white, have thought themſelves ſafeſt, when ſick, in the management of ſuperannuated and hard-featured females. They are, we will confeſs, ſomewhat leſs hard-hearted than males, and, in general, leſs friſky and inattentive than the youthful part of their own ſex; but health is, in all ſtages of ſociety, an object of ſo great importance, that even the union of theſe amiable qualities can ſcarcely account for its being entruſted to perſons whom their ſex muſt expoſe, among barbarians, to degradation and contempt. To us it appears moſt probable, that the chief, who was the leader, the judge, and the prieſt of his tribe, was alſo its original phyſician; and that, upon his death, this moſt domeſtic, and leaſt enviable part of his prerogative, would be transferred to his widow, the confident of his ſecrets, and the partner of his conſultations.

But, however this may be, it is certain that the learned dames of Sierra Leone conſider moſt diſeaſes as the work of evil ſpirits, and place more confidence in charms and propitiations, than in drugs or regimen. This, too, is an univerſal criterion of a rude and unenlightened period. In thoſe days of ignorance, when firſt cauſes were entirely overlooked, and ſecondary frequently and wilfully

* See Vol. III. p. 355.

wilfully misrepresented, the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, or that wonderful property of animated being which enables it to conserve its own existence, to repel injurious *stimuli*, and to restore its diseased functions to the standard actions of health, contributed, perhaps more than any other circumstance whatever, to inspire the belief in, and establish the reputation of supernatural agency. The cause of uneasiness and its cure were easily confounded. For diseases produced by witchcraft, it was natural to seek a remedy from charms and incantations; and when these means were unsuccessfully resorted to, the mystic powers of superstition were called to their assistance. But the unaided operations of nature did not in all cases correspond with the expectations of the charmer, nor the credit of his profession; and the unfortunate patient, whose complaint might have been easily removed by opium, rhubarb, or mercury, was sent to the grave amidst the solemnities of astrology and magic. The gradual expansion of the human faculties at length gave birth to the spirit of observation and research. The analogy between natural *stimuli* and natural functions, was observed and improved. Demoniac ceremonies vanished before the light of philosophy; and common sense finally prevailed over the dogmas of tradition and the rituals of enchantment. Such, in most countries, has been the origin and gradual evolution of medical knowledge. In Africa, we still behold it under the dominion of the powers of darkness; and we are afraid that the example and instructions of Dr Winterbottom have not gone far in delivering the venerable practitioners of that continent from this unhappy bondage. Changes of this sort, indeed, are always effected very slowly; and the Doctor's design, at least in his book, has rather been to preserve a faithful account of the diseases and remedies of the natives, than to extirpate or reform them.

After a very well written introduction, Dr Winterbottom proposes to consider his subject under three general divisions: 1*st*, General diseases to which both sexes are liable: 2*d*, The diseases of women, with the sexual peculiarities in Africa: 3*d*, The diseases and management of children. This distribution is simple and natural, and may be conveniently adopted as the basis of African nosology. Had our author paid the same attention to the arrangement of his genera and species, his plan would have been unexceptionable; but all the subordinate divisions of the work are presented in a state of extraordinary and unaccountable disorder; and we cannot help being displeased, as well as disappointed, when we are hurried, without notice or pretext, from hernia to the coup de soleil, from the scurvy to the toothach, and from sore legs to dysentery, earach, &c. This is not only an offence against good taste, but a real obstruction to the utility of the work;

work; and, beſides diminiſhing the beauty of the compoſition, it tends to diſturb the attention, and confound the inferences of the reader.

The ſecond chapter commences with the conſideration of fever; and as the fevers of hot climates are a peculiarly important ſubject of inquiry, we cannot more effectually gratify our medical readers than by quoting the author's general obſervations upon them.

'Fever is the moſt frequent and moſt fatal diſeaſe to which Europeans are ſubject upon the coaſt: it is leſs common among the Africans, who alſo ſuffer leſs from its attacks. In them it is generally the ſequel of a debauch, and very frequently follows the exceſſive intemperance in which they indulge at the funeral of their friends. It is a common remark among them, that one "*cry*" is generally followed by ſeveral others; for when any perſon of conſequence dies, ſeveral others fall ſick, and often narrowly eſcape with their lives. Even this they attribute to witchcraft, though it evidently depends upon their own miſconduct. They have no idea of the nature of fever as a general diſeaſe, nor have they any word in their language to expreſs it, but name it from any of its urgent ſymptoms, as ſick head, ſick belly, &c. On that account it has been ſuppoſed that the Africans are not liable to the attacks of remittent fever; an opinion which is contrary to fact. It is not uncommon to ſee the natives affected with ſlight, but diſtinctly formed paroxyſms of fever, which ſometimes terminate within twenty-four hours, and are conſidered as common headachs. I have known inſtances where repeated paroxyſms have occurred, and where the remittant fever has run its courſe preciſely as it would have done in any European who had reſided long upon the coaſt, and who, by undergoing the *ſeaſoning*, as it is termed, had aſſimilated himſelf to the climate. It may not be improper here to remark, that what is termed *ſeaſoning* among Europeans, an idea peculiar to themſelves, implies merely the firſt ſevere fit of illneſs, chiefly fever, which a perſon ſuffers after his arrival in a tropical climate: ſucceeding attacks of fever are uſually experienced in a ſlighter degree, though in this reſpect there is great difference, for ſome have repeated attacks as ſevere as the firſt. Thoſe Europeans at Sierra Leone, who longeſt reſiſted the power of climate in producing ſickneſs, ſuffered more, and were more dangerouſly affected, than thoſe who ſickened ſoon after their arrival. People of fair complexions appeared to be more liable to fever, and to ſuffer relapſes from ſlighter cauſes than thoſe of darker complexions; but they experienced, upon the whole, leſs ſevere attacks than the latter. From a few inſtances, it appeared that the climate was more inimical to men above forty-five than to thoſe who were younger. Women enjoyed a tolerable ſtate of health, nearly as good as in Europe; their complaints were in general leſs ſevere than thoſe of the men, but the ſtate of the convaleſcence was ſlower, and they were more liable to be haraſſed with ſymptoms of irritability or of euthiſm.'

Hence

Hence it appears that the Africans are not completely exempted from febrile indiſpoſitions, though, from their habits of temperance and the hereditary ſuitableneſs of their conſtitutions to the climate, they are leſs liable to the attacks of this formidable tribe of diſeaſes than Europeans. The effects of temperance as a prophylactic in the fevers of hot climates, is ſtrikingly demonſtrated in an 'Eſſay of Dr Chiſholm's on the Malignant Peſtilential Fever introduced into the Weſt Indian Iſlands from Bullom on the Coaſt of Guinea.'—'Whilſt the peſtilential fever raged here,' obſerves this gentleman, 'the utility of theſe means was remarkably illuſtrated by the almoſt total exemption of the French inhabitants from the diſeaſe. Their mode of living compared to the Engliſh is temperate and regular in an uncommon degree.' How long will Engliſhmen continue to aſſert this odious diſtinction at the expence of their lives and reputation!

In the treatment of febrile diſorders, the practitioners of the country appear not to be governed in their indications by any general views of phyſiology or pathology. The painful ſymptoms are the ſole objects of their attention; and theſe they attempt to remove by remedies which they deem peculiarly appropriate to the ſeat of the affection. The important functions of the ſtomach, the bowels and the ſkin, ſeem to be totally neglected. The circulation obtains no abatement of its preternatural force from the aid of general phlebotomy. Cupping is the only mode of letting blood that is known or practiſed in inflammatory diſeaſe, and this is only reſorted to as a relief from exquiſite topical pain. Thirſt is allayed by palatable acidulous drinks. Vomiting is alleviated or removed by draughts of a warm infuſion of the common red pepper (capſicum). Cephalics comprehend a very numerous claſs of medicaments, conſiſting chiefly of aromatic vegetables. Theſe are, for the moſt part, uſed in various forms of external application to the head. When the obſtinacy of the ſymptom is not ſubdued by this impotent treatment, which we apprehend it ſeldom is, an ancient ſiſter of the profeſſion is called in, who relieves the pain, and at the ſame time the veſſels of the head, by cupping on the temples. This operation is performed *ſecundum artem*, much in the ſame way as practiſed by European ſurgeons. 'It is the cuſtom with ſome, when affected with headach, to lye upon the earth before a large fire, having a ſtone laid upon one ſide of the head.' How fertile is human ingenuity in expedients to increaſe the ſum of human miſery! Intermittents, we are informed, are diſeaſes of very unfrequent occurrence on the coaſt of Africa. When, however, they do occur, their mode of cure conſiſts in exciting a profuſe perſpiration. This is done by cauſing the patient to ſit over a large veſſel containing a warm decoction

of herbaceous vegetables. To prevent the escape, and to determine the application of the steam, he is covered from head to foot with a large cotton cloth. Dr Winterbottom does not inform us how frequently this practice is successful, or what is the precise object of the practitioner in the employment of it. The intention is to excite perspiration. But in what manner is the fever supposed to be resolved by this treatment? Admirers, as we are, of facts and experience, yet we confess we should have been more gratified in the perusal of this volume, had the author more frequently blended his own observations and inferences with the hearsay information which he details, and the curative and pharmaceutic processes which he has occasionally witnessed among the natives.

Chapter III. contains ten dissimilar articles. As a sequel to a few remarks and quotations upon syphilitic affections, Dr Winterbottom informs us, that the

—'Foolas and Mandingos are subject to a disease which they call laanda, of a very infectious nature, and which bears a striking resemblance to syphilis, though they consider them as essentially different. The laanda makes its appearance upon the glans or prepuce like a common chancre, but daily spreads, and in time destroys the substance of the flesh. Dangerous hæmorrhages frequently arise in consequence of erosion, and the disease sometimes affects the throat, destroying the nose and the bones of the palate.'

Not another word is added on the subject! Are women subject to this complaint? Is it communicated by the mere contact of any part of the body? What relation does it bear to sibbens, &c.? Are all cases curable if taken in proper time? Are the natives in possession of any secret antidotes; or do they rely, as in syphilis, upon the sanative powers of mercury alone? From an author who writes professedly upon the subject of African nosography, we have a right to expect a tolerable gratification of our curiosity upon every subject which he undertakes to treat. But this is not the only instance we could point out of unpardonable brevity and omission in the history and treatment of African maladies.

In Chapter IV. we are presented with a full, and, as far as we are able to judge, an accurate account of elephantiasis. The case of Mamadoo Minnioo Casoo is a masterly piece of medico-historical composition. The chapter devoted to the history and treatment of the dracunculus or Guinea-worm deserves commendation. That the *vena medensis* is really a living animal does not appear, in our opinion, sufficiently established; though we must confess that we are much inclined to attach our creed upon this subject to that of our author.

The second part of the work, viz. The Diseases of Women, with

with the Sexual Peculiarities in Africa, is recommended to our approbation more by its literary elegance than its novelty.

'The management of children in Africa,' says Dr Winterbottom, 'is very simple: their diseases are also few, and of no great importance. Immediately after birth the infant is washed in warm water, or soap and water: this is continued for a few days, after which cold water only is used. During very hot weather, it is usual for the mother to throw a vessel of very cold water upon the child's head, two or three times a day, apparently to the satisfaction of the latter.'—'In order to strengthen a child born at the end of seven months, the mother takes every morning a mouthful of cold water, which she spirts upon the inside of the joints of the arms, wrists, knees, and successively those of the whole body, immediately after which the child is immersed in very cold water. This practice is repeated every morning until they suppose the child strong enough to bear the shock of cold water without any preparation.'

The author subjoins four appendices to his original plan. Appendix I. contains an interesting account of circumcision, as it is practised on the windward coast of Africa. No. II. a description of the bark of a species of tree called Bellenda. Several cases of intermittents are added, in which this Cortex Africanus, as it is called, was exhibited with success. We regret that we cannot add, from our own experience, to the list of respectable practitioners who have given it their sanction in this country. It is to be lamented that our author has confined his attention and experiments to this single article of pharmaceutic importance. Among the productions of Africa, we have no doubt there are still unknown many

> 'Herbs and potent trees, and drops of balm,
> Rich with the genial influence of the sun,
> To brace the nerveless arm, with food to win
> Sick appetite, or hush the unquiet breast.'

Dr Winterbottom indeed seems to have paid very great attention to the African *names* of these 'herbs and potent trees.' Had he devoted the same time in learning their sensible and other properties, it would have been much more profitably spent. Or had he selected a few from the rude and undigested mass with which this volume is charged, and subjected them to pharmaceutic experiments, he would have deserved a still greater portion of the public thanks. Appendix, No. III. is entitled, 'Remarks suggested by the perusal of Mr White's Work on the Regular Gradation in Man.' Our author is a warm and able advocate for the primitive equality of human endowments. So temperately and effectually does he wield his weapons of controversy, that we know of no essay on the subject we could recommend to the perusal of the philanthropist with greater pleasure. An ingenious

extract upon the same subject, from a work of Professor Blumenk, constitutes the fourth Appendix, and concludes the volume. We cannot take our leave of it without expressing our general approbation of its contents. The language is pure, unaffected, and classical. The matter, though not remarkable for its novelty, is never devoid of professional importance. The authorities that are quoted, which are very numerous, are invariably such as must give authenticity or embellishment to the facts that are related. Upon the whole, we may safely add, that, from a careful perusal of this little volume, the medical student will derive both information and delight, while the old practitioner, if we may judge from ourselves, will not lay it on his shelf without regretting its brevity.

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ART. XI. *A Sporting Tour through the Northern Parts of England, and great Part of the Highlands of Scotland, including Remarks on English and Scotish Landscape, and General Observations on the State of Society and Manners.* Embellished with Sixteen Engravings by Messrs Medland, &c. from Paintings made on purpose by Mr Garrard. By Colonel T. Thornton of Thornville-Royal in Yorkshire. London, 1804.

IT is well known that the patriarch of Uz exclaimed, in the midst of his afflictions, 'Oh that mine adversary had written a book!' This ardent exclamation of the man of patience has led the learned Rabbin Menachem-el-Rekenet, in the treatise entitled *Bâva Bâthra*, to suggest that the Arabian sage may have been a writer in the *Ammudeha Scibha* (the Critical Journal of Tadmor), or at least in the *Maarcheth haelahuth* (or Mokha Monthly Review). Without deciding on this difficult point, we can only say that we have frequently sympathised with the Eastern sufferer, and now rejoice that our enemy has written a book. Why we impute this hostile character to the author of the Sporting Tour before us, requires some explanation.

The Reviewers of North Britain, in common with the other inhabitants of the Scotish metropolis, enjoy some advantages unknown, it is believed, to their southern brethren. We do not allude merely to the purer air which we breathe in our attics, and the more active exercise which we enjoy in ascending to them, although our superiority in these respects is well known to be in the proportion of fourteen stories to three. But we pride ourselves chiefly in this circumstance, that though 'in populous city pent' for eight months in the year, the happy return of August

guſt turns the Reviewers, with the ſchoolboys, and even the Burghers of Edinburgh, adrift through the country, to ſeek, among moors and lakes, not indeed *whom*, but *what* they may devour: For ſome of us do (under Colonel Thornton's correction) know where to find a bit of game. On ſuch occaſions, even the moſt ſaturnine of our number has deſcended from his den garniſhed with the limbs of mangled authors, wiped his ſpectacles, adjuſted his knapſack, and exchanged the critical ſcalping knife for the fiſhing-rod or fowling-piece. But we are doomed to travel in a *ſtyle* (to uſe the appropriate expreſſion) far different from that of our worthy author. Having in our retinue nothing either to bribe kindneſs, or to impoſe reſpect—having neither two boats nor a ſloop to travel by ſea, nor a gig, two baggage-waggons, and God knows how many horſes, for the land ſervice—having neither draughtſman nor falconer, Jonas nor Lawſon, groom nor boy—having in our ſuite neither *Conqueror*, nor *Plato*, nor *Dragon*, nor *Sampſon*, nor *Death*, nor the *Devil*—above all, having neither crowns and half crowns to greaſe the fiſts of game-keepers and foreſters, nor lime punch, incomparable Calvert's porter, flaſks of champagne, and magnums of claret * to propitiate their ſuperiors;—in fine, being accoutred in a ruſty black coat, and attended by a pointer which might have belonged to the pack of the frugal Mr Oſbaldeſton, † being moreover 'Lord of our preſence but no land beſide,' we have in *our* ſporting tours met with interruptions of a nature more diſagreeable than we chuſe to mention. Hence the various oppreſſions exerciſed upon us by the *Lairds* ‡ whoſe moors we have perambulated, has taught us to rail, with Jaques, againſt all the firſt-born of Egypt. And deeply have we often ſworn, that if any of thoſe gentlemen ſhould be tempted to hunt acroſs Parnaſſus, or the demeſnes adjacent, or ſhould be detected abandoning their only proper and natural vocation of purſuing, killing and eating the fowls of the air, the beaſts of the earth, and the fiſhes in the waters under the earth, for the unnatural and unſquire-like employment of writing, printing, and publiſhing, we would then, in return for their lectures on the game laws, introduce them to an acquaintance with the canons of criticiſm. Such an opportunity of vengeance was rather however to be wiſhed than hoped; and therefore Colonel Thornton was not more joyfully ſurpriſed when at Dalnacardoch he killed



* All which Colonel Thornton ſays he had. In our mind, he ſhould have given God thanks, and made no boaſt of them.

† Who kept a pack of hounds and two hunters, not to mention a wife and ſix children, on ſixty pounds a year.

‡ A variety of the ſquire-*genus*, found in Scotland.

a char with bait, than we were to detect a hunting, hawking Engliſh ſquire, poaching in the fields of literature. We therefore apprize Colonel Thornton that he muſt produce his licenſe, and eſtabliſh his qualification, or ſubmit to the ſtatutory penalty, *in terrorem* of all ſuch offenders.

The Colonel's book is a journal of a tour through Scotland, which, like Agricola, he invaded by ſea and land at once, and with a retinue almoſt as formidable. When twenty horſes had conveyed the Colonel and his truſty followers from Yorkſhire by Kelſo to Edinburgh, and thence by Glaſgow, Dumbarton and Loch-Lomond to Loch-Tay, and thence by Dunkeld to Raits in the foreſts of Strathſpey, they there received news of the embarkation, conſiſting of a cutter deeply laden with ſtores and domeſtics, which had ſailed from Hull to Forres, and had been twice ſaved by the preſence of mind of an active houſekeeper, who 'in ſpirit outvied the men,' p. 3. On the firſt occaſion, ſhe diſcovered a leak 'by the trickling of water in her cot.' Imputing it indeed to ſome other cauſe, ſhe prudently gave no alarm till the ſame phenomenon occurred in another hammock; and on a ſecond eventful occaſion, it was ſhe who made the ſignal of diſtreſs, by hoiſting her white linen on the oar of the jolly boat, p. 72. After a long encampment in the moors, and after viſiting Elgin and Gordon-Caſtle, the train went by Inverneſs and the forts to Inverary, thence to Dumbarton and to Edinburgh, and ſo home by the weſtern road.

The performance is termed a Sporting Tour, not becauſe it conveys to the reader any information new or old upon the habits of the animals unfortunate enough to be diſtinguiſhed as *game*, nor even upon the modes to be adopted in deſtroying them *ſecundum artem*; but becauſe it contains a long, minute, and prolix account of every grouſe or blackcock which had the honour to fall by the gun of our literary ſportſman—of every pike which gorged his bait—of every bird which was pounced by his hawks—of every blunder which was made by his ſervants—and of every bottle which was drunk by himſelf and his friends. Now this, we apprehend, exceeds the licenſe given to ſportſmen. We allow them all the pleaſure which they can procure in an active and exhilarating amuſement; nay, we permit them to rehearſe the exploits of the field, lake and moor, as long as the audience are engaged in devouring and digeſting the ſpoils of the campaign: but not one minute longer. Will Wimble himſelf, if we recollect rightly, began and finiſhed his account of ſtriking, playing and landing the huge jack he preſented to Sir Roger de Coverley, within the time the company were engaged in eating it. And if a ſportſman wiſhes to protract his narrative through *cloſe-time*, we appriſe him that he muſt provide for the auditors a reaſonable quantity

quantity of potted char, pickled ſalmon, jugged hare and deer-ham, or be ſatisfied with the attention of the Led Captain. For our own part, we may be believed when we proteſt we would have given a patient hearing to all the Colonel's exploits if we had been admitted to partake of the dinner in his Dulnon camp, of which the following bill of fare, with many others, is given us with laudable accuracy.

'A hodge podge.

REMOVE.

Boiled trout and ſalmon,
Rein-deer's tongue,
Cold fowl,
Brandered moor-game.

SAUCES.

Garlick, and Capſicum vinegars.

REMOVE.

Cheſhire cheeſe,
Moor-game gizzards,
Biſcuits.

Liquors—Port, Imperial, Jamaica rum punch, with freſh limes, Porter, ale, &c.' p. 129.

Had we been fortunate enough to be regaled at this table in the wilderneſs, we would willingly and moſt conſcientiouſly have liſtened to every ſtory in the Colonel's quarto—we would have careſſed Pero, Ponto, Dargo, Shandy, Carlo and Romp, p. 151. —we would have wondered at the old cock and five polts which the Colonel killed out of one covey; and wondered ſtill more at the monſtrous great pike, which was five feet four inches in length, (p. 86.) although the ſtory be a good half hour's reading. Nor would we have refuſed to ſympathiſe in the moving reverſes of fortune, experienced by this emperor of ſportſmen. We would have been ſorry when he fired away his ramrod, or bruiſed the pipe ſo, that he could not return it (p. 151.)—ſorry when his tent tumbled down about his ears (p. 154.)—very ſorry when a drunken ferryman jumped upon and broke the fourth piece of his fiſhing-rod (p. 52.)—and very ſorry indeed, when he rubbed the ſkin off his heel by the hard ſeam of his fen-boot. Nay, if the repaſt could poſſibly have laſted ſo long, we ſhould have ſubmitted thankfully to gape and mourn over a gig ſtuck on a gate-poſt (p. 33.), over a broken trace or ſpring (p. 30.), or over Sampſon, the marvel of the Highlands, *abimé* (as the Colonel calls it), in a bog, though upwards of ſeventeen hands and a half high (p. 73.) In ſhort, we aver, that, while our mouths were employed, our ears ſhould always have been open, and that, reviewers though we be, no hawk he ever reclaimed ſhould have been more *manny*. * But at preſent

* A term in falconry (Colonel Thornton informs us), for being gentle and well broken.

preſent we are under no obligation either to be good liſteners or courteous readers; for the Colonel, by the mode in which he has been pleaſed to communicate the above important incidents, has outraged every privilege of thoſe to whom ſuch valuable information is conveyed. To ſtuff a quarto with his perſonal exploits of ſhooting and fiſhing, all detailed with the moſt unmerciful prolixity, is a tyranny ſurpaſſing that of William Rufus, who, though he turned his liege ſubjects out of their houſes to make a park, did not propoſe they ſhould pay 1l. 15s. for the hiſtory of his huntings—a proceeding which, in our opinion, would have juſtified an inſurrection againſt Nimrod himſelf.

We have already ſaid we do not find any thing in Colonel Thornton's book which is very new, even in his own department. The following improvement upon fiſhing a lake, by hooks attached to a float, may amuſe the ſportſman.

'In order to deſcribe this mode of fiſhing, it may be neceſſary to ſay, that I make uſe of pieces of *cork*, of a conical form, and having ſeveral of theſe all differently painted, and named after favourite hounds, trifling wagers are made on their ſucceſs, which rather adds to the ſpirit of the ſport.

'The mode of baiting them is, by placing a live bait, which hangs at the end of a line, of one yard and a half long, faſtened only ſo ſlightly, that on the pike's ſtriking, two or three yards more may run off, to enable him to gorge his bait. If more line is uſed, it will prevent the ſport that attends his diving and carrying under water the hound; which, being thus purſued in a boat, down wind (which they always take), affords very excellent amuſement; and where pike, or large perch, or even trout, are in plenty, before the hunters, if I may ſo term theſe fiſhers, have run down the firſt pike, others are ſeen coming towards them, with a velocity proportionable to the fiſh that is at them.

'In a fine ſummer's evening, with a pleaſant party, I have had excellent diverſion; and it is, in fact, the moſt adapted, of any, for ladies, whoſe company gives a *guſto* to all parties.' Note, p. 27.

This amuſement may appear a little childiſh. Nor will ſome ſcrupulous ſportſmen greatly approve of the recipe for making birds *lye*, by flying a hawk over them—a mode of ſhooting moſt murderouſly bloody. Other Highland hunters will obſerve, with indignation, that the Colonel expreſſes a diſlike of the manly amuſement of deer-ſtalking. But theſe are trivial objections. What ſhall we ſay of the tone in which the Colonel ſpeaks of his guns, his rods, his dogs, his hawks, his ſervants, his draughtſman, his friends, his freſh eggs, marmalade and currant jelly; what of the importance he annexes to the breaking of a buckle, or wetting of a powder-flaſk; what of the GENERAL ORDERS, regularly iſſued with military preciſion, and as regularly inſerted in the journal! In ſooth, we will content ourſelves with copying the

the Colonel's own account of a Highland dancingmaſter preſiding at a ball at Dalmally.

—'But I ſhall never forget the arrogance of the maſter: his mode of marſhalling his troops, his directions, and other manœuvres, were truly ridiculous: he felt himſelf greater than any adjutant diſciplining his men, and managed them much in the ſame manner.'

We mean no invidious compariſon; but Colonel Thornton, who piques himſelf on the pomp and circumſtance annexed to a capital ſportſman, admits the poor dancingmaſter's merit in his proper department, and that he danced the Highland fling with the true 'Glen Orgue (he means Glenorchy) kick;' and we queſtion whether the annals of his ſchool might not afford as important and amuſing information as the following ſpecimen, taken at random from the Colonel's journal—

'We ordered dinner, as we had done the preceding day, early. Tired of ſitting in doors, I took my gun, and killed, hobbling about, two brace of ſnipes, and was returning home, when one of the pointers made a very ſteady point. I perceived by his manner that it was not a ſnipe: came up to him, was backed by the other dog, and they footed their game. I apprehended it would prove black game, not that I had ſeen any near here, but could not conceive what it could be, till coming into ſome thinly diſperſed, but ſtinted alders, they both made their point complete; a wild duck ſluſhed, which I fired at, and ſaw drop. The dogs ſtill maintained their point as uſual; and, walking on to pick up the duck, leſt he ſhould get into the drains and give me ſome trouble to recover him, another roſe, with which I was equally ſucceſsful with my other barrel.' p. 100.

We were much amuſed with the Colonel's recommendation to ſportſmen, to keep one ſet of dogs for themſelves, another to lend to their friends, p. 163. It reminds us of a gentleman who kept a caſe of razors for the uſe of thoſe who unexpectedly ſpent the night in his houſe:—it was aſtoniſhing how deeply his friends deprecated the hoſpitality of the *ſtranger's razor*. We muſt not omit to mention, that the Colonel takes due care decently to intimate his ſucceſs in a ſport to which all ſportſmen are partial, from Abyſſinian Bruce, who hunted elephants mounted on a brown horſe, to the moſt ſorry poacher that ever ſhot a hare at a gate by moon-light. Yet a more faſtidious gallant would have diſclaimed to form deſigns upon 'a *wizen'd* and ſmoke-dryed Highland woman, upwards of forty-five years old,' p. 128; nor do we agree in his compliments to the unparalleled *ſilver* hair of a young lady, elſewhere and more reſpectfully mentioned: either the Colonel's veneration for age muſt be extreme, or he valued the treſſes of this Highland damſel for the ſame reaſon that he admired the fur of the white hare.

We do not intend to trace the Colonel through his tour, in

which we muſt remark that there is ſcarcely a Gaelic name properly ſpelled. Nay, even on the plain ground of the Lowlands, he makes ſtrange blunders. He talks of fiſhing in the *Teviot* at Mindrum-Mill, p. 13, when, in fact, he was at leaſt ten miles diſtant from that river, which he ſeems to have confounded with the Bowmont, a ſtream that is not even tributary to the Teviot, but falls into the Till. In like manner, he talks of thoſe 'uncommonly beautiful hills the Teviot,' meaning, we think, the Cheviot mountains, p. 14. Surely this accompliſhed ſportſman has heard of Chevy Chaſe. In point of ſtyle, we think a bold Britiſh fox-hunter might have diſpenſed with many unneceſſary French terms, as *pallette* for pallet, *metier* for art, *jeſſois* for jeſſes, and, inſtead of 'reckoning, as the French expreſs it, *ſans ſon hote*,' might not the Colonel have 'reckoned without his hoſt, as we ſay in England?'

The deſcriptions of the Highland landſcapes which the Colonel met with on his route are very ſimilar to what are uſually found in books of the kind, abounding in all the *ſlang* by which touriſts delight to deſcribe what can never be underſtood from deſcription. The accounts of abbeys, caſtles, antiquities, &c. are bolſtered out by quotations from Pennant and Gray. Indeed, whole pages are borrowed from the former, without either ſhame or acknowledgement. The poetical ſcraps introduced are in general from well known authors, though the following, for ought we know, may be original:

'See the bold falconers ſtrain up the lingy ſteep,
Daſh through the junipers, down the valley ſweep;
Not half ſo ſwift the trembling doves can fly,
When the fierce falcon cleaves the liquid ſky.' p. 130.

We would like to know from a hawker of Colonel Thornton's high fame, whether falconers do actually run faſter than pigeons fly; and, if they do, whether it be abſolutely neceſſary that the verſe ſhould halt for it. We have only to add, that the engravings from Mr Garrard's deſigns are pretty; and we hope this tribute of praiſe will conſole that gentleman for the fatigues of a journey, performed like thoſe of Mad Tom 'on high trotting horſes,' which, according to Colonel Thornton, is the appropriate conveyance of an artiſt. By the way, we do not recogniſe Colonel Thornton's humanity (elſewhere diſplayed in ſaving a ſervant's life, and in attention to diminiſh the torture of his wounded game) in his treatment of Mr Garrard, whom, after 'gently reproaching him for his timidity, he perſuaded to follow to a ſtone overhanging a precipice, where, had his foot ſlipped, it would have been his laſt ſketch.'

We bid adieu to Colonel Thornton in nearly the words of Shakeſpeare—

'Between

'Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch;
Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth;
Between two blades, which bears the better temper;
Between two horſes, which doth bear him beſt;
Between two girls, which hath the merrier eye;
He hath, perhaps, *no* ſhallow ſpirit of judgement.'

But whether thoſe accompliſhments will qualify him to delight or inſtruct the public as a writer, is a point which we willingly leave to his reader's determination.

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ART. XII. *Miſcellaneous Plays.* By Joanna Baillie. London. Longman Hurſt Rees & Orme. 8vo. pp. 438. 1804.

IN a former article * we took the liberty of expreſſing our diſapprobation of the plan which Miſs Baillie had announced, of dramatiſing the whole mental noſology, by compoſing a tragedy and a comedy upon each of the paſſions of the human mind. Though we were not ſo ſanguine as to hope that Miſs Baillie would be converted by our arguments, we will confeſs that they produced a ſtrong conviction in our own minds, and that we did not expect to be ſo ſoon compelled to retract or diſavow them. The peruſal of this volume, however, has very nearly overſet all our concluſions. It contains three plays, not written on the plan to which we had objected, and ſo decidedly inferior to thoſe which the ſame writer had produced in purſuance of that plan, that we cannot help regretting that ſhe ſhould ever have thought of abandoning it. We look upon the preſent publication, indeed, as by far the moſt convincing argument that could poſſibly have been deviſed for juſtifying her original project; and, as the writer takes care to intimate that, in ſpite of this little deviation, ſhe has no ſort of intention to relinquiſh it, we cannot help ſuſpecting that ſhe had ſome view of this ſort in the compoſition.

The plays in this volume conſiſt of two tragedies and a comedy; and the fair writer, in the preface, is particularly earneſt in requeſting that her reader would lay down the book at the end of each play, and only take it up again after the lapſe of ſeveral days. With the firſt part of this requeſt we are inclined to think that many will be induced to comply, who would conſider the ſecond as unreaſonable; and 'hardly, as Miſs Baillie aſſures us, ſhe muſt think herſelf treated by the refuſal,' we are bound in conſcience to acknowledge that we have diſregarded the whole petition, and read the volume from beginning to end at a ſingle ſitting. In palliation of this offence, we may be permitted perhaps



* Vol. II. p. 269.

haps to obſerve, that the injunction does not ſeem in perfect conſiſtency with ſome of the other ſtatements in her introduction. The reader is firſt directed to pauſe ſo long after every play, as may enable him to proceed to the next with the ſame feelings as if it had ſtood firſt in the collection: and then he is informed, that the comedy is placed between the two tragedies, that he may enjoy 'a little flickering of the ſunbeams as he paſſes from one ſombre gloom to another.' Indeed, the only motive which Miſs Baillie's modeſty allows her to ſtate for having publiſhed the ſaid comedy, is this humane anxiety to ſupport the ſpirits of her reader under theſe tragical impreſſions; from which, however, ſhe inſiſts upon their being perfectly recovered before they are allowed to apply to the antidote.

The firſt play is entitled 'Rayner,' and was written, we are happy to find, many years ago. Miſs Baillie cannot poſſibly write a tragedy, nor an act indeed of a tragedy, without ſhowing genius, and exemplifying a more dramatic conception and expreſſion than any of her modern competitors; but ſhe is always deficient in the conduct of her fable, and frequently injudicious in the ſelection of the incidents upon which it is made to depend. We cannot conceive any thing more unhappily imagined than the ſtory of Rayner, nor any thing more completely trite and puerile than the incidents by which it is unfolded. If Miſs Baillie had not previouſly achieved a very high reputation as a dramatic writer, we ſhould have been inclined, after peruſing this production, to ſay that nothing at all approaching to excellence could ever be expected from a writer who could build up a tragedy on a ſeries of ſuch miſerable common-places.

Rayner is a gallant young ſoldier; of a thoughtleſs and improvident diſpoſition, like all heroes of romance; who falls into low ſpirits, becauſe an old uncle, from whom he had great expectations, is induced to diſinherit him, and leave all his fortune to an artful legacy-hunter called Hubert. In this mood, he is introduced to a band of gentlemen robbers, commanded by Count Zatterloo, who are as merry and jovial as fabulous banditti have always been bound to be ſince the publication of Gil Blas, or earlier. Theſe free ſpirits propoſe to murder poor Hubert next night, as he paſſes through a wood with a variety of portmanteaus containing his ill-got legacy; and Rayner, after ſeveral compunctious viſitings of nature, is finally determined, by his landlord's importunity about the reckoning, to take a ſhare in the enterpriſe. With this laudable intention, he repairs with his new aſſociates next night to the wood, where there is, of courſe, a great deal of thunder and lightning. In the ſtorm, he is ſeparated from the gang, and, loſing his way, wanders, as was naturally to have been conjectured, into the cell of a hermit, who turns out to have been

a murderer in his day alſo, and terrifies his viſitor into penitence by the ſight of the terrors and agonies of his remorſe. In the mean time, the report of fire-arms leads him to fear that the deed is done without him, and he ruſhes out to aſſure himſelf of the truth. The robbers, better verſed in ſuch perilous circumſtances, after finiſhing their job make their eſcape; but poor Rayner is ſoon caught by certain officers of juſtice, carried before the magiſtrate, tried, and condemned to die. In priſon he is viſited, beſides the chaplain in ordinary, by an affectionate damſel of the name of Elizabeth, to whom he had been betrothed, and by an old General, who takes a vaſt affection for him, and makes many unſucceſsful attempts to procure his pardon. But the moſt fortunate circumſtance that occurs during his confinement, is an acquaintance he contrives to ſcrape up with an African prince, who officiated as a pot-boy in the priſon, and was very harſhly uſed by the jailors and debtors, on account of his unfortunate propenſity to tippling. Rayner, one cold evening, detects this illuſtrious perſonage in the act of ſtealing his cloak, and generouſly makes him a preſent of it; prudently conſidering, that as he was himſelf to be beheaded next morning, it could not be of much more uſe to him. The ſable chieftain is filled with ſo much gratitude for this unexpected donation, that he ſlips out before daylight, and cunningly ſaws half through the platform, on which the executioner is to mount before giving the fatal ſtroke. The conſequences of this ingenious device are obvious. The laſt officer of the law tumbles down on the pavement, to the vaſt ſatisfaction of the ſpectators; and bumps his head ſo terribly on the ſtones, that the execution is neceſſarily delayed till one of his apprentices can be ſent for. In the nick of time comes a meſſenger from Count Zaterloo, who had been ſadly wounded in the affray, confeſſing that he alone was guilty of the murder, and that Rayner was not ſo much as preſent at its perpetration. Upon this he is immediately declared not guilty (though it is perfectly plain that he ought to have been hanged as an acceſſory before the fact), marries Elizabeth, and is conſoled for the loſs of his uncle's fortune, by the old General's promiſe to make him his heir. This is the main ſtory. There are ſome moral ſcenes with Count Zaterloo, illuſtrating the bad effects of exceſſive parental indulgence, and the ingratitude of kept miſtreſſes.

Out of ſuch incidents as theſe, our readers will probably allow that it would not be eaſy to make a good tragedy. We certainly are not inclined to beſtow this appellation upon Rayner; but when we conſider the materials upon which ſhe had to work, we are rather ſurpriſed that Miſs Baillie ſhould have been able to make out ſo many good ſpeeches and paſſable ſcenes as we have met with. There are ſome impreſſive touches in the ſcene between

tween Rayner and the penitent hermit in the foreſt, and a conſiderable power of pathetic repreſentation in his firſt meeting with Elizabeth on his way to the priſon. The beſt ſcenes perhaps are thoſe which paſs between the lovers after his condemnation. We ſhall venture upon a few extracts.

' *Rayner.* Thou ſayeſt well, my ſweet Elizabeth;
In this I have againſt thy love offended.
But in the brightneſs of fair days, in all
The careleſs gaiety of unruffled youth,
Smiling like others of thy ſex, I loved thee;
Nor knew that thou wert alſo form'd to ſtrive
With the braced firmneſs of unyielding virtue
In the dark ſtorms of life—alike to flouriſh
In ſunſhine or in ſhade.—Alas! alas!
It was the thoughts of ſeeing thee—But ceaſe!
The die is caſt; I'll ſpeak of it no more:
The gleam which ſhews to me thy wond'rous excellence
Glares alſo on the dark and lowering path
That muſt our way divide.

' *Eliz.* O no! as are our hearts, our way is one,
And cannot be divided. Strong affection
Contends with all things, and o'ercometh all things.

' *Rayner.* Alas, my love! theſe are thy words of woe,
And have no meaning but to ſpeak thy woe:
Dark fate hangs o'er us, and we needs muſt part.
The ſtrong affection that o'ercometh all things,
Shall fight for us indeed, and ſhall o'ercome:
But in a better world the vantage lies
Which it ſhall gain for us: here, from this earth
We muſt take different roads and climb to it,
As in ſome pitileſs ſtorm two 'nighted travellers
Loſe on a wild'ring heath their 'tangled way,
And meet again.

' *Eliz.* Ay, but thy way, thy way, my gentle Rayner—
It is a terrible one.
Oh fleſh and blood ſhrinks from the horrid paſs!
Death comes to thee, not as he viſiteth
The ſick man's bed, pillow'd with weeping friends:
O no! nor yet as on the battle's field
He meets the blood-warm'd ſoldier in his mail,
Greeting him proudly.—Thou muſt bend thy neck,
This neck round which mine arms now circled cloſe
Do feel the loving warmth of youthful life:
Thou muſt beneath the ſtroke—O horrid! horrid!

' RAYNER *(ſupporting her from ſinking to the ground).*
' My dear Elizabeth, my moſt belov'd!
Thou art affrighted with a horrid picture

By

By thine own fancy trac'd; look not upon it:
All is not dreadful in the actual proof
Which on th' approach frowns darkly.' p. 78-80.

Afterwards, when the old general expresses his intention to solicit for a pardon, Elizabeth throws herself at his feet, and says,

'*Eliz.* We ask not liberty; we ask but life.
O grant us this, and keep us where they will,
Or as they will. We shall do no disquiet.
O let them grant us life, and we will bless them!

'*Rayner.* And wouldst thou have me live, Elizabeth,
Forlorn and sad, in lothly dungeon pent,
Kept from the very use of mine own limbs,
A poor, lost, caged thing?

'*Eliz.* Would not I live with thee? would not I cheer thee?
Would'st thou be lonely then? would'st thou be sad?
I'd clear away the dark unwholesome air,
And make a little parlour of thy cell.
With cheerful labour eke our little means,
And go abroad at times to fetch thee in
The news and passing stories of the day.
I'd read thee books: I'd sit and sing to thee:
And every thing would to our willing minds
Some observation bring to cheer our hours.
Yea, ev'n the varied voices of the wind
O' winter nights would be a play to us.
Nay, turn not from me thus, my gentle Rayner!
How many suffer the extremes of pain,
Ay, lop their limbs away, in lowest plight
Few years to spend upon a weary couch
With scarce a friend their sickly draughts to mingle!
And dost thou grudge to spend thy life with me?

'*Rayner.* I could live with thee in a pitchy mine;
In the cleft crevice of a savage den,
Where coils the snake, and bats and owlets roost,
And cheerful light of day no entrance finds.
But would'st thou have me live degraded also;
Humbled and low? No, liberty or nought
Must be our boon.' p. 85-7.

Though all this part of the play brings strongly to our recollection the prison scenes in Measure for Measure, yet we think Miss Baillie has succeeded in her attempt to combine, in the character of Rayner, a great deal of warlike gallantry, and of thoughtless and active courage, with a considerable horror and dread for the solemn approach of certain and inevitable death. In one passage, he says to the priest,

'*Rayner.* Death is to me an awful thing; nay, Father,
I fear to die. And were it in my power,

By-

By suffering of the keenest racking pains,
To keep upon me still these words of nature,
I could such things endure, that thou wouldst marvel,
And cross thyself to see such coward bravery.
For oh! it goes against the mind of man
To be turn'd out from its warm wonted home,
Ere yet one rent admits the winter's chill.' p. 31.

We add also the following soliloquy, supposed to be spoken on the night before his execution. The thoughts are not new; but there is, along with some heaviness, considerable force of conception and expression.

'*Rayner.* This bell speaks with a deep and sullen voice:
The time comes on apace with silent speed.
Is it indeed so late? (*Looking at his watch.*)
It is even so.
(*Pausing, and looking still at the watch.*)
How soon time flies away! yet, as I watch it,
Methinks, by the slow progress of this hand,
I should have liv'd an age since yesterday,
And have an age to live. Still on it creeps,
Each little moment at another's heels,
Till hours, days, years, and ages are made up
Of such small parts as these, and men look back,
Worn and bewilder'd, wond'ring how it is.
Thou trav'llest like a ship in the wide ocean,
Which hath no bounding shore to mark its progress;
O Time! ere long I shall have done with thee.
When next thou leadest on thy nightly shades,
Though many a weary heart thy steps may count,
Thy midnight 'larum shall not waken me.
Then shall I be a thing, at thought of which
The roused soul swells boundless and sublime,
Or wheels in wildness of unfathom'd fears:
A thought; a consciousness; unbodied spirit.
Who but would shrink from this?
But wherefore shrink? came we not thus to earth?
And he who sent, prepar'd reception for us.
Ay, glorious are the things that are prepar'd,
As we believe!—yet, heaven pardon me!
I fain would sculk beneath my wonted cov'ring,
Mean as it is.
Ah, Time! when next thou fill'st thy nightly term,
Where shall I be? Fye! fye upon thee still!
E'en where weak infancy, and tim'rous age,
And maiden fearfulness have gone before thee;
And where, as well as him of firmest soul,
The meanly-minded and the coward are,

Then

Then trust thy nature, at th' approaching push,
The mind doth shape itself to its own wants,
And can bear all things.' p. 111-113.

We can afford no more extracts from this play. From those which we have now given, our readers will perceive that Miss Baillie's style and diction, with some quaintness and much inequality, has in it, upon the whole, more vigour, nature and animation, than that of any of our modern dramatists. It has all the substantial characters of poetry, too, with scarcely any thing of the vulgar poetical diction; and is always a great deal richer in conception and imagery, than in melody and phrases. The gay scenes, we think, are very clumsily and heavily delineated; and the humours of the turnkeys, executioners and clowns, are absolutely insupportable.

We come now to the comedy which is called 'The Country Inn.' Miss Baillie positively must not write comedies. She wants that talent; and she has higher talents. There are strong indications of good sense indeed, and good humour, in the speeches of her favourite characters; and the diction throughout has the merit of being very natural, and of approaching more nearly to the tone of real conversation, than is usual in the modern drama. But the dialogue, along with the ease of common conversation, has a good deal of its *fadeur* and insipidity; and there is a lamentable deficiency both of incident and character, for which no atonement could be made by the utmost accomplishment of expression. The Country Inn is by much the worst of Miss Baillie's comedies. With the same want of brilliancy, probability and interest, it has less variety, and a much more offensive proportion of low humour than any of its predecessors. The characters, too, have all too much mediocrity about them to be interesting: they have no passion, and scarcely any distress or perplexity. The ludicrous incidents are all extremely childish; and the moral and reasonable passages have neither tenderness nor energy.

The story, in case our readers have any anxiety to know it, is as follows. A worthy baronet about forty, whom too much sense has made a humourist, and kept a bachelor, is stopped at a country inn by the snow, along with a dissipated idle nephew, a great admirer of his own beauty and accomplishments. In the same house there happens to be a gentleman poet, the activity of whose fancy has converted the chambermaid into a nymph of enchanting beauty, and irresistible elegance of manners. By and by arrives a coach, containing an old lady and two nieces; one very pretty, amiable and accomplished, but with scarcely any fortune; the other a downright idiot, supposed to be a great heiress, but

in reality almoſt as poor as her couſin. The old lady is a great match-maker, and particularly anxious to diſpoſe of the moſt deſerving of her neices to the baronet, who fortunately turns out to be an old acquaintance. The young lady ſees through this plot of her aunt; and being, of courſe, much above mercenary motives, thinks herſelf bound to fruſtrate it, by treating the gentleman with particular coldneſs and neglect. By liſtening at her chamber-door, however, he contrives, in his turn, to ſee through the motive of her indifference; and thereon falling deſperately in love with her, communicates as much of his paſſion to her as is ſufficient to obtain her conſent to marry him towards the cloſe of the fifth act. In the mean time, the nephew elopes with the idiot niece, and is regaled, upon his return, with diſcovering that her perſonal accompliſhments form almoſt the whole of her dowry. The poet, at the ſame time, in ſpite of the ungenial weather, leads the chambermaid to the altar, and is rewarded for his folly by finding that an old uncle had that morning left her ten thouſand pounds. Such are the incidents which, with the help of the pleaſantries of David the oſtler, and Will the poſtillion, and the humours of the landlady and bagpiper, Miſs Baillie has contrived to dilate into a comedy in five acts, entitled, The Country Inn.

The laſt play is a tragedy, called Conſtantine Paleologus. The ſubject is the downfal of the Eaſtern empire, by the capture of Conſtantinople by the Turks. It is by far the beſt in the collection; and, though 'horribly ſtuffed with circumſtance of war,' and compoſed throughout in a ſtyle rather more turgid and ambitious than any of Miſs Baillie's other compoſitions, approaches much nearer to the ſtandard of Count Baſil and De Montford than the preceding contents of the volume had permitted us to expect. Miſs Baillie's own account of the object ſhe had in view, and the impreſſions under which ſhe proceeded, deſerve to be given in her own words.

'The ſubject of it is taken from Gibbon's account of the ſiege of Conſtantinople by the Turks. It was a ſubject that preſſed itſelf upon me, at a time when I had no thoughts of writing at all, and (if I may uſe the expreſſion) *would* be written upon. The character there diſplayed of Conſtantine Paleologus, the laſt of the Cæſars, a modeſt, affectionate, domeſtic man; nurſed in a luxurious court in habits of indulgence and indolence; without ambition, even without hope, rouſing himſelf up on the approach of unavoidable ruin; and deſerted by every chriſtian prince in Europe, deſerted by his own worthleſs and enervated ſubjects, ſupported alone by a generous band, chiefly of ſtrangers, devoting themſelves to him from generous attachment;—to ſee him thus circumſtanced, nobly fronting the ſtorm, and periſhing as became the laſt of a long line of kings, the laſt of the Romans;—this was a view of man—of noble and dignified exertion which it was impoſſible for me

to

to resist, though well aware that no play I am capable of writing can ever be equal to what such a subject deserves. So much was I pleased with those generous ties—may I be permitted to make use of a scripture phrase, and say, those "cords of a man?" binding together the noble Paleologus and his brave imperial band, that, had I followed my own inclination, delineating those would have been the principal object of the piece. But convinced that something more was requisite to interest a common audience, and give sufficient variety to the scenes, I introduced the character of Valeria, and brought forward the domestic qualities of Constantine as well as those of the unfortunate prince and beloved leader.' p. xiv. xv.

The character of Constantine, indeed, and his fate, constitute the whole interest of the drama. It cannot be said to have any plot, and scarcely any fable. It is merely the history of the two last days of the siege; and though an attempt is made to diversify the business of the scene, by the introduction of a mutiny and an embassy, yet we see clearly the doom of the emperor from the very opening of the piece, and the attention is never effectually diverted to any other object. The inferior characters are not striking. There is a kind of rhetorical flourishing in the speeches of Othus, which was intended, we suppose, to characterize the man of letters in his new vocation of a soldier; but it is merely bombastic and declamatory, and wearies us almost as much as the dull villany and tedious treachery of Petronius and Marthon. There is something rather magnificent in the character of Valeria, though we cannot be brought by any means to approve of her going to consult the magician as to the destiny of her husband. Such a proceeding is not only unsuitable to her lofty and commanding temper, but the incident itself is beneath the dignity of tragedy. Shrines and oracles may be resorted to by distressed sovereigns, without any breach of decorum; nay, witches and wizards may be consulted with sufficient propriety, provided they live alone in caverns and dreary forests, and give out their predictions for love, for fear, or for hatred. But for an empress to go disguised like one of her chambermaids, to a professed conjuror's apartments, in an obscure alley of a great city, and to pay her money at the door out of gratitude for being surprised with good news, is an incident which corresponds so ill with the lofty tone of tragedy, that it could scarcely find admittance into the more dignified species of comedy. The character of Constantine, however, certainly is represented with considerable truth and feeling. We give the following short extract. The deserted monarch, after having counterfeited a cheerful intrepidity in the midst of his officers, thus addresses himself to Othus in private:

'*Constan.* ——————Here, by thy friendly side,
I'll give my heart a little breathing space;

For oh! the gen'rous love of theſe brave men,
Holding thus nobly to my ſinking fate,
Preſſes it ſorely.
From thee nor from myſelf can I conceal
The hopeleſs ſtate in which I am beſet.
No foreign prince a brother's hand extends
In this mine hour of need; no chriſtian ſtate
Sends forth its zealous armies to defend
This our begirded croſs: within our walls,
Tho' with th' addition of our later friends,
I cannot number ſoldiers ev'n ſufficient
To hold a petty town 'gainſt ſuch vaſt odds.
I needs muſt ſmile and wear a brow of hope,
But with thee, gentle Othus, I put off
All form and ſeeming; I am what I am,
A weak and heart-rent man.—Wilt thou forgive me?
For I in truth muſt weep.

*Othus.* Yes, unreſtrained weep, thou valiant ſoul
With many a wave o'er-ridden! Thou ſtriv'ſt nobly
Where hearts of ſterner ſtuff perhaps had ſunk:
And o'er thy fall, if it be ſo decreed,
Good men will mourn, and brave men will ſhed tears,
Kindred to thoſe which now thou ſhed'ſt. Thy name
Shall in ſucceeding ages be remembered,
When thoſe of mighty monarchs are forgot.

*Conſtan.* Deceive me not; thy love deceiveth thee.
Mens' actions to futurity appear
But as th' events to which they are conjoined
To give them conſequence.
O no, good Othus, fame I look not for.
But to ſuſtain in heaven's all-ſeeing eye,
Before my fellow men, in mine own ſight,
With graceful virtue and becoming pride,
The dignity and honour of a man,
Thus ſtation'd as I am, I will do all
That man may do, and I will ſuffer all—
My heart within me cries, that man can ſuffer.
Shall low-born men on ſcaffolds firmly tread,
For that their humble townſmen ſhould not bluſh,
And ſhall I ſhrink? No, by the living God!
I will not ſhrink, albeit I ſhed theſe tears.
I would, God knows, in a poor woodman's hut
Have ſpent my peaceful days, and ſhar'd my cruſt
With her who would have cheer'd me, rather far
Than on this throne; but, being what I am,
I'll be it nobly.' p. 335–36–37.

In the ſcene of the inſurrection, the weakneſs of his character, or rather the preponderating influence of his domeſtic affections, is repreſented

represented perhaps a little too plainly. When he proposes to go and repel the insurgents in person, Valeria addresses him

——————O, no! thou shalt not go!
Yea, I am bold! misfortune mocks at state,
And strong affection scorns all reverence;
Therefore, before these lords, ev'n upon thee,
Thou eastern Cæsar, do I boldly lay
My woman's hand, and say, "Thou shalt not go."

*Constan.* Thy woman's hand is stronger, sweet Valeria,
Than warrior's iron grasp,
But yet it may not hold me. Strong affection
Makes thee most fearful where no danger is.
Shall eastern Cæsar, like a timid hind
Scar'd from his watch, conceal his cowering head?
And does an empire's dame require it of him?

*Valeria.* Away, away with all those pompous sounds!
I know them not. I by thy side have shar'd
The public gaze, and th' applauding shouts
Of bending crowds: but I have also shar'd
The hour of thy heart's sorrow, still and silent,
The hour of thy heart's joy. I have supported
Thine aching head, like the poor wand'rer's wife,
Who, on his seat of turf, beneath heaven's roof,
Rests on his way.—The storm beats fiercely on us:
Our nature suits not with these worldly times,
To it most adverse. Fortune loves us not;
She hath for us no good: do we retain
Her fetters only? No, thou shalt not go!
*(Twining her arms round him.)*
By that which binds the peasant and the prince,
The warrior and the slave, all that do bear
The form and nature of a man, I stay thee!
Thou shalt not go.

*Constan.* Wouldst thou degrade me thus?

*Valeria.* Wouldst thou unto my bosom give death's pang?
Thou lov'st me not.

CONSTANTINE *(with emotion, stretching out his hands to his friends, who stand at some distance)*
My friends, ye see how I am fetter'd here.
Ye who have to my fallen fortunes clung
With gen'rous love, less to redeem their fall
Than on my waning fate by noble deeds
To shed a ray of graceful dignity:
Ye gen'rous and devoted; still with you
I thought to share all dangers: go ye now,
And to the current of this swelling tide
Set your brave breasts alone. *(Waving them off with his hand, and then turning to her.)*
Now,

Now, wife, where wouldst thou lead me?

'VALERIA (*pointing with great energy to the fountain who are turning as if to go out*)

There, there! O, there! thou hast no other way.'

p. 305–[illegible].

In the subsequent scene of the quelling of the [illegible], Miss Baillie appears to us to have imitated her own representation of the suppression of the mutiny in Count Basil; and, like other imitators, to have fallen very far short of the original.

The last parting scene between the imperial personages is lately on the part of the lady.

'*Corsica.* Good-morrow, noble brothers and brave leaders:
Are we all here convened?——Now, Valeria!

'*Valeria.* I understand that smile.
Here with thy gen'rous friends, whose love to thee
Most dearly celled in my heart I wear,
And unto whom I have desired much,
Before we part these grateful thanks to pay—
Here to those noble friends, and to God's keeping,
I leave thee.——Yet, be it permitted me—
For that thy noble head and lib'ral brow
Have ever cheer'd me as my star of day,
Blessings and blessings let me pour upon them?
(*Putting her hand upon his head fervently, and kissing his forehead.*)
For that thy gen'rous breast has been the hold
Of all my treasur'd wishes and dear thoughts,
This fond embrace. (*Embracing him.*)
Yea, and for that thou art
My sire, and sov'reign, and most honour'd lord,
This humble homage of my heart receive.
(*Kneeling, and kissing his hand.*)

'CONSTANTINE (*Raising and embracing her with great emotion.*)
No more, my dearest and most noble love!
Spare me, O spare me! Heaven be thy protection!
Farewel!' p. 406, 407.

The scenes in the Turkish camp are not good. The big blustering of despots, and the crouching adulation of slaves, admit of little variation. It is probably a mistake, however, to suppose that the sultan was as despotic, or his vizirs and generals as obsequious in the days of Mahomet the Second as in those of Selim the Third. There is something striking in the following passage. Mahomet, making the rounds of his camp the night before the grand attack, attended by a single officer, comes in one quarter so near the walls of the devoted city, as to hear the murmur that issues from her gates, and asks

'What

'What ſounds are theſe?

*Oſmir.* Haſt thou forgot we are ſo near the city?
It is the murm'ring night-ſounds of her ſtreets,
Which the ſoft breeze wafts to thine ear, thus ſoftly
Mix'd with the chafings of the diſtant waves.

MAHOMET (*eagerly.*)
'And let me liſten too! I love the ſound!
Like the laſt whiſpers of a dying enemy
It comes to my pleas'd ear. (*Liſtening.*)
Spent art thou, proud imperial queen of nations,
And thy laſt accents are upon the wind.
Thou haſt but one voice more to utter; one
Loud, frantic, terrible, and then art thou
Amongſt the nations heard no more. Liſt! liſt!
I like it well! the lion hears afar
Th' approaching prey, and ſhakes his briſtling mane,
And laſhes with his tail his tawny ſides,
And ſo hear I this city's nightly ſound.
Silent ſhall be the march: nor drum, nor trump,
Nor claſh of arms, ſhall to the watchful foe
Our near approach betray: ſilent and ſoft,
As the pard's velvet foot on Libya's ſands,
Slow ſtealing with crouch'd ſhoulders on her prey.' p. 372-3.

Miſs Baillie ſays, ſomewhere in her preface, that this play was written with a view to its being repreſented on the ſtage, and apologiſes for the quantity of pomp and ſcenery which it exhibits, from the deſire ſhe felt of indulging the taſte of the ſpectators in theſe particulars. Now, if we had not read this explanation, we will confeſs that we ſhould have been diſpoſed to ſeek an apology for the peculiarity to which ſhe alludes, in the very oppoſite ſuppoſition, and ſhould have excuſed ſeveral of the marginal expoſitions of the ſcene, by ſuggeſting that the play was not intended for actual repreſentation. It appears to us, indeed, that a very great part of the laſt act would not admit of repreſentation. It opens with a view of the aſſault, with artillery and battering engines playing on the walls, houſes tumbling down, and ſoldiers marching, together with 'a proſpect of the breach, in the back ground, with the confuſed fighting of the beſieged, enveloped in clouds of duſt and ſmoke.' After a good deal of hard fighting, and loud ſhouting, under the very eyes of the ſpectators, there is 'a terrible noiſe of arms, &c. and preſently one of the pillars in the middle of the ſtage falls down, and opens a wider view of the battle, and the Turks are ſeen ruſhing through the breach, and carrying every thing before them.' Now, all this may be deſcribed perhaps with great eloquence and effect; but

but does Miſs Baillie really believe it poſſible, by any effort of mechaniſm, to repreſent it to the eye, within the walls of a theatre, in ſuch a way as not to be abſolutely ridiculous? There is a city taken by the Turks, we believe, in the celebrated entertainment of Blue Beard; but we ſcarcely imagine that Miſs Baillie had it in view to enter into competition with that meritorious performance.

The death of Conſtantine, who falls fighting bravely in the breach, and the diſtracting anxiety of Valeria, are repreſented with truth and ſimplity, rather than with great pathos or effect. In the midſt of the conflict, the empreſs, ſtunned with the growing noiſe of the battle, and ignorant of its iſſue, is repreſented as traverſing her apartment with agitated ſteps, and thus ſaying to an attendant—

'Oh, will this ſtate of toſſing agony
No termination have! Send out, I pray thee,
Another meſſenger.

'*Lucia.* Indeed I have in little ſpace of time
Sent many forth, but none return again.

'*Valeria.* In little ſpace! Oh it hath been a term
Of horrible length! ſuch as rack'd fiends do reckon
Upon their toſſing beds of ſurgy flames,
Told by the laſhes of each burning tide
That o'er them breaks.—Hark! the quick ſtep of one
With tidings fraught! Doſt thou not hear it?

'*Lucia.* No;
I hear it not.

'*Valeria.* Still is it the falſe coinage of my fears?
Ah! hearing, ſight, and every ſenſe is now
Falſe and deceitful grown.—I'll ſit me down,
And think no more, but let the black hour paſs
In ſtill and fixed ſtupor o'er my head. (*Sits down upon a low ſeat, and ſupports her bended head upon both her hands.*)

'LUCIA (*liſtening.*)
'Now I do hear the ſound of real feet
In haſte approaching.

'VALERIA (*ſtarting up.*)
'Some one brings us tidings.
What may they be? Quick ſteps ſhould bring us good.
(*Enter* MESSENGER.)
Say all thou haſt to ſay, and ſay it quickly.
If it be good hold up thy bleſſed hand,
And I will bleſs the token.—No, thou doſt not!
'Tis evil then.—How is it with my lord?
What dangers ſtill encompaſs him?

'*Meſſ.* No dangers.

'*Valeria.*

'*Valeria.* And doſt thou ſay ſo with that terrible look?
Is he alive? Have all deſerted him?
'*Meſſ.* No, round his body ſtill ſome brave men fight,
And will not quit him till they be as he is.' p. 417. 418.

When the maſſacre is at laſt arreſted by the command of Mahomet, the effects of the reſpite thus brought to the ſurvivors is deſcribed with great force in the following paſſage—

'*Officer.* Like a ſudden gleam
Of fierce returning light at the ſtorm's cloſe,
Glancing on horrid ſights of waſte and ſorrow,
Came the ſwift word of peace, and to the eye
Gave conſciouſneſs of that which the wild uproar
And dire confuſion of the carnage hid.
'*Firſt Woman.*
'Alas! be there ſuch ſights within our walls?
'*Officer.* 'Yes, maid, ſuch ſights of blood! ſuch ſights of nature!
In expectation of their horrid fate,
Widows, and childleſs parents, and 'lorn dames,
Sat by their unwept dead with fixed gaze,
In horrible ſtillneſs.
But when the voice of grace was heard aloud,
So ſtrongly ſtirr'd within their rouſed ſouls
The love of life, that, even amidſt thoſe horrors,
A joy was ſeen—joy hateful and unlovely.
I ſaw an aged man riſe from an heap
Of grizly dead, whereon, new murder'd, lay
His ſons and grandſons, yea, the very babe
Whoſe cradle he had rock'd with palſied hands,
And ſhake his grey locks at the ſound of life
With animation wild and horrible!
I ſaw a mother with her murder'd infant
Still in her arms faſt lock'd, ſpring from the ground—
No, no! I ſaw it not! I ſaw it not!
It was a hideous fancy of my mind.' p. 420. 421.

Valeria ſtabs herſelf in preſence of Mahomet, and, with her dying voice, intreats Othus, whom ſhe does not know to be mortally wounded, to record and vindicate the virtues of her huſband: then, ſeeing him look pale and ſad, ſhe ſays—

'What means that woeful motion of thy head?
Mine eyes wax dim, or do I truly ſee thee?
Thy viſage has a ſtrange and ghaſtly look:
How is it with thee?
'*Othus.* As one who ſtandeth at the city's gate,
Through which his earlier friends have paſt, and waits
Impatiently, girt in his traveller's robe,
To hear the welcome creaking of its bars.
'*Valeria.* Ah! art thou wounded then? Alas! alas!
Art thou too of our company? ſad trav'llers
Unto a world unknown.

' *Othus.* Nay, say not sad, though to a world unknown.
The foster'd nursling, at th' appointed season,
Who leaves his narrow crib and cottage home
For the fair mansion of his lordly sire,
Goes to a world unknown.
' *Valeria.* Ay, thou would'st cheer me, and I will be cheer'd.
There reigns above who casts his dark shade o'er us,
Mantling us on our way to glorious light.' p. 433.

Mahomet, who has been represented all along as envying and admiring the high spirit and generous attachment of the Christian leaders, turns round to them after this scene, and says—

' Ye valiant men, who have so serv'd your prince,
There still is in the world a mighty monarch,
Who, if he might retain you near his throne,
Shall he say near his heart, in such dear zeal?
Would think his greatness honour'd.
' *Othus.* Great sultan, thou hast conquer'd with such arms
As power has given to thee, th' imperial city
Of royal Constantine; but other arms,
That might the friends of Constantine subdue,
Heav'n has denied thee.
' *Rodrigo.* No, mighty prince; they who have serv'd for love,
Cannot like flying pennants be transferr'd
From bark to bark.
' MAHOMET (*impatiently.*)
' I understand you well, and you are free.
Mine arms, such as they are, of heav'n are bless'd;
That is enough.
' *Othus.* That were indeed enough; but heaven oftimes
Success bestows where blessing is denied.' p. 436. 437.

From the large extracts which we have given from this tragedy, our readers will easily conclude that we think more favourably of it than of any of its companions; and we hope that the perusal of these passages will induce them to concur in that opinion. With a number of very gross defects in the management and execution, it has, in most of the important scenes, a degree of truth, simplicity and vigour, which are of the best example in the present state of the British drama: and the diction, though in some measure distorted by too sedulous an imitation of Massinger and Shakespeare, is always sustained by a spirit of poetry which would redeem greater deficiencies.

Upon the whole, however, we are afraid that this volume will by no means add to Miss Baillie's reputation. A pretty large proportion of it is unequivocally bad, and those parts which might have appeared excellent in an unknown writer, make but an indifferent figure when contrasted with her own previous productions. We have the less hesitation in expressing thus freely

freely our sense of the deficiencies of this publication, as the writer has already obtained an established reputation, and seems, from some expressions in her preface, to be sufficiently aware of the extent of her claims on the public indulgence. That she has very extraordinary talents for dramatic poetry, is unquestionable; but the more rare and precious those talents are, the more it must excite our regret to see them wasted in injudicious exertions, or disappointed of their high reward by precipitate, profuse, or unadvised publication. We have great respect for Miss Baillie's qualifications; but we wish her to respect herself, and to respect the public, a little more than she seems to do. Hers are not the talents that are calculated to enchant an idle and undistinguishing multitude; her voice is pitched for a narrower and more select audience; and she ought to recollect, that, in such circles, the praise that is gained by genius may easily be forfeited by security. We earnestly exhort Miss Baillie to write no more comedies; to keep her affay tragedies in her portfolio; and not to give any new ones to the world, till she has submitted them to the revision of some experienced and impartial friend: her originality cannot now be subjected to any imputation, and though she will not easily meet with a superior in genius, it will not be difficult for her to find an instructor in taste.

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ART. XIII. *Précis Historique de la Revolution Française Convention Nationale.* Par Lacretelle, jeune. 2 vol. 24°. Paris, 1802.

IT is not very wonderful, we conceive, although it certainly is rather unfortunate, that the various accounts hitherto published, as histories of the French Revolution, have been but little calculated to satisfy the curiosity it has so powerfully excited. If time is found essential to mature the reflections of the historian, on the most common national transactions; how long an interval may we not reasonably anticipate, before we can expect a judicious or impartial account of that astonishing æra? The scenes to be described still operate too forcibly on the recollection of the writer, and their effects are still too visible around him; and even should no personal sufferings or national animosities exasperate the feelings of the historian, the bare contemplation of the horrors that signalized the reign of the National Convention, might be sufficient to disturb his impartiality. In such a scene the relator is apt to be hurried away by indignation and abhorrence, and to fancy that, by indiscriminate and profuse invective, he offers the best reparation

to outraged humanity. But it is not thus that mankind can reap the dear-bought fruits of experience. Errors of judgement are not to be claſſed with perverſeneſs of deſign; nor ſhould the exceſſes of an over-heated imagination be confounded with the atrocities of deliberate cruelty. Forgetting a while his private opinions, the hiſtorian ſhould endeavour to enter into the views of the different actors in this diſmal tragedy; and carefully diſtinguiſh how far the cataſtrophe, that eventually reſulted from their conduct, correſponded with the motives by which it was directed.

Even now that the light of experience has come to guide our ſpeculations, where is the man that will not confeſs the extreme difficulty (to uſe no ſtronger word) of clearly delineating the line of public duty which a real patriot ought to have purſued from the commencement of the French Revolution? To mark the error, that actually proved a fruitful ſource of calamity, is now indeed an eaſy taſk; but if fancy itſelf is bewildered in conjecturing the means by which a proſperous iſſue might have been ſecured, indulgence ſurely is due to thoſe who acted immediately under the miſruling influence of ſo perplexing a ſituation. Indulgence, therefore, ought to prevail in the breaſt of the author who undertakes the hiſtory of theſe awful times. But while Royaliſts, Conſtitutionaliſts and Republicans, are ſtill mourning the cruel extinction of their hopes, by the untoward progreſs of the revolution (and what writer can be without predilection to one or other of theſe parties?) is there not too much reaſon to fear, that diſappointment will ſeek vent in the aſperity of animadverſion, and pervert the truth and candour of inquiry?

Yet, though a time when animoſities have ſcarcely abated their vigour is peculiarly unſeaſonable for the writing of hiſtory, public curioſity demands, and various motives urge individuals to ſupply details on a ſubject which commands ſo univerſal an intereſt. It muſt therefore be conſidered as fortunate, if, under ſuch circumſtances, a publication ſhould appear, which, however unequal to the higheſt ſtandard, exhibits at leaſt an impartial narrative, enlivened by judicious and temperate obſervations. To this commendation the work before us appears to be fully entitled. It is written throughout with a diſpaſſionate candour, to which the more praiſe is due, as it is the production of a perſon by no means a ſtranger to the characters or events he is deſcribing. M. Lacretelle, we ſhould imagine to be a friend of limited monarchy; but neither royaliſts nor republicans can charge him with unfairneſs. Their conduct, in many inſtances, is mentioned in ſuch terms, that the party attachments of the writer are ſcarcely diſcernible. Even the Jacobin faction muſt do juſtice to the extent of his candour; the impetuous fury of Danton and his followers

followers is diſtinguiſhed, in his pages, from the cool ſyſtematic barbarity of Robeſpierre, St Juſt, Collot D'Herbois, Couthon, and Billaud-Varennes.

Had M. Lacretelle diſplayed more comprehenſive views of his ſubject, or obſerved at leaſt a clearer and more connected arrangement of events; we ſhould have had more reaſon to lament that his work is conſtructed on ſo very abridged a ſcale. The principal facts, though diſtinctly, and in themſelves fully, preſented, are rather exhibited as detached pictures, than adjuſted in their relative poſitions to each other. The reader is thereby frequently left to conjecture the influence of contemporary events on the leading tranſactions; and we have often been indebted, for juſt views of their dependencies, to the chronological table which is prefixed to this hiſtory.

The ſtyle of M. Lacretelle is not, upon the whole, ſuch as will appear agreeable to an Engliſh reader. It is not deficient in neatneſs or perſpicuity, but it is affectedly broken into ſhort ſmart ſentences, and perpetually ſeeks to borrow energy from metaphor, and vivacity from antitheſis.

At the period with which this work commences (the meeting of the national convention) affairs were overcaſt with a ſettled gloom, that countenanced the fears of the moſt deſponding. France had already ſeen two ſucceſſive legiſlatures. On the convocation of the States-General, lively expectations had pervaded even diſtant countries. The numerous imperfections of the ancient monarchy were generally admitted; and few perſons, comparatively, were adverſe to the efforts of a populous and civilized nation, to reſtrain, by conſtitutional boundaries, the vaſt and undefined powers of the crown. In the progreſs to this deſirable end, unpromiſing appearances were ſoon manifeſted. It was confirmed (for, before, it needed not demonſtration) that the attempt of transforming into free men, a people, nurſed from earlieſt infancy in the habits of a deſpotic government, and utterly unuſed to the exerciſe of political rights, cannot be carried into execution without the moſt violent convulſions. Popular diſorders broke out in ſeveral quarters; the members of the National Aſſembly were placed in a critical dilemma; a diſordered ſtate of the finances had given birth to the firſt opportunity of eſtabliſhing a free conſtitution; they were eager to improve it, in oppoſition to every effort apprehended from the court. Though many were able to diſcover the ſeeds of future danger in the growing fermentation among the loweſt orders, yet the power, which they had been longeſt taught to feel and to dread, was viewed in the moſt formidable light by the majority; and the unſteady, irreſolute character of the benevolent

Louis,

Louis, miſconceived, or miſrepreſented as inſincere and hypocritical, confirmed their purpoſe of diveſting the monarch of every efficient prerogative. It was not till they had annihilated every thing of royalty but the name, that they became ſenſible that they had, at the ſame time, removed every barrier againſt the licenſe of the populace. With a timidity, the example of which was but too often imitated afterwards by their countrymen, they ſhrunk from a reſiſtance which might ſtill have been effectual; and while they thus devolved on the legiſlative aſſembly the taſk of ſupplying a remedy, of which they felt and acknowledged the neceſſity, they ſtrangely excluded from it the very perſons from whom it was moſt to be expected. Was it puſillanimity, affecting the cover of ſelf-denial; or real, though miſtaken diſintereſtedneſs, or pitiful jealouſy of rival talents, that gave birth to the decree, which rendered ineligible for the new legiſlature every member of the National Aſſembly? Thus were the moſt eminent politicians in France, men enlightened by reflection on a ſhort but inſtructive career, virtually baniſhed from the councils of their country.

If the errors of an aſſembly, that united the greateſt talents were to be traced to a want of practical experience, how far from encouraging was the proſpect that opened with its ſucceſſor? The novelty of political diſcuſſions had produced a conſiderable ferment in the public mind; the attachment to the Sovereign had been greatly enfeebled, by the unfortunate flight to Varennes, and the ſuſpected conſpiracy of the court with the powers armed againſt France. Under circumſtances thus unfavourable the members of the new Aſſembly were elected.

The party that ſoon obtained in it a deciſive aſcendancy, was chiefly compoſed of deputies from the department of the Gironde. Moſt of theſe perſons were very young, and many of them diſtinguiſhed for talents, and zealouſly intent on the welfare of their country. But the ancient republics of Athens and of Sparta had fired their imaginations; they were blind to the true character and habits of their countrymen; and forgot that thoſe republics had not ſprung up on the ruins of deſpotiſm, nor amidſt a general diſſolution of morals. To deſtroy the conſtitution they were ſworn to maintain, was accordingly the ſecret wiſh of their hearts: the vanity of ſeveral hoped to eclipſe their famed predeceſſors in the work of legiſlation. Yet ſome regard for their oath, aided by prudential conſiderations, reſtrained them from avowing their aim, and drove them to purſue it through a diſguiſed and crooked policy. No ſyſtem could have been more terrible than that which they adopted. They conceived the deſperate project of employing the people, to effect the downfal

fal of royalty, and the populace of Paris aſſumed in their eyes the dignified character of the national repreſentative: they concerted the inſurrection of the 2d of June, and afterwards that of the 10th of Auguſt, which drove their Monarch to ſeek the refuge of a captive within the walls of the aſſembly. The Jacobins had ſeen, with ſecret exultation, the gradual erection of a new ſovereignty, the reins of which muſt, they foreſaw, be ultimately transferred into their hands. In all meaſures that accelerated the ruin of legal authority, they had ſupported the Girondins with their votes; they had alſo joined them when a too anxious regard for popularity had urged them to overlook, or to palliate, the ſanguinary exceſſes that provoked the animadverſions of the conſtitutional party. But their policy, as well as their language on theſe occaſions, drew a viſible line of ſeparation between them. They boaſted, before the popular aſſemblies, of the marks of odium and ignominy with which they were branded by their rivals; becauſe, inſtead of offering a timid and inſincere apology, they had boldly avowed their warm approbation of every act of the ſovereign people. They cautioned them aſſiduouſly not to look for friends among men who flattered them indeed as inſtruments by which they hoped to ſecure their own elevation; but to veſt their entire confidence in a party, wholly and ardently intent on exalting the loweſt orders of ſociety.

The 10th of Auguſt completed their triumph. They were now ſanctioned, by the example of their opponents, in exciting the people to open inſurrection: they were able to form a pretty correct eſtimate of the impunity that would attend any conſpiracy. In the midſt of the trepidation and diſorder created by the near approach of the combined armies to the metropolis, they roſe upon the municipality; replaced its members by creatures devoted to themſelves; aſſaſſins were deſpatched to the different priſons, and maſſacred the defenceleſs victims confined there on the moſt vague ſuſpicions. The Legiſlative Aſſembly heard, while ſitting, the report of this horrid outrage; and awaited, in ſilent and lethargic terror, the period of its conſummation. Expiring, agreeably to what was ſtill called, the conſtitution, a few days after, its members ſeparated; having merely vented, in empty declamations, the feelings that ought only to have been ſatisfied by the moſt terrible example of retribution.

Such was the hopeleſs termination of this ſecond Legiſlature, and ſuch the auſpices that uſhered in the National Convention; of which we are now to attend to the general outlines. In Paris, and even in remoter diſtricts, the elections had proceeded under the impreſſions of terror, which the 2d of September had diffuſed,

every one appears to feel. Vergniaud forgets Robeſpierre and Danton, but he urges with warmth the expulſion or puniſhment of Marat.....He reads a number of the *Ami du Peuple*, in which Marat eſtimated, with the moſt phlegmatic ferocity, that liberty could now only be ſecured by cutting off ſeventy thouſand heads. Shouts ariſe in the galleries, approving the calculation of Marat. Conſternation ſpreads through the Aſſembly. The greater number of deputies ſtill deteſt proſcriptions, but they fancy themſelves ſurrounded by an army of proſcribers. Some deſert the hall; they ſay 'tis from horror at the recital of ſuch atrocities, and they were called upon to puniſh them! Marat again appears; he avows the paper that has been read; he ſhews another in which his cruelty is ſomewhat mitigated. The Mountain approves its principles with a thouſand clamorous ſhouts; the remainder of the Convention is ſilent, or ſcatters itſelf abroad. Marat adds inſults to the fugitives. He himſelf announces his triumph, "Bluſh," ſays he to his trembling colleagues, "at your own precipitation in accuſing the patriots." Drawing a piſtol from his pocket, he proceeds. "If the decree of accuſation againſt me had been carried, I was reſolved to blow out my brains at the foot of this tribune. This then is the fruit of my nightly vigils, of my labours, of my miſery, of my ſufferings! Well, however, I will remain among you to brave your fury." This conſummation of effrontery is treated as madneſs. Fear hides itſelf under an affected contempt. "Let us leave individuals," exclaims Tallien; "ſecure the ſafety of the republic; decree that it is one and indiviſible." The decree is carried. Thus, from this ſtruggle, which the Girondin accuſers had opened with every preſage of victory, there only reſults an obſcure perfidious decree, worded as a fatal ſentence upon their party. The whole character of the Convention is imprinted in this ſitting. The events of that day muſt have completed the general conviction, that nothing but a military force could henceforward ſecure the freedom of debate. A decree had been early obtained to authoriſe ſuch a meaſure; owing to timidity or want of ſyſtem, its execution was neglected. The Girondins hoped to overwhelm Robeſpierre by a more formal accuſation; Louvet undertook the charge; his ſpeech electrified the Convention. Inſtead of ſeizing the opportunity of ſummary juſtice againſt that ſanguinary monſter, they yielded to his requeſt of eight days for preparing his defence—for organizing the galleries in his favour. The reſult may be conjectured. What now ſuſpended the vengeance of the Jacobins againſt opponents who had ſo flagrantly betrayed an irregular, unſteady, puſillanimous ſpirit? The fate of the captive Monarch remained undecided, and they reſolved that Louis ſhould prepare the way to the ſcaffold.

'The Girondins were on this occaſion entangled in their own tortuous policy. In general, they were inclined to ſave the life of the King; but their wild theories led them to compaſs this point through an appeal to the people at large, ſubſequently to his condemnation by the Aſſembly. Concurring therefore with the Jacobins on the firſt queſtion,

queſtion, "Is Louis guilty?" they ſecured to them a victory in the firſt inſtance, the conſequences of which were irretrievable. Thirty-eight only out of 721 members had the courage to adopt the language of Lanjuinais, "You cannot be at once the accuſers and the judges of Louis: Every one of you has previouſly delivered his ſentiments; many have done it with a ſcandalous ferociouſneſs."

We would with pleaſure extract ſeveral paſſages in the account M. Lacretelle has given of the trial and condemnation of that unfortunate King; they do equal honour to his heart, to his judgement, and to his powers as a writer. But this is a ſubject familiar to moſt readers, and in our narrow limits we muſt give a preference to facts and details leſs generally known. We ſhall inſert, however, the particulars he has given relative to the cloſe of the ſcene.

'The inhabitants of Paris in arms were ſpectators of his execution. They had been aſſembled to protect it. The commune of Paris well knew that the immenſe majority of its citizens ſaw this ſacrifice with horror. It armed them, to remove every ground for its fears; in other words, it marſhalled them timid and ſuſpicious under the command of its lictors. As courage is propagated in a multitude by the multitude itſelf, ſo its terror is never more profound than when reflected from every eye at once. The people, alarmed, repaired to their ſections. Woe to the abſent, their names were enrolled. On entering the ranks, each was aſtoniſhed to meet with ſo many men eager for the blood of the King—all the daſtardly had ſwoln the number. A double row of men, thus aſſembled, filled all the ſtreets through which Louis was conducted to the ſcaffold. When they ſaw him, or fancied they ſaw him, (he was almoſt wholly concealed in the carriage by thoſe along with him), the quivering arms ſeemed ready to fall from their hands. Ferocious cries were little reechoed—ſobs were ſuppreſſed—every one feared to have been detected. But when Louis had ceaſed to live, the public grief exhibited of itſelf a more ſtriking teſtimony. Perſons came back gloomy, abſorbed in thought: the mob itſelf, whether from compaſſion or diſappointed curioſity, loaded Santerre with imprecations for having drowned the laſt words of the King. During the whole day Paris was ſtill, almoſt a deſart—the inhabitants ſhut themſelves within their families to weep—the ſtreets were only croſſed at intervals by bands of ruffians, whoſe ſongs and barbarous dances were characteriſtic of fury, inſtead of joy they ſtrove to imitate.'

The aſſaſſination of a Jacobin deputy, who had voted for the death of the King, was followed with important conſequences. Availing themſelves of this event, to repreſent the common danger by which both parties were threatened, ſome deputies propoſed a reconciliation between the Girondins and their opponents. This hollow truce was fatal to the former. As its price, they parted with their only prop, Roland, who was diſmiſſed from his

office of Miniſter of the Interior; the decree againſt the Septembriſers was ſuſpended. But the Jacobins could not long diſſemble their hoſtility: the heads of the leading Girondins were demanded at the bar of the Convention; a plot even was formed to aſſaſſinate the whole party within its walls. Had the Girondins improved, with the firmneſs and dexterity of which their adverſaries afforded them ſo many examples, the detection and conſequent failure of this conſpiracy, it would be difficult to calculate how nearly they might have approached to a final triumph. A commiſſion of twelve was appointed, empowered to take cognizance of all plots againſt the republic. They began by arreſting Hebert, the turbulent ſolicitor of the Commune of Paris. Their enemies were panic-ſtruck; they dreaded a formidable reaction; but when they ſaw no further blow attempted, their confidence returned, and they reſolved to precipitate the fall of ſuch timid adverſaries. The Convention was beſieged by tumultuous petitioners; the firmneſs of Lanjuinais for a time ſuſtained the wavering reſolutions of his colleagues; but they yielded at length to the ignominy of releaſing the priſoner, aboliſhing the commiſſion, and of allowing 40 ſous per day to the inſurgents, authors of their humiliation. What barrier remained to protect them? Senſible they were now at the mercy of their opponents, ſeveral deputies friendly to them repaired to Danton.

'They had clearly obſerved that this powerful demagogue, though employing the Commune as his inſtrument, viewed it with apprehenſion —that he thirſted leſs for vengeance than for rule. They came to offer him the Dictatorſhip. Danton appeared conſiderably ſtaggered by this late propoſal. He thought that the danger might ſtill be warded off by him; but he diſtruſted the Girondins, and fancied they would not be diſpoſed to ratify the treaty. He repeated, at different times, "They have no confidence," and departed. It was no doubt the thought of deſpair to offer the Dictatorſhip to Danton. Had he been inveſted with it by the Convention, a reign violent, cruel, diſgraced with a thouſand traits of opprobrium had commenced; but it would have fallen far ſhort of the tyranny, with a hundred thouſand heads, that was eſtabliſhed by the inſurrection of the following day.'

The day alluded to is the famous 2d of June, that terminated in the arreſtation of all the leading Girondins, and of ſeveral intrepid members who occaſionally ſupported them. We muſt apologize for giving very partial extracts of a narrative that is worthy of being inſerted at full length.

The Commune of Paris, reſolved on the downfal of the Girondins, called all the ſections to arms; carefully directing, however, that to thoſe of St Antoine and St Marceau ſhould be aſſigned the ſpecial ſervice of overawing the Convention, and of proceeding

proceeding to what extremities the day might require. Henriot, a daring Jacobin, was appointed Commander in Chief. The Girondins, with their usual want of concert, neither wholly absented themselves from, nor repaired in a body to the Convention. The Assembly was, unknown to itself, beset on every quarter.

'Henriot permitted a body of petitioners to pass through his ranks. "Deliver up to the people," they cry, "the traitorous and conspiring deputies." "Was it then without reason," exclaims Lanjuinais, "that we denounced to you the plots of an usurping Commune? Well, abandon now to that Commune your colleagues, your authority, your honour. Crouch under these new tyrants; you who rejected the opportunity of punishing them; or rather imitate us. Men, whom they more particularly threaten, await and brave their fury. You may make me fall beneath their steel, but not at their feet." The courage of a single man upholds the Convention; the murderous petition is rejected by the order of the day.

'A scene of tumult ensued—the sovereign people would be obeyed. Barrere proposes, as a middle expedient, that the Girondins should suspend themselves. Four obey the invitation. Barbaroux disdains the example—is torn from the tribune.

'Lanjuinais hurries towards it. Legendre, then a fanatical follower of Danton, and even of Marat; Legendre, who since opened his heart to humane and generous sentiments, had the brutal ferocity of raising his hands against Lanjuinais, and threw him down. He had not affected the courage, nor even the serenity of the upright man. The voice of Lanjuinais is again heard. "The ancients, when they prepared a sacrifice, crowned their victim with flowers and garlands; and you, more cruel, you assault, with disgraceful blows; you outrage the victim that makes no effort to escape your knife." The effect of these eloquent words was, to produce a momentary silence on the part of those executioners. They heard, without daring to interrupt him; the same orator threatens them with the awful consequences of their triumph; their future dissensions; the horror attached to their names; and this greatest evil, that of having formed such a compact with crimes, that crimes henceforward would retain them in spite of themselves. He had not ceased speaking, when a part of his prediction seemed accomplishing.'

A friend of Danton had been insulted unknowingly by the mob surrounding the Convention. Danton, enraged, proposes that the whole Convention should go out to the armed body and make sure of its dispositions.

'The Convention arrives at a passage opening upon *the Place du Carousel.* Henriot, his aides-de-camps, several members of the Commune, supported by a triple row of bayonets and pikes, come forward to close the issue. The President reads, with a timid voice, the decree that has been passed. "Return," cries the Revolutionary General, "return to thy post. Dareſt thou give orders to the insurgent people? the people

office of Minister of the [illegible]
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semble their hostility: t[illegible]
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[illegible] pointed against the Con-
[illegible] the deputies. They fly.
[illegible] the name of the country.
[illegible] "Comrades, no weak-
[illegible] covered up!" The Con-
[illegible] other outlets, and twice it
[illegible] head of a hundred ruffians,
[illegible] signal. "I order you," he
[illegible] in the name of the people,
[illegible] members reenter the Assem-
[illegible] seemed fitted to be an object of
[illegible], Couthon, with a tranquil
[illegible] "Well, my colleagues, you
[illegible] the Convention is perfectly free.
[illegible] against faithless mandatories;
[illegible] all their respect, with all their
[illegible] to obey at once the calls of our
[illegible] that Lanjuinais, Vergniaud,
[illegible] the most eminent Girondins), be
[illegible]"—The decree was carried.
[illegible] more wonderful vicissitude of for-
[illegible] Jacobins after this period. Hated
[illegible] by the great majority of the
[illegible] with a civil war in seventy de-
[illegible] to espouse the cause of the Gi-
[illegible] many engagements with the Ven-
[illegible] standard of Royalty; the frontiers as-
[illegible] armies of Europe; the General that
[illegible] abandoning their cause. In scarce-
[illegible] aspect was completely changed; and
[illegible] was the sole source of their ruin.

[illegible] into too wide a field, did we attempt
[illegible] his judicious remarks on this variety
[illegible] observation, it may be stated, that the
[illegible] which had proved so fatal to the Giron-
[illegible] rescinded them in their flight. The Jaco-
[illegible] all their designs; and, by lavishing mo-
[illegible], seduced them to their cause. The
[illegible] the Republicans and Royalists not only
[illegible], but materially counteracted the progress
[illegible] their perfect union and greater vigour,
[illegible] formidable enemy of the Convention; and
[illegible] render strong grounds to conjecture, that,
[illegible] supply, though of ammunition only,
from

from Great Britain (which they repeatedly ſolicited), or had r
the King of Pruſſia, with ſingular inadvertence at leaſt, perm
ted the entire garriſon of Mentz to be ſent againſt them, the
ſue of the conteſt muſt have been widely different. With reg
to the operations of the combined powers, he cenſures the l
inactivity of the Prince of Cobourg, at a criſis when the Fre
army was almoſt totally diſorganized by the defection of
mourier: and he characteriſes, in rather unqualified terms,
order of the Cabinet of St James, ſo he ſtyles it, by which
forces of the Duke of York were ſeparated from the main ar
an event followed by our diſcomfiture at Dunkirk. The re
tion of Lyons after a ſiege, the account of which forms a
awful, yet intereſting epiſode in his hiſtory, might, he infinu
have been doubtful, had a diverſion been effected on the fi
Savoy, or had the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies cooperated i
manner that was propoſed. He taxes, moreover, the gener
the latter with an unaccountable and fatal ſupineneſs in f
ing up their deciſive ſucceſſes at the lines of Weiſſemburg.

But the great engine by which the Jacobins were enab
cruſh their adverſaries, and to raiſe armies, which, accum
like torrents, ultimately ſubdued reſiſtance, was the terri
of the 17th September, which conſigned to the priſons (an
mediate ſtep to the guillotine) all perſons reputed ſuſ
From that decree there did not merely reſult a term, whe
import might be applied to at leaſt four fifths of the po
of France: the means provided for its execution created
ny with branches more widely diſſeminated than the we
hitherto beheld. To the revolutionary committees was c
the unlimited power of arreſtation. 'Of theſe,' ſays
cretelle, 'one at leaſt was appointed in every village; Pa
had forty-eight; in ſhort, throughout the country, two
thouſand men choſen from the dregs and refuſe of ſocie
conſtituted ſovereign arbiters of the liberties and lives c
perior orders.' One is aſtoniſhed, that a law thus flatt
rageous, ſhould not have operated an univerſal revolt;
that when the ſcaffold afterwards daily ſtreamed with
ſame paſſive ſubmiſſion ſhould have prevailed. M. La
marks, and no doubt with juſtice, that the war, w
threatened the very exiſtence of the country, diverte
which deſpair itſelf muſt have at laſt forced into ac
after making every allowance for this, can France efc
proaches of poſterity for a total want of the moſt e
rage? Courage in the field her inhabitants have une
ſhewn: but there is a courage ſtill ſuperior, which,
aſſurance of cooperation, with no views of glory an

to ſupport it, would have diſdained to crouch beneath a vulgar tyrant; intent, when friends, when a country pleaded for deliverance, at every riſk, to try the chances of ſalvation. Of this heroic magnanimity no nation has afforded fewer ſtriking examples.

It would be painful to the reader, were we to ſelect the ſhocking details that are given of the enormities that accompanied and followed the execution of the Queen, and of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Girondins. We haſten to a more pleaſing proſpect, the diviſions among the Jacobin party. The committee of Public Safety (a dictatorſhip barely modified) had been transferred from the hands of Danton into thoſe of Robeſpierre, St Juſt, Couthon, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot D'Herbois. Carnot, though a member, confined himſelf entirely to the war department. Danton had long been their rival in popularity and influence;—he did not ſhare their inſatiable cruelty;—he was marked out for deſtruction.

'His revolutionary principles had long ſince met with their full gratification. To abſtain from a crime, neceſſary or barely uſeful, he reputed weakneſs; but to prolong crimes beyond neceſſity—never to enjoy the reward, and ever to continue their ſlave, excited equally his contempt and indignation. Terror indeed was his ſyſtem; but he thought of ſecuring its effects with a ſword ſuſpended—not inceſſantly plunged in the breaſt of a victim. He preferred a maſſacre to a long ſucceſſion of executions.'

He was duped by the hypocritical repreſentations and friendly profeſſions of Robeſpierre, who adviſed him a temporary retreat from Paris; a fatal counſel with which he complied. M. Lacretelle gives a truly curious account of the artifices by which Robeſpierre ſtill ſucceeded in deceiving him, on his return after an abſence of nearly ſix months. He perſuaded him that he ſympathized in all his horror againſt the revolutionary atrocities; that the Commune of Paris was their real author; and that a confidential union between them could alone effect their triumph over a formidable antagoniſt. He thus ſecured a cooperation that enabled him to deſtroy that Commune, which had long been the object of his jealouſy and apprehenſion. Danton, almoſt immediately after, fell the victim of his unſuſpicious temper. The Committee of Public Safety now ruled ſupreme; and this, accordingly, was the moſt ſanguinary period of the reign of terror. But unbounded power neceſſarily ſowed the ſeeds of diſſenſion among its members. St Juſt and Couthon, indeed, acknowledged the ſupremacy of Robeſpierre: but their colleagues were not equally humble. Collot D'Herbois, though he had loſt a powerful ſupport in the Commune of Paris, ſtill hoped to obtain the dictatorſhip from the hands of the vileſt populace. The views of Billaud-

Billaud-Varennes were not less lofty, but conducted with greater art and dissimulation.

'I have already named,' observes M. Lacretelle, 'two enemies of Robespierre among the colleagues of his tyranny, Billaud-Varennes and Collot D'Herbois. The first of these was the most formidable. The hatred this monster bore to the whole human race, did not check him from forming all the combinations that were necessary to involve a rival in ruin, who seconded him in all his projects of extermination. Both were ambitious of reigning over the ruins and the tombs with which they had covered France. But Robespierre had reached the point where his ambition could no longer be concealed. Billaud was still able to dissemble his. Robespierre, tormented by the furies, lost each day the means of security and domination which he had derived from a tortuous mind, from an hypocritical, persevering character. He was a villain unmasked, whose every feint was divulged. He would have lost, in an attempt to impose upon his enemies, the time it was necessary for him to employ in their destruction. The tyrant was lugubrious as death, which ever attended him in all his steps: such, and perhaps more gloomy still, was Billaud: but, more hardy in crimes, he enveloped his projects with deeper obscurity, prepared his blows with greater art.'

Robespierre conceived a scheme, which, even if it had been practicable, M. Lacretelle observes, the extreme poverty of his imagination must have rendered abortive—of establishing deism as the national religion, and of converting the pontificate into the step of his elevation to sole dominion. The little sensation produced on the public mind by his pompous installation, soon blighted his hopes; and, irritated by the opposition of Collot D'Herbois and Billaud, he wholly absented himself from the Committee of Public Safety, and resolved their destruction. From friendship, or interested views, they had shielded Carnot from his fury; and, postponing their hatred to their fears of Robespierre, they had equally refused to sacrifice the remains of Danton's party. Nothing is more curious in this history than the following:

'But it was for the first time Robespierre saw himself sole leader of a conspiracy. He now sunk beneath the weight of a part greatly superior to his strength, to his talents..... New vices, foreign to his temper, but superinduced by the unsufferable perturbation of his soul, added to the perplexity that bewildered his resolutions. That man, whose heart was, I believe, never moved by the voice, by the appearance of a woman, latterly abandoned himself to the grossest debauchery. Often stretched out in a park, whose proprietor had been his victim, surrounded by the most ferocious beings and the most degraded of women, he sought intoxication, sensual pleasures; and could only perhaps experience their horrors. Who would believe it? The shocking Couthon essayed also the same debaucheries..... How many torments surround-

ed Robeſpierre in this aſylum! (an ironmonger's at Paris where he reſided.) The papers there found confirm this aſſertion. He received a multitude of letters expreſſive of the wildeſt adoration; but others contained threats, imprecations that muſt have congealed his blood. Read theſe appalling words that were addreſſed to him:—"This hand, that writes thy doom; this hand, which thy bewildered eye ſeeks in vain; this hand, that preſſes thine with horror, ſhall pierce thy inhuman heart. Every day I am with thee; every day I ſee thee; at every hour my uplifted arm ſeeks thy breaſt. O thou vileſt of men! live ſtill a while to think on me; ſleep to dream of me; let my image and thy fear be the firſt prelude of thy puniſhment. Farewell. This very day, in beholding thee, I ſhall enjoy thy terror."

The author of this ſtriking apoſtrophe is unknown. An inexplicable fatality ſeems to have urged Robeſpierre to give the ſignal for his own deſtruction. On the 26th of July he harangued the Convention; he revealed to it all the jealouſies and fears that diſtracted him; he deſignated the great majority of its members for vengeance, and yet concluded with propoſing nothing. Alarm was general. The friends of Danton, by their dexterity, perſeverance and intrepidity, improved it into a bond of union between the different parties. The decree for printing his ſpeech was reſcinded, after having been paſſed. The night paſſed in mutual preparations for hoſtilities. Robeſpierre gave vent to his deſpondency in the Jacobin Club: they ſwore to extirpate his enemies, and liſts were formed of the intended victims. The friends of Danton repaired to the ſurviving Girondins, conjuring them to join the next day in overwhelming the tyrant. With affected concern for their authority, they aſſured the Committee of Public Safety of their devotion, and urged them to a deciſive blow. It was ſtruck on the following day. We muſt refer the reader for minute details to M. Lacretelle. A decree of accuſation was carried againſt Robeſpierre, St Juſt, Couthon, and Lebas. The Convention now experienced a dilemma; the Revolutionary Tribunal was wholly compoſed of their creatures. 'Providence' ſays our author, 'ſo ordered the ſubſequent events of the day, that it ſhould prove the ſalvation of mankind.'

The arreſted deputies had been committed to the charge of the Committees. The Jacobins reſcued them from their feeble guards, and equally delivered Henriot their general, who had been ſeized by order of the Convention. They collected their trained bands, and were now bent on a general maſſacre of the Aſſembly. Collot D'Herbois, with the utmoſt trepidation, announced their proceedings and their deſigns. 'Let us return thanks to deſtiny,' exclaims one of Danton's partizans; 'I prefer Robeſpierre in rebellion to Robeſpierre in ſubmiſſion. We muſt have awaited his judgement: it is now decided. Let us outlaw him.' The whole

commune

commune is involved in the ſame decree. Barras is appointed commander of the national guard. Other deputies are deſpatched to rouſe the inhabitants of Paris in defence of the Convention.

'Barras did not chuſe to wait till all his promiſed ſuccours ſhould arrive. He would hot loſe the opportunity of the firſt onſet with men who had always been ſuffered to begin the attack. As ſoon as he had formed four or five battalions, "My friends," h ecried, "the Convention is diſpoſed to reward your alacrity in coming firſt. 'Tis you ſhall conduct the tyrant to it." Applauſes enſue—they march. *It is the duty of the hiſtorian to obſerve here, that the battalions thus diſtinguiſhed for their diligence, were chiefly compoſed of artizans, men poor, who ſaw in Robeſpierre the author of maſſacres, for which they daily conceived increaſing horror*:... Barras arrives with his battalions; he had ſo diſtributed them as to command every iſſue from the ſeat of the commune. Night concealed their ſmall number. The victory, than which none more eſſential to nations was ever obtained, was not even diſputed. Of ſo many aſſaſſins, not one fought the honour of periſhing in battle. The daſtardly Robeſpierre had not even appeared in the midſt of his revolutionary bands. They laid down their arms on the firſt ſummons... The Revolutionary Tribunal was condemned to paſs ſentence upon them: It was executed on the 28th at four in the afternoon. They were dragged, covered with blood and with mud, under the eyes of a people delirious with joy. Never did criminal experience more dreadful agony than Robeſpierre. But, heaven and mankind, were they avenged!'

The hiſtory of the Convention from this period till the 4th of October 1795, when it was diſſolved, is given in a very imperfect manner, from the very reduced ſcale of abridgement on which it is conducted. In the extracts which we have now given, we have chiefly had it in view to lay before our readers thoſe parts of the ſtory that are leaſt accurately known in this country, and to direct their attention to thoſe indications of temper and impartiality which appear to us to conſtitute its chief recommendation.

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ART. XIV. *The Sabbath: A Poem.* Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. To which are now added, Sabbath Walks. 12mo. pp. 170. Edinburgh and London, 1805.

WE do not know whether to attribute the ſucceſs of this little volume to the love of poetry or the love of religion; but from one or both of theſe laudable diſpoſitions, which are known to prevail with extraordinary vigour in this part of the united kingdoms, the publiſher has been enabled to diſpoſe of one entire impreſſion in the courſe of a very few weeks; and we are

called upon to give ſome account of a ſecond edition, before many of our Engliſh readers are likely to have heard of the publication. This is a duty, however, which we diſcharge with conſiderable pleaſure towards this anonymous author; for he has much more merit than many of thoſe with whoſe names the printers are familiar.

The ſubject does not admit of much novelty; and accordingly, when the author ſticks to it, he is far from being original. He indulges in digreſſions, however, with laudable liberality, and is not very ſcrupulous about the ſtrength of the tie which connects them with the ſubject of his poem. Thus we are preſented with a priſon ſcene, and a diſſertation on criminal law—a death and burial—a view of the ſlave trade—of emigrations from the Highlands—of the invaſion of Switzerland, and the Jewiſh jubilee—together with a variety of other topics that have not any immediate relation either to each other, or to the inſtitution of the Chriſtian Sabbath. None of theſe ſubjects, our readers will perceive, are new; nor is there any thing very ſtriking in this author's manner of treating them. He has borrowed, very freely indeed, from moſt of the Engliſh poets, though it ſhould be obſerved in his favour, that he has rarely made uſe of their words, and generally imitated their good paſſages.

The poem is written, we think, partly upon the model of the Grave of Blair, from which the caſt of the diction, and the cadence of the verſe, appear to us to be evidently copied; and partly on that of the Taſk of Cowper, in which the author was probably glad to find a precedent for his wanderings and digreſſions. It opens with the following paſſage.

'How ſtill the morning of the hallow'd day!
Mute is the voice of rural labour, huſh'd
The ploughboy's whiſtle, and the milkmaid's ſong.
The ſcythe lies glitt'ring in the dewy wreath
Of tedded graſs, mingled with fading flowers,
That yeſter-morn bloom'd waving in the breeze:
Sounds the moſt faint attract the ear,—the hum
Of early bee, the trickling of the dew,
The diſtant bleating, midway up the hill.
Calmneſs ſeems thron'd on yon unmoving cloud,
To him who wanders o'er the upland leas,
The blackbird's note comes mellower from the dale;
And ſweeter from the ſky the gladſome lark
Warbles his heav'n-tun'd ſong; the lulling brook
Murmurs more gently down the deep-ſunk glen;
While from yon lowly roof, whoſe curling ſmoke
O'ermounts the miſt, is heard, at intervals,
The voice of pſalms, the ſimple ſong of praiſe.' p. 9. 10.

This

This paſſage has certainly ſome poetical merit; but our readers will probably be more ſtruck with the reſemblance it bears to the following beautiful ſonnet, which is too cloſe, we think, for both of them to be original.

*Sonnet on Sabbath Morn.*

'With ſilent awe I hail the ſacred morn,
That ſcarcely wakes while all the fields are ſtill!
A ſoothing calm on every breeze is borne;
A graver murmur gurgles from the rill;
And echo anſwers ſofter from the hill,
And ſofter ſings the linnet from the thorn;
The ſky-lark warbles in a tone leſs ſhrill,
Hail, light ſerene! hail, ſacred Sabbath morn!
The rooks ſail ſilent by in airy drove;
The ſky a placid yellow luſtre throws;
The gales that lately ſigh'd along the grove
Have huſh'd their downy wings in dead repoſe;
The hovering rack of clouds forgets to move:
So ſoft the day when the firſt morn aroſe!

Now, this ſonnet, we have occaſion to know, was written upwards of five years ago by Dr Leyden, now of Madras; and though we believe it was never before printed, many copies of it have been in circulation among the poetical *amateurs* of this literary metropolis. As there is no phyſical truth or propriety in conſidering Sunday as calmer than any other day in the week, the coincidence becomes the more ſuſpicious; and if theſe ſuſpicions be well founded, we beg leave to remind this author, that though it may ſometimes be fair enough to borrow from a printed book without ſpecial acknowledgment, yet this is an indiſpenſable ceremony where we are indebted to the MS. of another for any thing which is printed as our own.

The moſt original, and perhaps the moſt ſtriking paſſage in the poem, is that which deſcribes the unhouſed congregations and Sabbath devotions of the perſecuted Preſbyterians and Cameronians in the days of Charles II.

'Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O'er hills, through woods, o'er dreary waſtes, they fought
The upland moors, where rivers, there but brooks,
Diſpart to diff'rent ſeas: Faſt by ſuch brooks,
A little glen is ſometimes ſcoop'd, a plat
With green ſward gay, and flowers that ſtrangers ſeem
Amid the heathery wild, that all around
Fatigues the eye: in ſolitudes like theſe
Thy perſecuted children, SCOTIA, foil'd
A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:
There, leaning on his ſpear, (one of th' array

That,

That, in the times of old, had ſcath'd the roſe
On England's banner, and had pow'rleſs ſtruck
Th' infatuate monarch and his wav'ring hoſt,
Yet rang'd itſelf to aid his ſon dethron'd),
The lyart veteran heard the word of God,
By CAMERON thunder'd, or by RENWICK pour'd
In gentle ſtream: then roſe the ſong, the loud
Acclaim of praiſe: the wheeling plover ceas'd
Her plaint; the ſolitary place was glad,
And on the diſtant cairns, the watcher's ear
Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note.
But years more gloomy followed; and no more
Th' aſſembled people dar'd, in face of day,
To worſhip God, or even at the dead
Of night, ſave when the wint'ry ſtorm rav'd fierce,
And thunder peals compell'd the men of blood
To couch within their dens; then dauntleſsly
The ſcatter'd few would meet, in ſome deep dell
By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,
Their faithful paſtor's voice: He by the gleam
Of ſheeted lightning op'd the ſacred book,
And words of comfort ſpake: Over their ſouls
His accents ſoothing came,—as to her young
The heathfowl's plumes, when at the cloſe of eve
She gathers in mournful her brood diſpers'd
By murd'rous ſport, and o'er the remnant ſpreads
Fondly her wings; cloſe neſtling 'neath her breaſt
They cheriſh'd cow'r amid the purple blooms.' p. 18—20.

The following ſketch is not without merit—

'Or turn thee to that houſe, with ſtudded doors,
And iron-viſor'd windows,—even there
The Sabbath ſheds a beam of bliſs, though faint;
The debtor's friends (for ſtill he hath ſome friends)
Have time to viſit him; the bloſſoming pea,
That climbs the ruſt-worn bars, ſeems freſher ting'd;
And on the little turf, this day renew'd,
The lark, his priſon-mate, quivers the wing
With more than wonted joy. See, through the bars,
That pallid face retreating from the view,
That glittering eye, following with hopeleſs look,
The friends of former years, now paſſing by
In peaceful fellowſhip to worſhip God.' p. 27.

The following ſimiles we think are original, and poſſeſs conſiderable poetical beauty—

'She ſmil'd in death, and ſtill her cold pale face
Retains that ſmile; as when a waveleſs lake,
In which the wint'ry ſtars all bright appear,

In

Is sheeted by a nightly frost with ice,
Still it reflects the face of heav'n unchang'd,
Unruffled by the breeze or sweeping blast.' p. 22. 23.

'He never longs to read the sadd'ning tale
Of endless wars; and seldom does he hear
The tale of woe; and ere it reaches him,
Rumour, so loud when new, has died away
Into a whisper, on the memory borne
Of casual traveller:—As on the deep,
Far from the sight of land, when all around
Is waveless calm, the sudden tremulous swell,
That gently heaves the ship, tells, as it rolls,
Of earthquakes dread, and cities overthrown.' p. 57. 58.

There are many other passages in the poem which bear marks of genius; but the greater part of it is written in a heavy and inelegant manner. The diction throughout is tainted with vulgarity, and there is no selection of words, images or sentiments, to conciliate the favour of the fastidious reader. The author has evidently some talents for poetical composition, and is never absolutely absurd, tedious or silly; but he has no delicacy of taste or imagination: he does not seem to feel the force of the sanction against poetical mediocrity, and his ear appears to have no perception of the finer harmony of versification. If he be a young man, we think there are considerable hopes of him; but if this be the production of maturer talents, we cannot in our conscience, exhort him to continue in the service of the muses.

This volume, however, at all events, has nothing but its poetical merit to stand upon. It contains a good deal of doctrine and argumentation, indeed, both in the text and in the notes; but nothing that is not either very trite or very shallow and extravagant. The author talks very big about the inhumanity and injustice of imprisonment for debt, and about the cruel monopolies by which the Highland shepherds are driven from their mountains. He dogmatises in the same presumptuous style on the character of Bonaparte, and on the most advisable plan for recruiting the British army, and seems as perfectly persuaded of his own infallibility upon all these subjects, as his readers, we apprehend, must be of his insufficiency. In a poem with such a title, it was certainly natural to expect some consistency in the ecclesiastical tenets of the author; but we have been completely baffled in our attempts to discover to what persuasion he belongs. He seems in many passages to be desperately enamoured of the old Covenanters, Cameronians and Independents, and gives some obscure hints of his intention to immortalize the names of their chief pastors in another poem; but by and by we find him talking with great enthusiasm of the funeral service of the church of England, and

of

of the lofty pealing of the organ, both of which would have been regarded as antichriſtian abominations, either by the old Covenanters or by the modern Preſbyterians of Scotland. To the principal poem are ſubjoined four ſmall ones, deſcribing a Sabbath walk in each of the four ſeaſons of the year. They contain merely ſome deſcription of the rural ſcenery appropriate to thoſe ſeaſons, and ſeem to have no neceſſary connexion with the Sabbath. They are by no means without merit however, and give us rather a favourable impreſſion of the author's talent for deſcriptive poetry: the verſification is ſmoother than in the long poem, and the pictures are ſketched with greater truth and conciſeneſs. The whole publication indeed, though not entitled to ſtand in the firſt rank of poetical excellence, is reſpectably executed, and may be conſidered as very creditable, either to a beginner, or to one who does not look upon poetry as his primary vocation.

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ART. XV. *An Account of the Aſtronomical Diſcoveries of KEPLER: including an Hiſtorical Review of the Syſtems which had ſucceſſively prevailed before his time.* By Robert Small, D. D. Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. London: Printed for J. Mawman, 1804. One vol. 8vo.

THE hiſtory of aſtronomy may be diſtinguiſhed into two grand periods. The firſt period commences with the origin of the ſcience, and comprehends many centuries, terminating with the labours of Tycho Brahé. During this long interval, the theory of aſtronomy was guided by one prevailing principle, that of uniform circular motion; which, if it did not account for the celeſtial phenomena according to our notions of philoſophy, ſerved at leaſt to connect in the imagination the various diſcordant motions obſerved in the heavens. This hypotheſis, ſuggeſted at firſt by its ſimplicity, became in a manner a ſacred and indiſputable principle, and at laſt formed the greateſt obſtacle to improvement in the ſcience.

The ſecond period in the hiſtory of aſtronomy, commences with the diſcoveries of Kepler, and comprehends the preſent times. In the courſe of about two hundred years, the ancient theories have been deſtroyed; and of the labours of ſo many centuries, the modern aſtronomer retains almoſt nothing, excepting the facts and obſervations that enable him to compare his own deductions with the former ſtate of the heavens. All the complicated phenomena anciently known, as well as many ſmall irregularities, that nicer inſtruments and more accurate obſervation have

have detected in later times, have been shewn to be the necessary consequences of one common principle or general fact, modified by the actual state of the system at some given epoch. The noble discoveries accomplished in this second period of the history of astronomy, will ever be a favourite and instructive subject of contemplation to the true philosopher. In tracing the actual progress of the mind in its most successful investigation of natural causes, he will form a just estimate of the object of human knowledge, and of the extent of the human faculties.

The discoveries due to the sagacity and persevering research of Kepler, a German astronomer, born at Wirtemberg in 1571, make a capital part in the great body of astronomical science. The facts commonly known by the name of Kepler's Laws, are indeed the ground-work of modern astronomy, on which the whole superstructure rests. Yet, of the merit of this great man little is in general known, excepting the mere result of his researches. Writers on astronomy are for the most part contented with enunciating, in few words, his more capital discoveries: or, if any of them enter into a detail of his labours, it is such a detail as serves rather to excite than to satisfy curiosity.

It is therefore with pleasure that we announce the present performance to the public. In a book of small magnitude, written with precision, and in a style simple and perspicuous, the author has communicated much valuable information, which can only be supplied by the original writings from which it is compiled. Dr Small has, we think, with ability, filled up the chasm between the ancient and the modern astronomy; between that period of the science in which hypotheses predominated, and the present period in which hypotheses are rigidly subjected to the test of experiment, and are received into the class of legitimate truths, or rejected as spurious, according as they are found to tally with observation or not. The design of the author is thus stated in his own words:

'As the discoveries of Kepler have contributed more than all other causes to raise the science of astronomy to its present state of improvement, they not only deserve full and particular explication, but also all the circumstances which led to them, and even the mistakes committed in their prosecution, become interesting objects of curiosity. It is a just observation of his, that we not only pardon Columbus and the Portuguese navigators, for relating their errors; the former in the discovery of America, and the latter in the circumnavigation of Africa; but should be deprived of much instruction and satisfaction if those errors were omitted. My principal intention, therefore, in the present publication, is to give a more full and particular account of Kepler's discoveries, than are to be found in the usual systems, or the general histories of astronomy; and to extract the account from his own inves-

other important point. It very seldom happens that a planet is found in the plane of the ecliptic, in which the motions of the Sun are performed; and, in order to ascertain the place of the planet in its orbit at the time of observation, a reduction from the ecliptic to the plane of the orbit becomes necessary. In examining the ancient methods of reduction, Kepler found them to be erroneous and inconsistent; and his investigations ultimately established this important conclusion, that the orbits of the planets are invariable planes, intersecting one another in lines passing through the Sun's centre:

'An improvement' (Dr Small remarks) 'more important, and of greater consequence, to simplify the science, than any which had been introduced in all the preceding ages; and his successful and decisive establishment of its truth and propriety may be justly ranked among his greatest discoveries; and equally deserves our attention with those which have been more generally celebrated.'

Kepler having overcome all the difficulties that opposed his projected innovation, at last completed a theory of Mars, derived solely from apparent oppositions. In judging of the merits of this new theory, we must allow it to have been a real improvement, independent of the great discovery of the invariable inclinations of the planetary orbits. It was, indeed, the nearest approximation to the truth, consistent with the supposition of circular orbits. Its accuracy was unquestionable in representing the oppositions: but it totally failed when applied to the latitudes and to the longitudes out of opposition.

Disappointed in the high expectations he had entertained of his new theory, Kepler yet drew from its failure an important inference, the first step to emancipation from the ancient prejudice of uniform circular motion. For as the theory involved only two suppositions, viz. that the orbit of Mars was a circle, and that the motion of the planet was uniform about a fixed point in the line of apsides, he justly concluded, that one at least of these two suppositions was false. He now prepared for further researches; but, first of all, judged it necessary to examine the circumstances that affected the theory of the Earth's annual motion. For as the latitudes of the planets, and the longitudes out of opposition, (the phenomena which had hitherto rendered his attempts abortive), depended on the distances of the Earth from the Sun, it was requisite to be assured that no errors crept in from this quarter.

Nor was Kepler without suspicions of inaccuracy in the terrestrial orbit. He had early remarked it as an anomaly, that an equant was assigned to all the planets, the Earth or Sun excepted; and, although the authority of all astronomers was against him, he

ancient ſyſtems repreſented, with tolerable accuracy, thoſe obſerved places of the planets that depended only on the real angular motions; as at the oppoſitions. But they failed when applied to other poſitions of the planets and to the latitudes; where the apparent places depend not only on the angular motions, but likewiſe on the relative diſtances. Here then it was that all the ancient ſyſtems were alike vulnerable; and it was by a ſtrict compariſon of obſervation with theory, in ſuch circumſtances, that Kepler at laſt found himſelf obliged to depart from that principle of uniform circular motion, which had been conſecrated by the unqualified aſſent of all his predeceſſors.

In the fifth chapter, Dr Small enters on his main deſign. A ſhort account is given of Kepler's family, of his firſt views and ſtudies, and of his connexion with Tycho Brahé. Admitted to peruſe the great collection of accurate obſervations accumulated by the Daniſh aſtronomer, Kepler proceeded to profit by his advatages, and to verify his ſpeculations by the teſt of experiment. In the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters, the author details the preliminary inveſtigations that gradually paved the way to the diſcovery of the elliptic form of the planetary orbits.

The ſituation of the heavenly bodies, in reſpect to one another, depends on two things; on the real angular motions, and on the relative diſtances. But when a planet is in oppoſition, the apparent places, as ſeen from the Earth and Sun, are coincident, and its poſition is affected only by the angular motions: And hence obſervations in oppoſition, being the ſimpleſt and leaſt of all liable to inaccuracy, are of great uſe in aſtronomy. In the ancient ſyſtems, it was by means of ſuch obſervations alone that the orbits of the ſuperior planets were determined. But in obſerving oppoſitions, a practice had been introduced, that in part defeated the very purpoſe for which ſuch obſervations were preferred to all others. A planet was reckoned to be in oppoſition when its place in the heavens was removed 180° in longitude, not from the real place of the Sun, but from his mean place. It is evident that, by this practice, the obſerver was not ſituated in the ſame line with the Sun and the planet at the computed time of oppoſition; and therefore the apparent place of the planet was not entirely diveſted of the ſecond inequality, excepting in the rare caſe, where the true place of the Sun coincided with his mean place. To this practice Kepler objected. He conceived the deſign of determining the orbit of Mars from real, inſtead of mean, oppoſitions; and he entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations of completely reforming the theory of the planets by his projected innovation.

Kepler's intended ſubſtitution of real or apparent, for mean oppoſitions, led him to examine the practice of aſtronomers in an-

planets are produced by certain fibres extending indefinitely from the Sun, and revolving with that body, ſo as to impel the planets in a direction from weſt to eaſt, though not every where with the ſame velocity, but with a velocity that varied according to the diſtance, the reſiſtance of the medium, and the tendency of the planet to reſt, or its vis inertiæ, which, as Dr Small juſtly remarks, did not ſignify, with Kepler, an indifference to motion or reſt, but a real tendency to the latter, ſuppoſed to be inherent in all bodies.

But leaving thoſe viſions which time has entirely diſſipated, let us follow this great man, as his commentator has done, in thoſe diſcoveries which time has fully eſtabliſhed. When he reſumed the conſideration of the orbit of Mars, he ſoon ſaw reaſon to conclude that this body deſcribes its orbit under the guidance of the ſame law that he had juſt found to hold in the Earth, viz. that the areas deſcribed by a line drawn from the planet to the Sun, are every where proportional to the time.

The attempt, however, of computing the equation of Mars's motion on this principle, was attended with much difficulty, on account of the great eccentricity of the orbit, but ſtill more from that prejudice in favour of the old doctrine of circular orbits, which has been already mentioned. In his new method of computing the equations, Kepler ſuppoſed the orbit to be a circle; but the reſults, from the combination of the two principles, were ſuch as could not be reconciled with the places of Mars, obſerved by Tycho Brahe. In this dilemma, finding that he muſt give up one of the principles which he had adopted in his calculation, he firſt propoſed to ſacrifice his own theory to the authority of the old ſyſtem, thus giving one of the moſt memorable examples which has ever occurred, of the influence of candour and prejudice at the ſame moment. He ſoon found, however, that this ſacrifice would not anſwer his purpoſe, and that, in order to make the calculus agree with obſervations, it was the old hypotheſis, and not the new one, that muſt be abandoned.

Thus, the idol was overthrown by which Kepler had been ſo long deceived, and the emancipation of aſtronomy was achieved: but many difficulties were yet to be overcome, before the empire of truth could be eſtabliſhed.

It was proved that the orbit of Mars was not circular, but its real form was yet undiſcovered. The hypotheſis which firſt preſented itſelf was, that this orbit is an oval or ellipſis, coinciding with the ſuppoſed circular orbit at the two apſides, but falling very much within it in the middle between them; and Kepler having aſſigned the proportions of the longer and ſhorter axes of the curve, according to views that he thought ſound, but which proved to be

be extremely fallacious, proceeded to deſcribe the ellipſis, to obtain its quadrature, to cut its area in any given proportion, and to derive from thence the equations of the mean motion; all which was accompanied with ſuch labour, as nothing but his fortitude and perſeverance were able to overcome. He compared the diſtances of Mars, thus computed, for no leſs than forty different arches of anomaly, with the ſame as deduced from obſervation, and had the mortification to find that they did by no means agree, but that the real places of the planet fell as far without the new oval, as within the old circular orbit. After trying many different means of correcting theſe errors with incredible labour, and always ſubjecting each hypotheſis to the ſevereſt teſt, he found, at length, that an ellipſe, with the Sun in its focus, and its greater axis equal to the mean diſtance of Mars, repreſented the whole motion of the planet with wonderful exactneſs. *The planets, therefore, deſcribe ellipſes, having the Sun in their common focus;* and this is the ſecond great diſcovery which delighted the mind, and has immortalized the name of Kepler.

His third diſcovery was that of a law of no leſs importance than either the deſcription of equal areas, or the elliptic orbits of the planets; but it was made more eaſily than them, and without the ſame elaborate deductions. His ſtrong propenſity to trace out laws and diſcover analogies in nature, ſet him eagerly at work to find out what relation ſubſiſts between the diſtances of the planets from the Sun, and the times of their revolutions round him. The *data* here lay in a much ſmaller compaſs, and were much leſs various than in the two former reſearches; and Kepler, after making ſome fanciful compariſons between the diſtances of the planets and the regular ſolids in geometry, and alſo between the ſame and the diviſions of the monochord, thought at laſt of comparing the different powers of theſe quantities with one another; from which compariſon, though not without ſome abortive attempts, this truth at laſt emerged, *that the ſquares of the periodic times of the planets are as the cubes of their mean diſtances from the Sun.* He expreſſes, in ſtrong terms, the delight and aſtoniſhment which he felt on the diſcovery of this ſimple and beautiful analogy. He has carefully marked the day on which the diſcovery was made. It was on the 8th of May 1618; and few, perhaps the philoſopher will ſay, are the days in the hiſtory of the world that deſerve ſo well to be remembered.

Such, then, were the great diſcoveries of Kepler, of which the work before us gives a clear and faithful repreſentation; and becomes of courſe a valuable and ſecure guide through one of the moſt intricate and thorny paths that is to be met with in the whole hiſtory of ſcience. The commentaries on Mars are indeed

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ſo difficult to be underſtood (not from any fault in the compoſition, but from the nature of the ſubject), that very few of thoſe who have profeſſedly written on the hiſtory of aſtronomy, have given a juſt and accurate account of the principles which guided Kepler to the diſcoveries explained in that work. The idea of them given by La Lande is in many reſpects incorrect, and even the eloquent and philoſophical Bailly has not followed the ſteps of Kepler with his uſual fidelity. All muſt acknowledge, that it amounts to no ordinary praiſe to have been ſucceſsful where writers ſuch as theſe had failed, though thoſe only who have attempted the peruſal of Kepler's own work will fully perceive the merit of Dr Small's elucidations. If any thing can be ſaid to be wanting in them, it is the introduction of more of thoſe anecdotes which ſerve to make known the character of the ſingular man whoſe diſcoveries are here unfolded. For this, the manner in which the commentaries on Mars are written, ſupplies ample materials. Kepler was not one of thoſe ſtately authors, who never ſhow themſelves to their readers in the times of their difficulties and embarraſsments, who are viſible only when they are in full dreſs, and are careful to throw a veil over all their weakneſſes and errors. He admits you into his cloſet; you ſee him at work; the ardour and anxiety of his mind, his hurry and diſtraction, as well as his ſagacity and genius, are all laid open before you. Very few writers on light and gay ſubjects bring you better acquainted with themſelves than this aſtronomer does, in the courſe of explaining ſome of the greateſt and moſt difficult diſcoveries that were ever made; and it may be doubted whether, at the concluſion of their reſpective books, Kepler or Montaigne, are beſt known to their readers.

We do not mean, however, to inſinuate, that Dr Small has been wholly inattentive to the circumſtances here alluded to; he has taken notice of many of the peculiarities in the character of the great man whoſe writings he has ſo ſucceſsfully explained; and if he has not enlarged on them more, it is probably from too great a deſire of being conciſe. He has indeed been ſometimes too ſparing of his words, and ſeems to have written under the apprehenſion of a cenſure which Kepler, very unjuſtly, we think, has at one time paſſed upon himſelf, of being *in re mathematica loquax*. We do not think that this is a criticiſm which the intelligent reader will make either on the text or the commentary.

Dr Small's book, by making this work of Kepler more acceſſible, will do an eſſential ſervice to general ſcience, as that work affords an excellent example of inductive inveſtigation in the caſe where ſuch inveſtigation is attended with the greateſt difficulty.

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It is a case where the mere collecting of facts, without connecting those facts by a hypothesis or theory, would be of no use whatever for the discovery of truth. Kepler, therefore, having brought together the facts, from the best sources, and after the most scrupulous examination as to their accuracy, assumes a hypothesis for connecting them together, a step which the nature of the subject renders indispensable. This theory or hypothesis is not taken up at random, but is assumed as probable, from physical considerations, or other circumstances of the problem. It is in this part, however, where Kepler is most defective, being often rash in the assumption of hypothesis, and having, from the state of knowledge in that age, but few principles of sound and genuine physics to assist him in his selection. He makes up for this, indeed, completely, in the step that follows, where he tries his hypothesis by the most rigorous and severe application of it to particular facts, and condemns it with the utmost impartiality if it is found wanting. It is here that Kepler is almost unrivalled; and his ingenuity in finding the means of comparing his hypothesis with experiment, and his candour in pronouncing sentence, will, in all ages, be subjects of admiration. The true use of hypothesis and theory, as means of arriving at truth as instruments of investigation, are therefore nowhere so well exemplified as in the discovery of the three laws that have been mentioned above. The ability and diligence with which Dr Small has traced the path of Kepler, and unfolded the thread that guided him through a labyrinth so intricate and vast, entitle him consequently to the thanks not only of the astronomer, but of all who are concerned with the more difficult modes of inductive reasoning.

There are added to this volume a considerable number of notes, in which several of the problems, both astronomical and geometrical, connected with the investigations in the text, are clearly and elegantly resolved. These throw great light both on Kepler's researches and on the systems of the old astronomy.

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ART. XVI. *Caractere des Armées Européennes dans la Guerre actuelle, avec une paralelle de la Politique de la puissance et des moyens des Romains et des Français.* Londres, T. Egerton, 1802.

*Military Character of the different European Armies*, &c. Translated from the French. Second Edition. Egerton, 1804.

OUR curiosity would have been much gratified, if, along with this translation, we had received some information about the

author of this very able and intereſting publication. When we firſt peruſed it, we formed a very high idea of the author's talents; but, both from its ſize and compoſition, we were led to conceive that it was probably only a prelude to a more extenſive and ſyſtematic work upon the ſame ſubject. We have been ſo long diſappointed in that expectation, that we avail ourſelves of this tranſlation, to give our readers a view of a work which we ſhould be ſorry to have omitted altogether.

The French copy does not conſiſt of more than 150 pages; and it contains characters of the armies of France, Auſtria, Pruſſia, Spain, Britain, Piedmont, and Ruſſia. In a pamphlet of this kind, our readers will not look for minute or accurate details. They will however find many acute and profound remarks, evidently the reſult of much reflection upon the military and political ſtate of Europe.

The author begins with obſerving, that political revolutions change the relative ſituation and character of nations. There are few nations that have not, at one period or other, been diſtinguiſhed for ſuperior military ſkill and attainments. Without going back to ancient hiſtory, we have in modern times a variety of inſtances of the rapid fluctuation of this kind of ſuperiority. The Turkiſh armies, from being formidable to all Chriſtendom a few centuries ago, are now totally unfit to contend with European forces. The Spaniſh infantry preſerved, for nearly a century, a ſuperiority over that of the other European powers. The Swiſs, who were formerly courted and revered by all the nations around them, are no longer a nation. The Swedes, the Pruſſians, and the Ruſſians, have had their ſucceſſive periods of military glory. It is remarked that the manner in which war is conducted, is not leſs ſubject to change.

'The war of 1733 was differently managed from that of the Succeſſion, and the Seven-years war differently again from that of 1740. Recent diſcoveries, different generals, and a change of the theatre and the object of the war, are not the ſole cauſes of this diverſity. In war, there are ſyſtems which ſucceed each other; and it is ſubject to the faſhion of the day. A particular army or organization of troops, or an order of battle, is more in vogue at one time than another, although the officers may in part be the ſame. This difference has never been ſo remarkable as in the late and preſent conteſt. Its conduct has been as varied as its origin. We have taken upon ourſelves to paint the exiſting military character of the different armies that have been engaged in it. We ſuppreſs particulars, and leave the compariſon of them to military perſons, who *may be more enlightened, and better informed than we are.* We have endeavoured not to ſuffer ourſelves to be prejudiced by party ſpirit, or dazzled by the brilliant appearance of ſucceſs. In relating circumſtances as they appear to us, we leave every one

one to draw from them whatever concluſion he may think the moſt probable. Truth is our object: this object we think we have attained. We preſume too that thoſe, who are acquainted with the armies of which we are ſpeaking, will meet with their own ſentiments on this head, although they may not perhaps have clearly defined them. If officers, who are well inſtructed in each ſervice, diſcover that what we relate is ſo true, as to be common, we ſhall fancy that we have gained the object which we had in view. We do not pretend to inſtruct, nor to give an account of events; but ſolely to diſtinguiſh and make known the cauſes of thoſe effects with which all Europe is acquainted.' p. vii. viii.

The diſcriminating feature of the French army (which is that to which our author firſt directs his attention) appears to have been individual intelligence and activity; and it is a ſtriking proof of the genius and talents of their generals, that they always either adopted or invented a ſyſtem of military movements, ſuited to the diſcipline and compoſition of their troops.

The Revolution deprived the French army of many of their beſt officers. Their places were ſupplied by men haſtily choſen for that purpoſe, and in many inſtances incapable of commanding. Dumourier's army was compoſed of raw and undiſciplined troops, who had no confidence in their officers, and were ſometimes ſeized with a panic, even when there was no enemy oppoſed to them. Our author goes ſo far as to ſay, that had France been a country of limited extent and population, ſhe might have experienced the fate of Holland, the Netherlands, and Poland. 'Notwithſtanding the diſcordant views of the allied powers, there was a moment when every thing was poſſible; but they ſuffered that moment to be loſt.' There are certainly ſome facts related by Dumourier himſelf, which tend to ſupport this obſervation; and it is not eaſy to determine what momentary ſucceſs the combined armies might have had, if they had acted upon a more vigorous and enterprizing ſyſtem. It is almoſt impoſſible, however, in forming an eſtimate of the probable iſſue of their deſigns, to lay out of view the difficulties ariſing from the local circumſtances of the country, its almoſt impregnable frontier, and the population and extent of the interior. A moſt deſperate and enterpriſing invader alone could have looked for ſucceſs. A regular, cautious, calculating general had difficulties to encounter, which he could not overcome with the ſyſtem upon which he acted. The retreat of the allied army gave the French confidence and courage; and the ſyſtem of terror recruited their armies, and made them act with energy, even after a long ſeries of defeats. Their generals were placed in a ſituation in which the loſs of men was no object. The immenſe numbers which fell, were replaced by ſucceſſive levies; but the army was not in a ſtate to execute manœuvres, or to make any movement at all compli-

cated. A new ſyſtem of warfare was therefore adopted, and purſued with ſucceſs.

'There were,' ſays our author, 'in each of the fourteen republican armies, a few ancient officers, particularly engineers, and of the artillery, poſſeſſed of military acquirements: neceſſity, reflection, and the natural genius of Frenchmen taught them to deviſe a new ſpecies of warfare. Turenne, Condé, and their *éleves* had carried on a war of movements; next came that of ſieges. Frederick the Great had introduced a ſyſtem of tactics and manœuvres, which he had brought to perfection. The French, fully aware that they could not give battles in regular order, ſought to reduce the war to important affairs of poſts. By a ſtrange fatality, which attended the allied army, this ſyſtem of deſultory warfare ſeemed to be encouraged by the very foes they had to encounter. Inſtead of lines, that could not be preſerved without difficulty, the French formed cloſe columns. They reduced their battles to attacks on certain points, and ſometimes on one only. By brigades conſtantly ſucceeding each other, and freſh troops ſupplying the place of thoſe who had been driven back, they in the end ſucceeded in forcing the point attacked; and the Auſtrians made a *maſterly* retreat.' p. 4. 5.

The French (it is ſaid) were not leſs indebted for their ſucceſs to the talents of their own generals, than to the ſtubborn indocility of their enemies. The Auſtrians, inſtead of availing themſelves of the ſuperior diſcipline of their troops, uniformly adhered to their ſyſtem of forming immoveable lines; and the French, by keeping themſelves in a maſs, were ſecure againſt the attacks of their cavalry.

When the ſeat of war was transferred to mountainous or difficult countries, cloſe columns could no longer be made uſe of: the French at once perceived this, and, abandoning the ſyſtem of cloſe columns, formed immenſe bodies of *eclaireurs*, ſharp-ſhooters, light infantry, and chaſſeurs. The French ſoldiers are peculiarly well adapted for this ſpecies of warfare; and by availing themſelves of the moſt trifling advantages of ground, they frequently forced large bodies of Auſtrians to retreat.

In the courſe of a few campaigns, the French armies, although they did not acquire a regular ſyſtem of tactics, became able to move with great rapidity. It is obſerved, that as they did not pay much regard to regularity and preciſion, their movements were executed with greater velocity. 'In the midſt of a movement that appears confuſed, individual intelligence enables every man to find his place; the manœuvre, inſtead of being performed in a body, is executed individually, and, for that very reaſon, with greater rapidity.'

Moreau is deſcribed as the French general who adhered moſt cloſely

closely to the old system of warfare. His military character is said to differ from that of the other French generals: he was chiefly distinguished by his superior talents and science, while the others owed their reputation to the bold and daring manner in which they formed and executed their plans.

The effects of the revolution were not less conspicuous in the subordinate arrangements of the army. Their wants were supplied by requisition. When they entered a country, they had little or no baggage. Their losses from fatigue, disease and famine, were never regarded by their generals; and as most of their officers had been raised from the ranks, they received some consolation for the hardships and privations they endured, by reflecting upon their former situation.

Less is, however, said of the system which the French adopted of supporting their armies by levying contributions in the countries they came to, than we expected to have met with in a work which displays so much discernment. By abandoning the old system of forming depots and magazines they certainly exposed their troops to famine, want and disorder, and in many instances suffered from the fury of the inhabitants, who were exasperated by their excesses. With all these inconveniences, however, they appear to have reaped very important advantages from this mode of supplying their armies. Formerly, the movements of armies were anticipated from the magazines they had formed, and the position of their depots; and their route was retarded by the attention which it was necessary to pay to them. The inroads of the French armies were unexpected, and their progress was rapid. They calculated only upon success; and they obtained it, by the unlooked for celerity of their movements, and the boldness and enterprise of their plans.

The idea of supporting an army in that manner was fully developed by Guibert; and the revolution, which has been a school of bold and daring experiments, has shewn the correctness of his reasoning upon that and many other military innovations.

The disorders of the French army are well described in the following passage.

'When,' says our author, 'we see these volunteers of *liberty* dragged to the armies with an iron collar fastened to their necks; when we consider that they are in great part composed of royalists or enemies to government; when we reflect on the disorder, the waste, the want of discipline, the misery, the maladies, and the state of the hospitals, which consume six times the number of men that perish in battle; when we see the soldiers incessantly on the point of mutiny, and sometimes freely indulging themselves in it; their officers, some of whom cannot even read; their generals, many of whom are grossly ignorant; while

while ſeveral who have riſen to the rank of commanders in chief, were originally dealers in thread and needles (Jourdan), monks (Pichegru), phyſicians (Doppet), barriſters (Moreau), common ſoldiers (Maſſena), dancers (Muller, Victor), carmen (Brune), quack doctors (Maſſot), painters (Cartaux), fencing maſters (Augereau), cooks (Championet), &c. &c.—when we ſee ſoldiers of uncouth appearance, without the ſmalleſt ſhew of ſubordination, and in rags, we cannot but aſk ourſelves the queſtion, how it has been poſſible, that ſuch an aſſemblage could have achieved military exploits of ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſtamp? We have already in part accounted for this phenomenon; we ſhall proceed to give a final developement of the cauſes.' p. 12. 13.

In the explanation which is given of theſe facts, it is obſerved that the want of diſcipline among the French ſoldiers is more apparent than real. Although a French ſoldier is not chaſtiſed for ordinary offences, but is allowed to ſell his effects, to be dirty, and to commit diſorders, yet whatever is conſidered as an eſſential breach of military diſcipline is puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. A diſtinction is thus made between what is perſonal to the ſoldier, and what relates to the ſervice. His conduct upon ſervice is as exemplary as in any other army; and he makes it a point of honour to be vigilant and ſtrictly obſervant of counterſigns.

In their battles the French are ſaid to have derived great advantages from keeping a body of reſerve, compoſed of the beſt troops, and commanded by an able general. By concentrating their forces upon the point of attack inſtead of forming extenſive lines, they were enabled to ſpare troops for that purpoſe. They generally commenced the action with light troops. In that ſituation the courage of every individual is diſplayed; and the emulation which is excited leads men to the moſt daring actions. One great excellence which French ſoldiers poſſeſs, is that of penetrating into the ſtate of the forces oppoſed to them, and of making an attack with rapidity and preciſion the moment they ſeem diſpoſed to give way. Their ſharp-ſhooters have frequently ſucceeded in deciding important actions; and if they are repulſed, they are protected by the *corps de reſerve* which ſupports them, or attacks in its turn. The battle of Marengo is a ſtriking inſtance of the advantages which the French have derived from their *corps de reſerve;* and on more than one occaſion it has been the means of recovering a battle which was conſidered as loſt. The French are ſaid to have been much indebted for their victories to the uſe of horſe-artillery, which was compoſed of picked men, and expoſed upon every occaſion. Their other artillery, during the courſe of laſt war, is deſcribed as greatly inferior to what it had formerly been: it was however diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as not to retard the movements of the infantry; and no field-

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pieces were attached to their battalions. One aſſertion which will perhaps ſurpriſe our readers, is, that ſecrecy, which has been conſidered of ſo much importance in military operations, was conſidered as no object in the French army. When the general had a movement in view, the whole army knew of it; while at the ſame time a thouſand other plans were talked of and diſcuſſed. A ſpirit of enterpriſe was thus kept up in the whole army, and their camps became ſchools of military inſtruction. In other armies, the officers and ſoldiers who have made a campaign, are in general more ignorant of the movements which their army has made, than their countrymen at home. It is conſidered as an eſſential object to conceal from them, as much as poſſible, not merely the movements which are to be made, but even thoſe which have taken place. Our author remarks that hiſtory furniſhes us with many inſtances of great ſucceſſes ariſing from the diſcoveries and obſervations of common ſoldiers:—and indeed, where the minds of ſo many men are employed upon one object, valuable ſuggeſtions muſt frequently be produced by their united efforts. In few armies is any care taken to diſcover or collect their obſervations. The French army afforded every facility for that purpoſe. The commander had opportunities of availing himſelf of the information of the whole army. The generals of diviſion, during the engagement, received the ſame aſſiſtance from the intelligence of the individuals who compoſed their columns. Their obſervations paſſed from rank to rank; and while thoſe which were juſt were circulated, there was diſcernment enough to arreſt the progreſs of thoſe which were unfounded. 'It was thus that, amidſt the diſorder and confuſion which ſeemed to render the French armies ungovernable, and incapable of executing a plan, aſtoniſhing reſults were produced, becauſe every one contributed to forward the common object, from his voluntary as well as perſonal exertions.' Every officer and every ſoldier fought as if the orders they were executing had been their own. Theſe circumſtances muſt have given a peculiar character to all the operations of the French army. Accordingly it is obſerved that

'When a company arrives at a poſt, or on the ground which it is to occupy, the ſoldiers, from curioſity, example, the deſire of appearing intelligent, and from that vanity which is inſeparable from the French character, inſtead of lying lazily on the earth, examine the poſt in every point of view; they proceed to reconnoitre, and form their ſeveral plans of attack or defence. If they are attacked, they have the incalculable advantage of being acquainted with the ground, and of knowing beforehand all that can be done. It frequently happens, that the ſoldiers, without officers,

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[illegible] but with infinite [illegible] to us to be confirmed [illegible] advancement of [illegible] in such an army; and [illegible] more officers [illegible] upon pur- [illegible] to discuss the [illegible] a crime. An officer [illegible] in the French ser- [illegible] approaching cam- [illegible] by offi- [illegible] taken by [illegible] a French soldier [illegible] of the army he [illegible] An Austrian [illegible] beyond the sphere [illegible] among officers of [illegible] of military dis- [illegible]

The armies opposed to them do not seem to have derived any advantage from the want of secrecy which prevailed in the French operations. It was afterwards observed, indeed, that they had announced what they had done. True: but, amidst the infinite number of projects which were published, how was it possible to discern the real one? and, in many instances, a resolution is formed at the moment, in favour of one plan instead of another, as circumstances seem to favour it. An idea, at one time very prevalent in this country, that the plans of the campaign were formed at Paris, and that Carnot directed the most trifling movements of the armies, is ably refuted. Our author's observation, that there are no instances of disputes about the execution of orders in the French service, is decisive on this subject. Complaints of that sort must have occurred, if the commanders in chief and those under them had acted upon minute and detailed plans. The fact is, that the latitude of the orders was such, that though the generals might go wrong from ignorance or design, they could hardly be guilty of formal disobedience. The French made their officers responsible for the event, not for the means which they employed. The instructions given to Dugommier, who commanded at the siege of Toulon, by the Committee of Public Safety, were, '*Vous prendrez Toulon, ou vous meriterez nos regrets.*' These are very clear instructions, but, at the same time, very general. We agree with our author, that it is much wiser to leave to the general the free choice of the measures which he

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is to adopt, than to tie him ſtrictly down to the moſt perfect plan of a campaign that ever was formed in a cabinet. If any thing is preſcribed beyond the general object in view, it is the 'reſult of jealouſy, of vanity, or of a fatal deſire of commanding.' This ſyſtem of plans and of detailed orders, which the French were too wiſe to incumber themſelves with, appears to have pervaded the whole Auſtrian ſervice. The generals were there fettered by the inſtructions they received, and looked to the Council of War with greater apprehenſion than to the enemy. They were always impreſſed with their reſponſibility for the event, and continually calculating the loſs they might ſuſtain, not only in men, but in military effects and artillery. A general who was defeated when attacked, was acquitted; but if he was defeated in an offenſive operation, he was undone for ever; 'as if,' ſays our author, 'an army became ſecure againſt an attack by not making one itſelf.' Their artillery, which was excellent, was made an incumbrance, inſtead of an aſſiſtance. It was a point of honour to preſerve it at every riſk; and the Auſtrian infantry would on ſome occaſions have avoided defeats, if it had either had no artillery, or had conſented to loſe it.

The merits of the Auſtrian army, however, are by no means underrated. Although its defects, and the degraded ſtate of their ſoldiers, who are reduced to the condition of automatons, are acknowledged, it is ſaid to be as much ſuperior to the French army conſidered as a body, as a French ſoldier, conſidered as an individual, is to an Auſtrian. The two great cauſes of the defeats of the Auſtrians were, the want of genius and enterpriſe in their generals, and their deficiency in light troops. Inſtead of adopting an original mode of fighting, calculated to diſplay the ſuperiority of their troops in diſcipline, they kept themſelves in cordons and lines, in which their cavalry could be of no uſe. The French, who were thus enabled to calculate upon their movements, expoſed themſelves in a manner which they would not have ventured to have done, if they had been oppoſed by an enterpriſing enemy. Even when acting upon the defenſive, the Auſtrians ought to have made campaigns of movements, not of poſitions. This is illuſtrated by the example of Turenne, Prince Eugene, and Frederick of Pruſſia, who, during their defenſive campaigns, kept up all the activity and appearance of offenſive operations. The want of light troops is conſidered as the chief cauſe of the defeat of the Auſtrians. Even when commanded by the Archduke Charles, upon whom every eulogium is beſtowed, they ſuffered ſeverely from this circumſtance. By converting their light troops, which were ſo famous in the wars of 1740 and 1757, into a ſort of regular battalions, they loſt the qualities which fitted them for that ſpe-

cies of warfare. The Auſtrians might have ſupplied this defect in Piedmont, in Switzerland, and in Italy, by employing the inhabitants of theſe countries as light troops; but although their adherents were more numerous than thoſe of the French, they made leſs uſe of them. Their loſſes, from want of light troops, were enormous when the war was carried on in mountainous countries. They acted upon the principle, that a ſufficient number of men will always defend their ground; whereas, among mountains, the advantages of ground are of more importance than numbers. From the deſire of adhering to a ſyſtem of regularity which could not be preſerved, inſtead of occupying the heights and placing their troops according to the nature of the ground, they remained collected at the bottom: They were in conſequence outflanked, and ſurrounded. Our author enlarges, in many paſſages, upon the advantages which the French derived from their light troops. The following paſſage gives ſo good an account of the oppoſite ſyſtems of the French and Auſtrians, that we make no apology for laying it before our readers.

'The French ſoldiers, who are more active, more enterprifing and ready in availing themſelves of every advantage of ground, will hang round bodies of men that are much more numerous than themſelves; they moleſt, haraſs, and advance upon them, by means of the ſmalleſt ſhelter. The Auſtrians, in the mean time, preſerve their rank and file; but their oblique firing has not the leaſt effect upon men who are either ſcattered about, or advantageouſly poſted; while every diſcharge of the latter, being levelled at a conſiderable body, cannot fail of telling. When the Auſtrians advance, the riflemen withdraw, but return to the charge as ſoon as the Auſtrians retire again: the Auſtrian troop is thus haraſſed by an enemy that keeps out of its reach, and whoſe numbers, upon looking at the extent of ground which they occupy, appear more conſiderable than they really are. This method of fighting continues, until the loſſes they have experienced, and the inutility of reſiſtance, produce diſcouragement and confuſion; and, at length, the troops, overwhelmed with fatigue, and thrown into diſorder, either diſperſe, or lay down their arms. The French, who would not have dared to meet theſe ſame Auſtrians in open field, have often defeated and taken thouſands of them with ſome hundreds of men only: for, the inſtant their ranks are broken, the Auſtrians become like a flock of ſheep diſperſed, and incapable of reuniting. The coolneſs of the Auſtrians is inexplicable. The humiliation of ſurrendering their arms does not ſeem to affect them any more than the dangers of a battle. One would ſuppoſe, in conſidering their indifference, that it was nothing but the *finale* of a pantomime or ballet. The Auſtrians carry their fear of being outflanked or turned, to a degree which is at once ridiculous and extravagant; it might indeed be called a national diſorder or weakneſs. They fancy themſelves outflanked, or enveloped at the very moment in which they might ſurround thoſe, who have had the raſhneſs to outrun them.

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This exceſſive apprehenſion diſconcerts their plans, and drives them to retrograde movements at a time when, in order to beat the enemy, they have only to advance upon him.' p. 39. 40.

The view given of the Engliſh army will be more intereſting to our readers than that of any of the continental forces. It contains, in the firſt place, an inveſtigation of the cauſes of the bad ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms upon the Continent. One poſition is repeatedly maintained, that 'the Engliſh are undoubtedly the moſt intrepid people in Europe.' * Other cauſes are therefore to be aſſigned for a fact which is aſſumed as certain. The firſt is, that the land army has become an object of ſecondary conſideration ever ſince the union with Scotland. Another cauſe is the want of any regular ſyſtem for the formation of the army, and the manner in which the forces are parcelled out in ſervice, from which circumſtance they can never acquire uniformity or conſiſtency. Campaigns in Aſia do not contribute to form troops fitted for European warfare; and a general who has returned from India, is compared to an admiral who has acquired his knowledge of navigation from voyages in the lake of Geneva or the Black ſea. The Engliſh cavalry is allowed to be better equipped and more formidable in a charge than that of any other nation. A private in the Britiſh cavalry is ſaid to be as well mounted as an officer in any other ſervice. He does not however poſſeſs the ſame command of his horſe, which is attributed to the form of his ſaddle; and from this circumſtance the Britiſh cavalry are ſaid to require more time than any other to form after a charge. The higheſt praiſes are beſtowed upon the artillery. In ſhort, able commanders, we are told, are alone wanting to make the Britiſh the beſt troops in Europe. This opinion is not peculiar to our author; for it is certainly very prevalent upon the Continent. The Britiſh officers are not conſidered as inferior to thoſe of any army in Europe in courage, in talents, or in attachment to their profeſſion, but in military ſcience and attainments. It certainly would be extremely unjuſt to impute to them the ſlighteſt blame upon that account. From the cauſes already enumerated they have not the ſame opportunities of acquiring a practical knowledge of their profeſſion which the officers of continental armies poſſeſs; and though that diſadvantage might have been eaſily ſupplied by directing ſome portion of the talents and genius of the nation to the cultivation of military ſcience, this is perhaps the only country in Europe where it has been completely neglected.



* 'Les Anglois ſont indubitablement le peuple le plus intrépide de l'Europe, celui qui affronte la mort et la voit approcher avec le plus de ſang froid et d'indifference.'

In France, military knowlege was widely diffuſed; and in the courſe of the war, it enabled them to overcome every diſadvantage ariſing from want of diſcipline and experience. Their writers upon military ſubjects are as ſuperior to thoſe of other countries, as their generals have ſhewn themſelves to be. If the ſame encouragement had been given in England to military ſtudies, we can have no doubt that our countrymen would have excelled as much in this as they have done in every other department of ſcience. We are not aware, that we are indulging our national partialities too far, when we ſay, that there is not one liberal art to which the genius of both nations has been applied, in which this country has not fair pretenſions to ſuperior excellence. Even mechanical inventions, although not apparently ſuited to the genius of the inhabitants, have been carried to higher perfection in Britain than in any other country. But on military ſubjects, not one author of any originality, or of any merit, has appeared. The cauſe of this is obvious. A perſon intended for the army has no opportunity of learning even the rudiments of his art in this country; if he is deſirous to acquire them, he muſt relinquiſh the ſuperior advantages of a Britiſh education, in order to place himſelf under the tuition of a German tactician. He there acquires a ſyſtem which is ſuited to the genius of a country inferior in almoſt every reſpect to this. Any little military knowledge which has been brought into this country, has been ſervilely copied from the Germans. We are by no means diſpoſed to underrate German diſcipline; it certainly has its merits: but there always muſt be a marked diſtinction between a ſyſtem which is in a manner the growth of the country, and accommodated to the genius and ſituation of the people, and one which is transferred as an article of faith in all its parts, from a foreign country, to one different in almoſt every reſpect. If Frederick, inſtead of King of Pruſſia, had been King of Great Britain, we may venture to ſay that his military arrangements would have been different. He would have conſidered the ſituation of the country, the character of the people, and the ſervices in which the troops were likely to be engaged. In his own country, it is believed, he made fewer changes in military matters than what is generally imagined: matters of little importance he allowed to remain upon the ſame footing. He did not conſider it of very great importance to alter the ſhape of a coat or the form of a ſkirt; but wherever he found the tactics of other nations ſuperior, he either imitated or improved upon them. By doing ſo, he eſtabliſhed his own character for ſuperior genius, and at the ſame time made his army ſuperior to that of any other power in Europe. The ſame ſuperiority will be attained by any nation

nation which will employ the ſame means—which will improve its military ſyſtem, not by a conſtant and vexatious ſucceſſion of trifling changes, but by preſerving unchanged whatever it has that is good, and giving encouragement to every improvement in the higher departments of military ſervice.

Our author, throughout the whole of this work, appears to entertain very little reverence for what are called parade officers. He obſerves, that it is eaſy for a perſon to fancy himſelf a ſoldier, by ſcrupulouſly attending, during peace, to thoſe *minutiæ* which are really inſignificant in war; and that it has been generally obſerved, that officers who make the moſt diſtinguiſhed figure in time of peace, do not, in actual ſervice, anſwer the expectations which they have raiſed. 'An officer of this claſs, who has ſerved twenty or thirty years, has great difficulty in changing his pacific habits: he hates war: and where there is a want of taſte for an undertaking, it muſt be badly executed.' Nothing can appear more aſtoniſhing to thoſe who have not reflected upon it, than the extreme zeal which many officers of that deſcription ſhow for the ſubordinate *minutiæ* of parade. It is however the caſe with this, as with moſt other frivolous purſuits, that where they occupy the mind, they engroſs it more excluſively than thoſe objects which require a higher exertion of the underſtanding. A collector of butterflies or tulips ſhows more zeal in his favourite ſtudies, than a mathematician; and a mountebank quack-doctor annexes higher importance to his infallible preſcriptions than a regular phyſician. Officers who have been long accuſtomed to actual ſervice, are fully aware of the relative importance of the ſubordinate parts of diſcipline; but it is not eaſy to deſcribe the abſurd importance which parade officers, who have never heard a gun fired upon ſervice, aſcribe to the ſmalleſt *minutiæ* of dreſs. It appears to them of greater conſequence to have their troops ſmart upon parade, than active in their manœuvres; and they ſeem to think that nothing renders a ſoldier ſo fit to meet an enemy, as fixing his cap upon one corner of his head, and expoſing as much of it as they poſſibly can, bedaubed with ſoap and flour, to the wet and cold of a northern climate. No doubt, thoſe officers muſt be very unfit to meet an enemy, who will not ſtay to examine whether the accoutrements of their men are well lackered, or their *queues* tied with ſingular regularity and preciſion. The height to which this attention to dreſs is raiſed in ſome individuals, exceeds all bounds of belief. We have heard an anecdote of a general officer (in what ſervice we forbear to mention) who went with ſome of his friends to ſee the Conſular troops reviewed at Paris. After inſpecting the lines very narrowly, he was obſerved to return to his countrymen with a look

look of great ſatisfaction and importance. One of them who was anxious to know the reſult of his obſervations, was at length informed, 'that he could aſſure him, as a military man, that after looking at the whole line, he had not been able to find two neckcloths together, tied in the ſame manner.'* This was

* A certain degree of attention to the clothing and equipment of troops is neceſſary; and even an exceſs of it may appear a very harmleſs foible. It would certainly be ſo, if it did not convert, what ought to be a ſecondary object, into a principal one. When it is propoſed to form the ſoldier for the different kinds of ſervice which may be required, and to accuſtom him to ſuch exerciſes as will inure him to fatigue, it is ſaid that he is already ſufficiently employed. This objection has long ago been anſwered by Guibert. 'Si l'on me dit,' ſays that enlightened author, 'que nos exerciſes actuels les occupent déjà aſſez, je répondrai que c'eſt parce que nos manœuvres ſont trop compliquées, nos méthodes d'inſtruction mal entendues, notre prétention de préciſion et de perfection ſur beaucoup de points, minutieuſe et ridicule. Je répondrai que la preuve que nos ſoldats ne ſont pas aſſez occupés, c'eſt que pour remplir, dit-on, leur temps, on les ſurcharge de régles de diſcipline inquiétantes et odieuſes. C'eſt qu'on a créé une tenue qui leur fait paſſer trois heures par jour à leur toilette, qui en fait des perruquiers, des poliſſeurs, des verniſſeurs, tout en un mot, hormis des gens de guerre.'—*Eſſai General de Tactique, p.* 161.

The ſame excellent author, whom we cannot too often refer to, has demonſtrated that the progreſs of the arts and ſciences ought to promote inſtead of retarding the art of war:—'Ce ne ſont pas les arts et les ſciences qui ont fait décheoir l'art militaire chez les peuples de l'antiquité; ce ne ſont pas les arts et les ſciences qui l'empêchent aujourd'hui de faire des progrès. Les lumières générales devroient au contraire perfectionner cet art avec tous les autres. Elles devroient rendre la tactique plus ſimple et plus ſavante, les troupes plus inſtruites, les généraux meilleurs. Elles devroient mettre la méthode à la place de la routine, les combinaiſons à la place du haſard. Si, tandis que toutes les autres ſciences ſe perfectionnent, celle de la guerre reſte dans l'enfance, c'eſt la faute des gouvernemens qui n'y attachent pas aſſez d'importance; qui n'en font pas un objet d'éducation publique; qui ne dirigent pas vers cette profeſſion les hommes de génie; qui leur laiſſent entrevoir plus de gloire et d'avantages dans des ſciences frivoles ou moins utiles; qui rendent la carrière des armes une carrière ingrate dans laquelle les talens ſont devancés par l'intrigue, et les prix diſtribués par la fortune.' *Ibid. Diſcours Preliminaire, tom. I. p.* 97. 98.

Some attempts have certainly been made, of late years, to ſupply the defects of the military education in this country. Important advantages may be expected from the inſtitutions which have been formed. It is however to be regretted that they are by no means adequate to the occaſion,

was a very moderate inſtance of the diſpoſition above alluded to: many more ſtriking ones are well known.

The queſtion of invaſion appears ſtill to ſtand on the ſame grounds that it did before this work was firſt publiſhed. Our author does not pretend to be a judge of the practicability of ſuch a ſcheme. He obſerves, that both countries ſtand in a very different ſituation from what they ever did formerly. Although the naval power of Great Britain is greater than it ever was before, it muſt be recollected that the territory of the French is vaſtly more extenſive. When we reflect, ſays our author, upon theſe circumſtances, and the daring raſhneſs of the French, what is perhaps impoſſible in itſelf does not appear improbable. 'If the French were to ſucceed in effecting a landing, he obſerves, they would find themſelves without any hope of being able to reimbark, which would deprive them of courage if their army was compoſed of bad troops; but danger and difficulty excite and inflame the valour of ſoldiers accuſtomed to war, who have a great object in view, and who are acquainted with the means that muſt be reſorted to in order to obtain it.' Every Engliſhman would individually poſſeſs as much courage; but the want of experience prevents the reunion of efforts, and deſtroys that confidence which is neceſſary in the cooperation of great numbers. The army oppoſed to them, our author ſays, would conſiſt of regular troops, of militia regiments, and of volunteer yeomanry.

'Theſe troops' ſays our author, 'are deſtitute of all experience and practice of war: their exerciſe is but a feeble imitation of it: and a camp in time of peace, (which is nothing more than a parade, where the only conteſt exiſts in pleaſure and magnificence) is but an unprofitable ſchool of tactics. The preſumption of knowing ſomething, would be dangerous: and nothing would be more fatal than a general battle. Numbers only ſerve to augment the confuſion of unexperienced troops, who have to withſtand enemies, that are at once active and enterpriſing, remarkable for their quickneſs in throwing their opponents into diſorder, and for the audacity of their movements.' p. 109. 110.

Upon this reaſoning it is maintained, that the moſt ruinous meaſure would be to oppoſe the French with a large army. We are told, that although it may be conſidered as a paradox, it is demonſtrated by numberleſs examples, that it would be more dangerous, in theſe circumſtances, to combat 10,000 Frenchmen with 100,000

occaſion, and that much care has been taken to introduce all the brutal rigour and harſhneſs of German military diſcipline, which appears better adapted to drill-corporals and ſergeants, than to form officers or gentlemen. No attempt has been made to make military attainments a branch of liberal education.

100,000 men, than with twenty or five and twenty thousand. Such a body can only acquire the faculty of moving in order, from long exercise and habitual warfare. If composed of inexperienced troops, it would suffer more from the difficulty of acting, than the valour of the enemy. It is recommended as the wisest plan, in such a case, to divide these 100,000 men into five or six bodies, according to the strength of the enemy, and the nature of the ground; and, by attacking the French without intermission, to imitate the conduct by which they, in the beginning of the war, eluded the Austrian tactics. By reducing the warfare to partial engagements, the enemy could not have the same superiority which the rapidity of their manœuvres would give them in a general action.

'Every Englishman,' says our author, 'who will reflect on the greatness of the political, civil and domestic blessings which he enjoys, and who will suffer himself to be convinced, that he runs the risk of being deprived of them for ever, if the French should be long stationary in England, will not hesitate to expose his life for the preservation of those inestimable blessings (which are greater than any other nation ever enjoyed), or to perish, rather than see the downfal and disgrace of his country, and of himself. The English would have it in their power to destroy the French, by the means of at least an equal degree of bravery, and great superiority of numbers; but this can only be effected by acting in separate bodies, and by meeting the enemy at all points, without giving him time to form any settled and combined plan of general action.' p. 113. 114.

For an account of the Russian, Spanish, Neapolitan, and Prussian armies, we must refer our readers to the work itself, which contains some valuable, and to us original observations upon each of these topics. The character of Suvarow forms a prominent feature in the view given of the Russian army; his singular peculiarities are brought before the reader in a very interesting manner; and upon his talents as a general every praise is bestowed. We are told that he excelled all other generals in the management of his troops: he had the art of making his soldiers believe that he was an inspired man. In his tactics, his principal object was to engage his enemy, as he was persuaded that the valour of his troops would always render him victorious.

'He was a captain,' says our author, 'in the style of Mahomet, Tamerlane, and Gengis Khan, rather than of Cæsar or Turenne; an Asiatic general, rather than an European; formed to gain battles and make conquests, rather than conduct regular and skilful campaigns; if indeed there can be any skill superior to that of always beating an enemy.'

In the parallel between the Romans and French, with which this work terminates, the powers and means of the latter nation, and

and the vaſt preponderance which it has acquired in the European ſyſtem, are ſtated in a manner which muſt excite very great apprehenſions in every Britiſh reader. The events which have occurred ſince this work was firſt publiſhed, have not contributed to diminiſh the force of any of the obſervations which are made in it. Without pretending to know what Bonaparte's views were, our author then obſerved, that if ambition was his ſole and predominant paſſion, (which it appeared to be) he would not be contented with the poſſeſſion of the fineſt kingdom in Europe, becauſe ambition never ſtops at the object it has attained. The circumſtances of modern Europe, however, are ſo different from thoſe of the States of antiquity, that ſuch a parallel is perhaps better calculated to diſplay ingenuity, than to be a baſis for political reaſoning.

We have ſeldom met with a book which, although apparently compoſed very haſtily, and by a perſon probably not much accuſtomed to write, contains ſo many original obſervations in ſo ſmall a compaſs, and ſo much military and political information. No references are made to the authorities he has proceeded upon, though we may obſerve that, in his general reaſonings upon military ſubjects, he ſeems often to have had an author in view whom we have quoted in the courſe of this article. We do not profeſs to be ſkilled in the *minutiæ* of French compoſition, otherwiſe we ſhould be diſpoſed to hazard the criticiſm, that the language is not that of a native of France. We cannot, however, paſs over the tranſlation without expreſſing our moſt decided diſapprobation of it; and we therefore decline mentioning the name of the gentleman by whom it is ſaid to have been executed. It betrays many marks of the groſſeſt ignorance, and the moſt inexcuſable careleſſneſs. Where it is ſaid that England has, ſince the Union, '*porté ſes vues et ſes efforts vers la mer*,' this is tranſlated 'has carried her views and exertion *beyond the ſea*,' inſtead of 'towards naval affairs' (p. 66. original, p. 80. tranſlation.) After enumerating one claſs of conſequences to be apprehended from invaſion, another is announced with the obſervation, '*ces dangers ne ſont pas les ſeuls*' (p. 80.) This is moſt ſagaciouſly tranſlated 'danger is not the only thing to be conſidered' (p. 108. tranſ.) '*Dans ce cas ils ne ſeroient pas perdus*,' (p. 84.) is tranſlated 'in caſe of their not being deſtroyed,' (p. 109.) In ſome paſſages a ſort of paraphraſe is given of the original, which would be leſs objectionable if it had been tolerably executed. '*L'eſprit naturel aux François*,' is dilated into 'an inventive faculty, aided by that promptitude of action which is ſo natural to Frenchmen' (p. 4. tranſ.) To make amends for theſe additions, however, part of the original is ſometimes omitted.

For what reaſon we know not, the fourth ſentence in the introduction does not appear at all in the tranſlation. The notes tagged to this wretched tranſlation are every way worthy of it, and unworthy of the original. They conſiſt of a few childiſh remarks; various dolorous lamentations upon the inadequate pay of Britiſh officers; ſome quotations from pamphlets that have nothing to do with the ſubject diſcuſſed in the original; and many obliging references to James's Military Dictionary.

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ART. XVII. *Military Memoirs, relating to Campaigns, Battles, and Stratagems of War, antient and modern: Extracted from the beſt Authorities, with occaſional Remarks.* By the Author of Memoirs of the War in Aſia, from 1778 to 1784, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 588. London, J. Johnſon, &c. 1804.

THOUGH war has ever been the favourite amuſement, and often the ſole employment of men, hiſtory does not afford ſuch an abundance of materials as might be expected for a work of the kind that is here announced. Every page, indeed, is full of military tranſactions, and of accounts of battles, where our ſympathy with the combatants, and the mingled emotions of pity, horror, and admiration, afford an intereſting and uſeful occupation to the mind. But if we look for accurate information concerning the means by which ſuch enterpriſes have been achieved; if we would learn the poſition of the hoſtile armies, the nature of the ground which they occupied, their diſpoſition in the day of battle, and the movements which decided the conteſt, we ſhall often meet with diſappointment in the midſt of the moſt ſplendid deſcriptions; we ſhall have cauſe to lament that looſe declamation has been ſo often ſubſtituted for exact narrative, and that there are ſo many more writers who are ambitious of painting with the glow of Titus Livius and Quintus Curtius, than of delineating with the correctneſs of Arrian or Polybius.

It was only from hiſtorians of the latter kind that the author of the work before us could derive any advantage; for, his purpoſe being to treat of military operations in an exact and diſtinct manner, no actions but ſuch as had been accurately deſcribed by the original authors, could properly find a place in his collection. The choice he has made ſeems to be ſkilful and judicious; the information is derived from the beſt ſources; and the general obſervations introduced in the courſe of the work indicate a more exact and extenſive knowledge of the military art than is uſually to be found among men of civil profeſſions, and of ſtudious and ſedentary

dentary lives. An accurate knowledge of the learned languages, and a familiarity with the beſt writers of antiquity, were indiſpenſable requiſites in an undertaking of this kind, and are poſſeſſed, we believe, by the author, Dr Thomſon, in no ordinary degree. The ancient authors to whom he is principally indebted, are Xenophon, Arrian, and Cæſar, who, being themſelves ſoldiers, as well as ſcholars, and fine writers, have compoſed works which, in every ſtate of the military art, will be read with intereſt and inſtruction. Polybius, it is needleſs to remark, is one of the chief ſources of information, and Dr Thomſon has obſerved how neceſſary it is to conſult the original of that author; the beſt tranſlation which we poſſeſs, though not without merit in many reſpects, having given the military details in a manner extremely looſe and unſatisfactory. Among the moderns, Dr Thomſon profeſſes to have been chiefly indebted to Sir Walter Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World; to the *Cours de Tactique* of Maizeroy; *Eſſai ſur les Battailles* of the Chev. Grimoard; Mauvillon *ſur l'Influence de la Poudre à Canon*; Memoirs of Guiſchardt, &c.; to which we may add, as he tells us, the converſation of military gentlemen, who have joined the ſtudy of the theory, to an acquaintance with the real ſcenes of war.

Of theſe ſources of information, Dr Thomſon has availed himſelf with great ſucceſs, and has produced a volume, containing, in a ſmall compaſs, a great deal of diſtinct and intereſting military detail. It is divided into three parts. The *firſt* treats of war before the invention of gunpowder; the *ſecond* of war from the invention of gunpowder to the introduction of the Pruſſian tactics; the *third* from the introduction of the Pruſſian tactics to the preſent time.

The following remarks on the progreſs of the art of war are given partly from Mauvillon.

'Without inquiring whether arms to be uſed in the hand, or thoſe to be thrown to a diſtance, were the moſt ancient, it muſt be allowed that nature has taught the uſe of theſe laſt to many of the brute animals. The bear and the monkey diſcharge ſtones at the enemy they are unable to reach; at the ſame time that they are ignorant of the uſe of the moſt ſimple weapon to be uſed in aid of their legs or claws.

'In the ſame manner, it is not improbable that men were naturally at firſt led to throw ſtones, &c. in their quarrels, before they thought of employing any artificial means of ſtrengthening the force and activity of their limbs.

'When men had arrived at that point of civilization, to know how to make arms for the hand, of the hardeſt metals, thoſe of projection, whether from the hand, a bow, or a ſling, were no longer to be compared to theſe, for deciſive efficacy.

'The effects of theſe laſt were too feeble: they might be guarded againſt, either by ſome defenſive covering, or by running in and cloſing

with the enemy; ſo that they were too uncertain to be conſidered as equal to arms in the hand. It is true that, in the courſe of time, machines were contrived for diſcharging heavy bodies, which produced powerful effects at conſiderable diſtances; ſuch as the *baliſta*, the *catapulta*, and others: but theſe machines were too complicated, and demanded too much time in practice, ever to have been very formidable. Beſides, the extent of their range was too ſmall for the engineer to be able to repeat his diſcharge againſt troops in motion. The ſtrength of troops, therefore, conſiſted in their arms for manual uſe; and each nation invented ſuch for themſelves, according to their ideas and cuſtoms.

'The Greeks choſe for their principal weapon the ſpear or pike. With this long pole, mounted with a ſharp point of ſteel, and which, according to their order of fighting, could not eaſily be turned aſide, they penetrated and laid open whatever oppoſed them.

'No enemy, armed only with a ſword, or other ſhort weapon, was able, as long as the Greeks retained their order, to touch them: but, if the enemy employed a pike, as they did themſelves, then the iſſue of the conteſt depended on the courage, the ſtrength, and the addreſs of each party.

'The Romans, on the contrary, were ſpecially attached to the uſe of the ſword. The celebrated Montecuculi calls the pike the queen of arms for infantry, as the lance is for cavalry; but that obſervation muſt have been the effect of habit and prejudice, even in ſo great an officer.

'For the man of true courage will always prefer ſome hand-weapon even to the firelock; becauſe, his ardent wiſh is to cloſe with his enemy as quickly as poſſible. A commander ought alſo to prefer hand-weapons, becauſe, in obliging his troops to engage man to man, they are in the faireſt way to obtain the ſpeedieſt victory.

'It is therefore the ſword alone that deſerves to be called the queen of arms. Not thoſe long rapiers uſed by certain corps of cavalry; but a ſhort ſword, fit for cutting and ſtabbing, and which is eaſily manageable in the hand.

'This is the weapon with which an active man, covered with a buckler to parry the attacks of the enemy, and preſerving, in the midſt of danger, that *ſang froid* which enables him to avoid or turn aſide the enemy's ſtrokes, is almoſt certain of victory, even over an enemy of ſuperior bodily ſtrength, but who does not poſſeſs theſe qualities in the ſame degree, whatever weapon he may employ.

'Such was the ſword of the antient Romans; and the proof of this being the queen of arms is, that with this ſword they ſubdued the Macedonians, armed with pikes, notwithſtanding their high courage, and the maſterly ſkill with which they employed their favourite weapon.

'But, when once men had diſcovered a ſubſtance, which, being inflamed, diſcloſed a fluid whoſe elaſticity could propel the heavieſt bodies, with a force and velocity beyond conception, and which no former machine could approach: when the inſtruments, by which the activity

of

of that ſubſtance was diſplayed, were ſo improved, as to be capable of repeating the diſcharge with a rapidity unknown in the antient machines of projection, then projectile arms came to be conſidered as infinitely ſuperior to any known hand-weapons.

'Armies could thenceforward ſeldom come to cloſe engagement in the field. Before either one or other could paſs over the ſpace between their lines, death had already ſwept away ſo many of the combatants, that the ſurvivors had but little inclination, or even power, to ſtand a regular and cloſe attack.

'The whole offenſive arms came then to be founded on the application of that inflammable ſubſtance, and the ſword was no more than an idle ornament for the ſoldier. Even when his fire-arm was fitted up with an additional pointed weapon (the bayonet), ſo as in ſome meaſure to combine both uſes, it was occaſioned chiefly by a predilection for former uſages, as well as to defend the ſoldier againſt the ſudden and impetuous incurſions of cavalry.

'Not only offenſive arms underwent a material change, in conſequence of the uſe of gunpowder, but alſo thoſe for defence fell gradually into diſuſe: for, when projectile arms were become ſo perfect as to form the baſis of the whole art of war, and to render hand arms almoſt uſeleſs; above all, when it was diſcovered, that it was impoſſible to contrive any defenſive armour light enough to be worn by the ſoldiers, and, at the ſame time, ſtrong enough to reſiſt a muſket-bullet, not to ſpeak of cannon-balls, then all ſorts of armour for defence were entirely thrown aſide.

'Another article, in which great alterations have been neceſſarily made, in conſequence of the uſe of gunpowder, in war, is the arrangement of troops in order of battle and on a march.

'The Macedonians and other Greek nations were frequently drawn up on a depth of ſixteen, and even thirty-two men, placed one behind another, in files; becauſe that deep and denſe order, while it could be perfectly preſerved, enabled them to bear down all oppoſition.

'The Romans, whoſe chief arm was the ſword, rejected the denſe order of the Greeks, as incompatible with the uſe of that weapon, and drew up in long full lines, of three men in depth, much the ſame as is practiſed in the preſent times in European armies; but then the men were arranged, not in files, one behind another, as is now done, but each man, in the ſucceeding rank, was placed diagonally, oppoſite to the interval, between the two men in the rank before him. Beſides, the Roman ſoldier, in order to have the full play of his ſhort cut-and-thruſt ſword and buckler, required a great deal more room, in all directions, than either the Macedonian or modern European ſoldier.

'The nature of the arms muſt always determine the manner of forming an army, and of arranging, in that order, the troops for battle.

'Notwithſtanding the continual alterations and frequent improvements in the form and other circumſtances of modern fire-arms, it yet ſeems impoſſible that the men who uſe them can be drawn up to advantage in any other way than in three lines.

'With

'With two lines only there will be ground loft; and, with four, they can never all fire at the ſame time.' p. 210.–216.

The difference between the direct and oblique order of battle is well explained, and the advantages of the latter pointed out, in the following paſſage, which, to thoſe readers who are not profeſſedly military, will probably convey ſome new information.

'All arrangements of troops, in line of battle, are either *direct*, that is to ſay parallel, or nearly ſo, to the front of the enemy's line; or *oblique*, that is, inclined to his front; ſo that if the two lines were to meet, at either extremity, they would form an angle, more or leſs acute.

'1ſt, The direct order of battle is the moſt natural and obvious, the moſt ſimple in its diſpoſition and operations, and the moſt antient. In proportion, however, as the art of tactics was improved, many important defects were diſcovered in the direct order: but the principal reaſon why it is ſeldom employed ſeems to be the difficulty of meeting with, in a campaign, a plain ſo level and ſo extenſive, as to allow two conſiderable armies to be drawn up, in oppoſite lines, the one parallel to the other, and to manœuvre, cloſe, and engage, along their whole front, at the ſame time.

'Direct or parallel lines of battle muſt, beſides, be very diſadvantageous for any army, unleſs the front be but of ſmall extent, and that the commander have a ſufficient number of troops, in reſerve, to reinforce ſuch parts of his line as the enemy appear to break through.

'The oblique order of battle comprehends every ſpecies of diſpoſition of troops, by which they can, at pleaſure, be made to act againſt one or more points of the enemy's line, whilſt the remaining parts of it are kept in check: ſuch troops, as are not engaged in theſe attacks, being held back, and beyond the reach of the enemy; by which operation the attacking army ſeems, in a general ſenſe, to be obliquely inclined, by one or more angles, to that of the enemy.

'This oblique order is the moſt ſcientific, the moſt artful, and the moſt perfect of all. "It is this," ſays the chevalier de Folard, "againſt which a general, however able he may be, can form no oppoſition, when it is ſuddenly preſented by the enemy: for, to be able to oppoſe it with due effect, it would be neceſſary to execute ſuch manœuvres as cannot poſſibly be performed in the moment of action, as they require much time and previous arrangement. It might, for inſtance, be requiſite to tranſport the whole left of an army to the right, or the whole right to the left."

'The parts of a line, with which the partial attack or attacks are to be made, are reinforced beyond the ordinary ſtrength of the line, and the other parts, not engaged, are weakened in proportion as they are removed from the enemy.

'The oblique order is the genuine reſource of a weak army. Its principal advantage conſiſts in giving a commander the choice of the point of attack, and in rendering, for ſome time at leaſt, the enemy's ſuperiority in numbers of no uſe to them.

'An

'An army, which is forced to engage another much more numerous, ought, above all, to endeavour to outfront it on one of the wings, and to be ſtrong on every point where the enemy may make an attack. By gaining theſe two grand advantages, and by keeping back the other parts of the line from action, a ſort of equality, in effective ſtrength, will be eſtabliſhed between the two armies, the greater portion of the largeſt being thus rendered of no uſe in the battle.

'Frederic II. or the Great, of Pruſſia, has, of all the moderns, beſt ſtudied the principles and properties of the oblique order. In his grand encampments and reviews, in time of peace, he ſhewed the mechaniſm of this order to his generals; and it was by it that he opened the way to his numerous victories. The Pruſſian tactics form an æra in military hiſtory.

'The oblique order may be employed againſt the right, the left, or the centre of the enemy's line, or againſt any of the intermediate points; but it is generally directed againſt one of the wings.

'The great art of arranging this order, is to maſk and conceal the deſign from the enemy, who, being equally apprehenſive of an attack on every point, cannot weaken one in order to ſtrengthen any other.

'The way to make an oblique attack miſcarry, is to adopt an order contrary to that of the enemy, and to have always a conſiderable *corps de reſerve*, of horſe and foot, ready to reinforce the point attacked.

'It is often of great advantage to employ the oblique order againſt an enemy, who has taken, what he conſiders to be a good poſition, and there waits for the attack. In ſuch a caſe he has no fears of being ſurpriſed, and from that very confidence is frequently defeated.

'However inferior a general may be, he never can be utterly defeated, if he act on the oblique order: for, as he does not engage the whole front of the enemy, nor even brings into action but a part of his own line, he never can ſuffer, excepting merely in the points of contact.

'It follows from all this, that a general, who is obliged to engage an enemy ſuperior to himſelf in numbers, or in the quality of the troops, ought to take ſuch a poſition as that the enemy cannot attack his whole front at one time. By ſuch a poſition, he will be ſaved from a total defeat; but, on the other hand, he will be prevented from employing his talents, or taking advantage of circumſtances, to ruin the enemy, unleſs this laſt deſtroy his own army, by repeated and unſucceſsfull aſſaults on ſuch parts as are within his reach.' p. 319.–323.

The nature of the oblique order is farther illuſtrated by the example of the battle of Rocroy, fought between the French and Spaniards in 1643; the former being under the command of the great Condé; to the intereſting and diſtinct account of which celebrated engagement we refer the reader, (p. 325.)

The moſt remarkable inſtance of the oblique order, which the hiſtory of antient warfare furniſhes, is the battle of Arbela, where Alexander the Great obtained ſo ſignal a victory over Darius. This great and complicated action, which was celebrated

brated in the military ſchools of Greece, as a model of ſkill and talent, has had the good fortune to be deſcribed by Arrian, with all the preciſion and diſtinctneſs that could be expected from an excellent writer and an experienced ſoldier. The narrative of Arrian has been commented on by Guiſchardt in his Military Memoirs, where, as Dr Thomſon obſerves, are to be found all that the ſcholar, the antiquary and the ſoldier can deſire to be informed of.

Concerning thoſe generals who, in modern times, have improved the art of war, Dr Thomſon has given the following remarks chiefly, as he ſays, from Mauvillon.

In the war which the Spaniards waged in the Low-Countries againſt the Flemiſh and Dutch,

—' the duke of Alba, the prince of Parma, the marquis of Spinola, and other celebrated commanders, on the part of Spain, taught, or reduced to the neceſſity of learning the art of war, the great princes of the houſe of Orange, in the ſame manner as the Swedes afterwards did the Ruſſians.

' Maurice, prince of Orange, was a man of deep learning and reſearch, as well as of genius. He ſtudied the art of war in the writings of the Greeks and Romans.

' Maurice may be conſidered as the father or reviver of modern tactics. From his ſchool an acquaintance with the oblique order of battle was gained by Guſtavus Adolphus, of Sweden, who carried it into execution at the famous battle of Lutzen.

' Turenne, in the early part of his life, ſerved under Maurice, his maternal uncle, againſt the Spaniards in the Low Countries; and afterwards, by his prudence, conduct, and courage, as well as by his public ſpirit and diſintereſtedneſs, during the civil and foreign broils which brought France to the point of ruin, merited and obtained the higheſt fame. He was ſingularly judicious in the choice of poſitions, and in caſtrometation.

' But his eminent ſucceſs was not more owing to any of his great qualities than to a deep inſight into human nature, and a natural mildneſs and ſuavity of manners, by which he was at once enabled to diſcover the ſentiments and emotions of men, and diſpoſed, by a natural and moſt engaging ſympathy, to gratify or to ſooth them: while he commanded univerſal eſteem, he gained alſo every heart.

' The great Marlborough, who, in many reſpects, greatly reſembled Turenne, commenced, like him, his military career in the ſervice of a foreign power.

' Marlborough fell in unfortunate times. Political diſſenſions were then carried on with ſuch violence, and to ſuch heights, that it was impoſſible his conduct could eſcape ſevere cenſure, from one or other of the parties by which England was then convulſed and alternately governed; and he was too cloſely connected with both parties, to be able long to keep on good terms with eighter of them. Hence his conduct, both

both public and private, military and political, has been ſo variouſly repreſented by writers in oppoſite intereſts.

'It is beyond all diſpute that no modern general ever obtained greater victories in the field; yet his conduct has been much leſs praiſed than his good fortune.

'His wonderful ſucceſs at Blenheim and at Ramillies has been attributed to the injudicious diſpoſition of the enemy. But, if the enemy committed errors, Marlborough's genius inſtantly ſuggeſted the beſt way to take advantage of them.

'This reaſoning of his enemies, however, will not hold, in the battle of Malplaquet. There Villars, one of the ableſt officers that France ever poſſeſſed, had taken a ſtrong poſition, and had made it ſtill ſo ſtrong by art, as if nature had completely neglected it.

'This poſt Marlborough attacked, and, after a dreadful conflict and carnage, carried: the fall of Mons and the cloſe of the campaign were the reward of his ſucceſs.

'His predicting his ſucceſs at the celebrated battle of Oudenarde, at a moment when thoſe about his perſon had ſcarcely obſerved the action to be begun, is a wonderful proof how much he poſſeſſed a knowledge of men, as well as of war. Upon the whole, an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs, through many years, can never be with any juſtice attributed to chance or fortune.

'So entirely did Marlborough poſſeſs the confidence of his men, that even when it ſeemed next to impoſſible that they ſhould be extricated from difficulties, they were accuſtomed to make themſelves eaſy, ſaying, "Well, it is no matter to us, *Corporal John*, (for ſo the ſoldiers called him), will find ſome way to bring us off, and do for the enemy!"

'But neither Turenne, nor his great antagoniſt Montecuculi, nor Marlborough himſelf, can be conſidered as inventors in the Art of War. No inventor appeared from the time of Guſtavus Adolphus, the father of the preſent grand baſis of military operations, a triangle reſting on a chain of magazines for a baſis, till that of the great king of Pruſſia.' p. 394–400.

After Guſtavus as an inventor in the modern art of war, Dr Thomſon places Frederick, the real inventor, he ſays, of light or flying artillery, but whoſe inventive genius in the military art chiefly diſtinguiſhed itſelf by his improvement of the oblique or *angular* order, the principles of which he ſtudied profoundly, and illuſtrated the efficacy of its operation in no leſs than forty-two battles. Thus, as inventors in an art, which unfortunately ſo many always practiſe, we can only reckon three in modern times—Prince Maurice, Guſtavus, and Frederic the Great. In antient times, when the ſame art was no leſs diligently cultivated, the original inventors were not much more numerous; we cannot perhaps reckon more than four—Xenophon, Epaminondas, Alexander, and Cæſar. Such at leaſt ſeems to have

been the eſtimate of Sir Walter Raleigh, whoſe judgment is here of great authority.

We would particularly recommend to our readers the account Dr Thomſon has given of the battles of Frederick, in which he has had the aſſiſtance of Grimoard's excellent commentaries.

Among the moderns, Frederick is the hero whom an author of military memoirs will naturally delight to celebrate. Dr Thomſon views him as a philoſopher, a ſoldier, and a king. He has given his character from Mauperſuis, concluding with this ſtriking and juſt remark:—Many a private man might make a great king; but, except Frederick, where is the king that would make a great private man? (p. 457.)

Theſe Military Memoirs come down to the battle near Alexandria in 1801; comprehending, of courſe, ſeveral of the actions in the American war, and in the laſt war with France. In thoſe more recent actions which have not yet been ſufficiently commented on, and criticiſed by military men, it cannot be expected that the information which Dr Thomſon's narrative affords ſhould be quite ſo ſatisfactory as when he records events that have been for a longer time the ſubject of diſcuſſion. Yet here we have been frequently pleaſed with the diſtinctneſs of the deſcriptions, particularly of the actions in the American war, where, though there were no great battles nor brilliant victories, a ſpecies of warfare, new, in many reſpects, from the nature of the country, gave occaſion to the diſplay of conſiderable military talents on both ſides. The events of the French war are great and ſingular beyond that of almoſt any other; but we are at preſent too near the ſcene of action to ſee them with diſtinctneſs, or judge of them with impartiality.

A defect, to which all books of the kind at preſent under review are obviouſly liable, is the want of unity; the different events deſcribed being connected as ſimilar, but not as cauſe and effect. This inconvenience, inſeparable from the plan of the work, is much diminiſhed by the intereſt which, during times like the preſent, all military details muſt neceſſarily create. It might be farther leſſened, by taking care, every time the ſcene is ſhifted, or the actors changed, that ſome introductory account were prefixed, explaining the ſituation of the parties in the war, of the cauſes that operated on them, of the nature of the country in which they fought, and of the manner in which their communications were preſerved. If the work is to undergo a ſecond edition, we think more attention might be paid to theſe circumſtances; as alſo, in the hiſtory of battles, to the exact deſcription of the ground, whenever it is poſſible. On this head, however, we are well aware of the difficulty, and the

ſcantineſs of the materials which, in moſt caſes, hiſtory, affords. We think, alſo, that the number of actions deſcribed might be conſiderably enlarged; and that, both in antiquity and the middle ages, Dr Thomſon might find many examples of war carried on, and battles fought with great diſplay of military talents, of which the preſent volume gives no account. The hiſtory of Rome alone affords many ſuch inſtances, which we ſhall be glad to ſee hereafter included in the Military Memoirs. But, whatever improvement theſe memoirs may admit of, we will venture to recommend them, in their preſent ſtate, as likely to afford amuſement and inſtruction to the reader. Though military hiſtory muſt ever ſuggeſt many painful reflections, yet there reſults from it this truth, ſo conſoling to every friend of humanity, and ſo comfortable to every Briton at the preſent moment, that a nation of free men, united in the cauſe of liberty and independence, has never been ſubdued.

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ART. XVIII. *Letters, from the year* 1774 *to the year* 1796, *of John Wilkes, Eſq. addreſſed to his Daughter, the late Miſs Wilkes: With a Collection of his Miſcellaneous Poems. To which is prefixed a Memoir of the Life of Mr Wilkes.* In four Volumes. London. Longman & Co. &c. 1804.

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*The Correſpondence of the late John Wilkes, with his Friends, printed from the Original Manuſcripts, in which are introduced Memoirs of his Life, by John Almon.* In five Volumes. London. Phillips. 1805.

WE are afraid that neither of thoſe publications is well calculated to remove the unfavourable impreſſion which ſome recent productions have created againſt ſuch a minute exhibition of the life and letters of celebrated individuals. It is a kind of reading, indeed, which is tempting to indolence, by its approximation to the familiarity of ordinary converſation, and ſtimulating to vulgar curioſity, by the promiſe which it holds out, of revealing ſecrets and unmaſking the impoſing characters of public hiſtory. But the thing, we think, has really been overdone: and before they lay out any more of their money in the purchaſe of correſpondences and memoirs, we earneſtly exhort our readers to conſider whether the ſecrets they contain are worth knowing, or whether a file of ancient newſpapers might not afford them as amuſing anecdotes and as authentic information.

Of the two performances now before us, it would not perhaps be very eaſy to ſay which is the moſt inſignificant. If Mr Almon's contains ſomewhat more of ſerious diſcuſſion, and of political recollections, it is only, we are afraid, becauſe he has borrowed more freely from former publications than his anonymous competitor, who, if he be uniformly trifling, is at leaſt entirely original, and is alſo conſiderably leſs voluminous than the editor of the authentic manuſcripts.

We have peruſed the anonymous volumes, we will confeſs, with ſome degree of amuſement and very little feeling of fatigue. The letters are very much like what a man of the world might be expected to write to his daughter, if he had made it a practice to write to her two or three times every week. They are affectionate, eaſy, goſſipping, and, above all, trifling;—filled with accounts of the people who called, and the diſhes he taſted; the furniture he had ordered, the ſervants he engaged, the money he remitted, and the *beaume de vie* that he was under the neceſſity of ſwallowing. This domeſtic tittle-tattle is often delivered indeed in a very lively way; and little anecdotes and obſervations are interſperſed, which give rather a pleaſing impreſſion of the writer's talents for converſation; but for facts or ſentiments, or even for *bon-mots* or pleaſantries that deſerve to be remembered, we are afraid that the reader will look in vain. We make a few extracts almoſt at random, though, for the ſake of our readers, we wiſh to ſelect the moſt amuſing.

'I ſent Mrs Molineux's letter, my deareſt Polly, to Mrs Martin as ſoon as I received it; but, alas! I heard the poor lady became a widow laſt Monday.

'Mrs Macaulay returned to Dr Wilſon on Friday. I ſaw her yeſterday very ill indeed, and raving againſt France, and every thing in that country. She even ſays their ſoups are deteſtable, as bad as Lacedemonian black broth, and their game inſipid, all their meat bad, and their poultry execrable. Yet ſhe ſays, that ſhe dined at ſome of the beſt tables, and was infinitely careſſed. She ſaw Dr Franklin, but refuſed his invitation to dinner, for fear of being confined on her return in conſequence of the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act. "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Mr Wilkes, you know I am very fond of partridges; I ſaw them often ſerved up, but could not eat them, I found them ſo hard and ill-flavoured." I ſtaid with her near an hour, in which time I believe ſhe exclaimed twenty times, "Lord Jeſus Chriſt!" She was painted up to the eyes, and looks quite ghaſtly and ghoſtly. She has ſent away her Engliſh woman, and has only a French valet de chambre and friſeur, at which the reverend Doctor is indignant, and with whom the Engliſh ſervants already quarrel. I hope this will not prove ominous of a more general quarrel between the two nations.

'Linguet's laſt number is fooliſh. As ſoon as I return I ſhall call

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on Mrs Smith, and thank her for the pretty preſent of the muff to you. How infinitely amiable is old age when unattended with frowardneſs, and accompanied with all the goodneſs of heart and benevolence which diſtinguiſh her!

'I ſhall certainly return the next week, and I will fix the day by Tueſday's or Wedneſday's poſt.

'Did my dear girl receive the fiſh, and was it very fine?

'The party yeſterday to Governor Thickneſs's did not take place, on account of his illneſs; ſo I breakfaſted and dined *en famille* with the Breretons.

'Here is a tall Welſh Mrs P—s, beautiful beyond deſcription; but in pity to us ſhe will dance and talk, and thus pours balm into the wounds ſhe gives.

'Good morrow, my deareſt Polly.' Vol. II. p. 61.—64.

The following note from Godſtone, in 1776, may ſerve as a ſhort ſpecimen of the general gaiety of his ſtyle:

'Arrived here in his way to Brighthelmſtone, the famous Mr Wilkes, with a French valet de chambre, both as hungry as Highlanders, but finding rather more to eat than any Highlander, who had not been in the ſouth. Saw ſcarcely ten perſons on the road, and ſuſpects men, women, and children have all emigrated to America. Is determined to eat a little forbidden fruit for ſupper, to drink the health of a moſt amiable young lady in Prince's Court, and to retire to Bedfordſhire before ten; to riſe to-morrow with the lark, and to hold converſe with old ocean before evening. Such are the harmleſs projects of this ſon of ambition and faction.' Vol. II. p. 12.

The next is from the Iſle of Wight in 1789.

'Yeſterday I was happy, my deareſt Polly, by your favour of laſt Sunday, and I read with much ſatisfaction the account of your dear health, and the improvement of your voice, even in the late cold and tempeſtuous month of May.

'We are impatient for the deſcending ſhowers to call forth all nature's ſweets, and waken all her flowers, for the earth is as thirſty as Boſwell, and as cracked in many places, as he certainly is in one. His book, however, is that of an entertaining madman. Poor Johnſon! Does a friend come and add to the groſs character of ſuch a man, the unknown trait of diſguſting gluttony? I ſhall bring his two quartos back with me, and will point out numberleſs miſtakes; but there are many excellent things in them. I ſuſpect not unfrequently a miſtake in the *Dramatis Perſonæ*. He has put down to *Boſwell* what was undoubtedly ſaid by *Johnſon*, what the latter did, and the former could not, ſay. The motto to his book ſhould have been the two lines of Pope,

"Who tells whate'er you think, whate'er you ſay,
And if he lies not, muſt at leaſt betray."

'I am much pleaſed that your bed, book-caſe, and wardrobe, are finiſhed to your mind, and I truſt that the workmen will give you as much

much ſatisfaction in every thing elſe reſpecting the Grosvenor Square houſe. It will be a high gratification to me to give you a complete town reſidence. One of the moſt deſirable things in this country, which affords the moſt frequent enjoyment, is a convenient and elegant houſe where you generally reſide.

'I hope your Sunday with Madame de la Fite and Miſs De Luc was not *triſte comme une dimanche Anglicane*, but as cheerful as a May-day in a more propitious ſeaſon.

'I thank you for another lamprey. By a note in the baſket, we are not to expect any more this year, the ſeaſon being over.' Vol. IV. p. 5.—8.

The next we think is ſilly: but as the editor has ſpecified it as playful and lively, we think it but juſtice to inſert it.

'Polly, dear, ſweet Polly, I have got a new coat, and it is all blue, and it has a fine gold edging, and I have a fine ſilk waiſtcoat, and it is all ribbed, and is blue, and has likewiſe a gold edging, and I have ſmall-clothes all blue, and fine mother-of-pearl buttons, in every one of which you might ſee your pretty face. Now I intend to go to Ranelagh, with you, in this ſame fine waiſtcoat and coat, but then you muſt have a new gown, or all the fine folks will jeer me; therefore, as I am preparing for my return, you muſt call at Mr Redhead's, and have a fine new gown made immediately, and then I will go with you the firſt day you chooſe.

'I thank you for your letter of Thurſday. Pray return the fair widow, not my *compliment*, but my *love*, *tender love*.

'To-day I dine with Mrs Macaulay and the Doctor. To-morrow, being Sunday, I travel to Briſtol, to have the benefit of your prayers, but return in the evening.

'Lord Irnham came here laſt night, and breakfaſted here this morning with Mr, Mrs, and ſweet Juliet Brereton, and a Miſs Newman, young, ugly, and amiable.' Vol. II. p. 91. 92.

There are ſeveral touches of profanity in theſe letters, that would have been unbecoming any where, but are particularly offenſive when conſidered as having been addreſſed by a father to his daughter. There is an expreſſion in Vol. II. p. 148, which is abſolutely indecent. The following, we hope, was only intended for free and unmeaning pleaſantry:

'Shall I, my deareſt Polly, give you an account of yeſterday's Chriſtmas dinner? It is ſo like an alderman to talk the day after of what he had yeſterday: yet perhaps, being a female, you may be curious, and therefore I give it. The paſchal lamb, with the fry—a *virgin* pullet, ſtuffed with *pigeon's* eggs—St Peter's cock, à-la-cocky decky—a large cod's head from the miraculous draught—fricaſſee of *innocents*—cloven tongues avec de la ſauce au St Eſprit—Baptiſt's head in a charger—calves' heads à-la-Golgotha—des fauciſſes males à-la-Madelaine. The deſſert conſiſted of *boncbretien* pears—and the wine was *lachryma Chriſti* (the famous wine near Naples, called the *tears of Chriſt*.

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An Iriſhman ſaid, on taſting it, he wiſhed that Chriſt had wept in Ireland.) Was not this a very ſuitable dinner for the anniverſary which was celebrated?

'The ſweet July Brereton I ſaw and ſaluted yeſterday. I hope ſo beauteous a flower will not wither on the ſtalk from whence it grew, and die uncropped.

'I mean this afternoon to reviſit the good old Doctor at Alfred Houſe, and ſhall not fail, as he kindly deſires, to pay him almoſt daily viſits, while I continue at Bath. By all accounts from the faculty he cannot long ſurvive.' p. 180-1.

We add only one other extract from Bath.

'Conſtancy! thy name is Wilkes: and conſtancy to Huncamunca is a prodigy, a miracle of the latter ages, and yet literally true. I am here again, in Miſs Temple's lodgings, in Gallway's Buildings, and my fair landlady has been juſt dropping me ſuch a broad-wheel curteſey, that I trembled for the floor, and the floor trembled likewiſe.

'I wrote to you laſt night from Marlborough, and, notwithſtanding my violent exertions, I roſe this morning at ſix, and was able to attack a large roll with ſucceſs, on the ſtrength of which I proceeded to this capital of health and folly.

'I find Bath very thin for the ſpring ſeaſon, and I believe the embodying of the militia in ſo many counties will deprive the harpies here of a good deal of their prey. I have no news yet of the *amiable couple* at —— Houſe, but my next letter will give you a little hiſtory of all your acquaintance here.

'I was much ſurpriſed to find the ſpring more advanced every where in the country than in your park, and the immediate environs of London. The ſweet infants of the ſpring are here raiſing their beauteous heads above the dull earth, and the groves charm already with the muſic of the feathered choriſters, which are ſtill more harmonious than the feathered females in the upper or lower rooms.

'Poor Doctor M——! The mind is the ſame, but its caſe is dreadfully ſhattered. Yet he was in the rooms laſt night. Methinks a total retirement under ſuch circumſtances would more gracefully cloſe the ſcene. The chapter of *Struldbrugs*, in Swift, is the beſt cure I know of the fooliſh wiſh of too long life. Dr W——, too, is half gone, and it would ſcarcely be a ſin to bury him as he is. I paid my reſpects to him this morning, and found him trembling at once with eagerneſs and age. Mrs M—— was not at home, but I have ſince had a card in print from her: "Mrs M.'s compliments to Mr W. Mrs M. will be at home every Thurſday to tea and cards." This is all the news I have of Bath. Good morrow.' p. 80-4.

Theſe extracts may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the letters which certainly form the moſt intereſting part of this publication. The firſt of the four volumes, however, is filled with a life written with laudable moderation and candour, but in a very *juvenile* taſte; and

and with ſome poems of Mr Wilkes, which are bad beyond the common badneſs of occaſional verſes.

We really do not ſee what uſe there was for a life of John Wilkes. All his public hiſtory is detailed with ſufficient accuracy and ſufficient amplitude in the chronicles and journals of the times; and of his private concerns and adventures, we are inclined to think that both this and the ſucceeding generations would have been well contented to be ignorant. Mr Almon indeed aſſures us, that 'his name is placed on a level with thoſe of Hampden and of Sydney;' and the anonymous biographer, though he has afterwards the prudence to lower his tone a little, ſets off with a ſort of parallel between him and Lord Bacon. Nothing, it appears to us, can poſſibly be more ludicrous than thoſe flouriſhes of rhetoric or enthuſiaſm. Mr Wilkes undoubtedly came into public life as an adventurer; and there ſeems little reaſon to doubt that his primary object was to promote his own intereſt, and, for that purpoſe, to force himſelf into notoriety. He was gifted by nature with an unuſual ſhare of firmneſs and intrepidity, and had cultivated a talent for ſarcaſm and popular invective, which rendered his oppoſition very formidable to thoſe who were leſs daring or leſs expert. But in the whole courſe of his public career there ſeems to have been nothing generous, diſintereſted, or noble; nothing which indicated either a diſpoſition or an underſtanding which qualified him to act the part of a ſtateſman, or to adminiſter the affairs of a great nation. With no more than a moderate knowledge of Engliſh hiſtory, and no knowledge at all, as it appears to us, of thoſe more profound principles which influence the proſperity of nations, he dogmatiſed with unlimited confidence upon the genius of the Britiſh conſtitution, and upon all thoſe delicate queſtions of legiſlative ſupremacy and popular controul, of which he was incapable of feeling the difficulty.

All his quarrels were perſonal, and the ſpirit with which he conducted them was acrimonious and irritating in a very unuſual degree. He was the firſt Engliſh gentleman, we believe, ſince the revolution, who appealed from the ſenate to the mob, and endeavoured to force his way to diſtinction and power by the help of popular indignation, while he was entirely exempt from that ſympathy and veneration for the lower orders of ſociety with which ſome ſucceeding patriots ſeem to have been ſincerely inſpired. He may be ſaid to have introduced into party diviſion not only the bitterneſs of perſonal animoſity, but the ſcurrility of vulgar diſputation, and to have ſet the example of a mode of contention by which conciliation would have become impracticable, and political differences muſt have been exaſperated into inexpi-

able

able hoſtility. All that was done, in his caſe, for the protection of private liberty, might have been effected more eaſily by a milder and more dignified aſſertor; and while we conceive the nation to have been indebted chiefly to Lord Chief Juſtice Pratt, for having anticipated, by a few years, the ſuppreſſion of general warrants, (an irregularity too monſtrous to have had a long endurance), it ſeems to have owed little to Mr Wilkes, but the example of vulgariſing parliamentary diſſenſions, and of contending with the officers of government as if they had been ordinary ruffians, who were ſeeking to deprive him of his property or his life. We certainly cannot diſcern any extraordinary merit in ſtating ſo obvious an objection, and are ſure that it might have been made effectual with leſs clamour and fury. A priſoner accuſed of offences againſt the government will naturally uſe every plea to obtain his liberation; and when his plea is ultimately ſuſtained, we feel no admiration for any thing but the beneficent vigour of the law, and the even-handed juſtice of the magiſtrate by whom it is adminiſtered. In the courſe of this conteſt, it cannot be denied, that he both received and gave no ordinary provocation, and that he conducted himſelf throughout with a degree of intrepidity, conſiſtency and ſpirit, that would have been heroic in a higher cauſe, and highly exemplary in that which he had to maintain, if they had not been tainted with ſome mixture of ferocity and intemperate paſſion. The account which he gives of his interview with the Secretaries of State after his firſt apprehenſion, is republiſhed by Mr Almon from the ſecond letter to the Duke of Grafton, and affords ſo ſtriking a picture of the man, that though the paſſage is rather long we are tempted to lay it before our readers.

"I was conducted into a great apartment fronting the park, where lord Halifax and lord Egremont, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, were ſitting at a table covered with papers, pens and ink. The under-ſecretaries ſtood near their lordſhips. Lord Egremont received me with a ſupercilious, inſolent air; lord Halifax, with great politeneſs. I was deſired to take the chair near their lordſhips; which I did. Lord Halifax then began—'that he was really concerned that he had been neceſſitated to proceed in that manner againſt me; that it was exceedingly to be regretted that a gentleman of my rank and abilities could engage againſt his king, and his majeſty's government.' I replied, 'that his lordſhip could not be more miſtaken, for the king had not a ſubject more zealouſly attached to his perſon and government than myſelf,' &c. Lord Halifax anſwered, 'that nothing had been done but by the advice of the beſt lawyers, and that it was now his duty to examine me.' He had in his hand a long liſt of queſtions, regularly numbered. He began, 'Mr Wilkes, do you know Mr Kearſley? when did you ſee him?'

him?' &c. &c. I replied, 'that I ſuſpected there was a vain hope my anſwer would tend towards what his lordſhip wiſhed to know: that he ſeemed to be loſt in a dark and intricate path, and really wanted much light to guide him through it; but that I could aſſure his lordſhip not a ſingle ray ſhould come from me.' Lord Halifax returned to the charge. 'Mr Wilkes, do you know Mr Kearſley,' &c. &c. I ſaid, 'that this was a curioſity on his lordſhip's part, which, however laudable in the ſecretary, I did not find myſelf diſpoſed to gratify; and that, at the end of my examination, all the quires of paper on their lordſhips' table ſhould be as milk-white as at the beginning.' Lord Halifax then deſired to remind me of my being their priſoner, and of their right to examine me. I anſwered, 'that I ſhould imagine their lordſhips' time was too precious to be trifled away in that manner; that they might have ſeen before, I would never ſay one word they deſired to know;' and I added, 'indeed, my lords, I am not made of ſuch ſlight, flimſy ſtuff:' then, turning to Lord Egremont, I ſaid, 'Could you employ tortures, I would never utter a word unbecoming my honour, or affecting the ſacred confidence of my friend. God has given me firmneſs and fidelity. You trifle away your time moſt egregiouſly, my lords.' Lord Halifax then aſked me, 'if I choſe to be a priſoner in my own houſe, at the Tower, or in Newgate; for he was diſpoſed to oblige me.' I gave his lordſhip my thanks; but I deſired to remark, 'that I never received an obligation but from a friend; that I demanded juſtice, and my immediate liberty, as an Engliſhman who had not offended the laws of his country: that as to the reſt, it was beneath my attention; the odious idea of reſtraint was the ſame odious idea every where: that I would go where I pleaſed; and, if I was reſtrained by a ſuperior force, I muſt yield to the violence, but would never give colour to it by a ſhameful compromiſe.' Lord Halifax then told me, 'that I ſhould be ſent to the Tower, where I ſhould be treated in a manner ſuitable to my rank; and that he hoped the meſſengers had behaved well to me.' I acknowledged that they had behaved with humanity, and even civility to me, notwithſtanding the ruffian orders given them by his lordſhip's colleague. I then again turned to lord Egremont, and ſaid, 'Your lordſhip's verbal orders were, to drag me out of my bed at midnight. The firſt man who had entered my bedchamber by force, I ſhould have laid dead on the ſpot. Probably I ſhould have fallen in the ſkirmiſh with the others. I thank God, not your lordſhip, that ſuch a ſcene of blood has been avoided. Your lordſhip is very ready to iſſue orders, which you have neither the courage to ſign, nor, I believe, to juſtify.' No reply was made to this; and the converſation dropped. Lord Halifax retired into another apartment. Lord Egremont continued ſullen and ſilent, about a quarter of an hour. I then made a few remarks on ſome capital pictures which were in the room, and his Lordſhip left me alone.

'I was afterwards conducted into another apartment. I found there ſeveral of my friends, in argument with the moſt infamous of all the

the tools of that adminiſtration, Mr Philip Carteret Webb. He confirmed to me that I was to be carried to the Tower, and wiſhed to know if I had any favours to aſk. I replied, 'that I was uſed to confer, not to receive, favours: that I was ſuperior to the receiving any even from his maſters: that all I would ſay to him was, if my valet-de-chambre was allowed to attend me in the Tower, I ſhould be ſhaved and have a clean ſhirt; if he was not, I ſhould have a long beard and dirty linen.' Mr Webb ſaid, 'that orders would be given for his admiſſion at the Tower.' I complained of the ſhameful evaſion of the habeas-corpus, in ſending me to the Tower, though the orders of the chief-juſtice Pratt were known. Mr Webb made no reply to this. He came to viſit me at the Tower in the beginning of my impriſonment, when I had not the permiſſion to ſee any friend. I deſired him almoſt at his firſt entrance to take his leave; for, if I was not allowed to ſee thoſe whom I loved, I would not ſee thoſe whom I deſpiſed.' p. 201—209.

Such ſcenes as this ſhow great firmneſs and ability; but the ability of a dexterous partizan, rather than that of a genuine patriot, or an able ſtateſman. They indicate a man to be avoided, and perhaps to be pacified, but not a man to be truſted or employed; one who may be feared as an enemy, but not wiſhed for as a friend; a formidable tool perhaps of a deſperate faction, but ſcarcely fit for an inſtrument of regular government, or even of ſyſtematic oppoſition. Accordingly, Mr Wilkes, though more notorious than any man in England, and enjoying a reputation for talents at leaſt equal to his deſervings, was never admitted into any of her great conſtitutional parties, nor ever received into any political intimacy or confidence by either of the adverſe bands of ſtateſmen who have ſucceſſively influenced the councils of this country. His anonymous biographer, in contraſting his hiſtory with that of an illuſtrious contemporary, makes the following judicious obſervation.

'Whilſt Mr Burke (a political adventurer alſo) attached to the mild virtues of the Rockingham connexion, increaſed in weight, as he increaſed in years, and on his deathbed found himſelf ſurrounded chiefly by thoſe who, as they had advanced in years, had alſo advanced in reputation and popular eſteem; Mr Wilkes in old age ſtood ſingle and alone; politically triumphant indeed, but with no *perſonal* ſharers of his triumph, and with little to elevate his mind, but the recollection of a fame, hourly on the decline, as new occurrences occupied and diverted the attention of the public.' Vol. I. p. 16.

Having this general impreſſion as to Mr Wilkes's public character, and being perfectly indifferent as to the *minutiæ* of his private hiſtory, Mr Almon muſt excuſe us, if we ſay that we followed the ample and elaborate detail which he has given of all the tranſactions of his life, with very little intereſt, and very great

fatigue. The work is divided into chapters, which are titled in capital letters, with ſuch promiſing notices as the following: 'Of the Mead family;'—'of John Wilkes, Eſq. during his minority;'—'of the ſeparation of Mr and Mrs Wilkes;'—'Mr Wilkes elected alderman of the Ward of Farrington without;'—'Mr Wilkes's journey to Bath,' (to get rid of a fever);—'Mr Wilkes's tour to the coaſt,' &c. &c. &c. The greater part of the chapters are as dull as the titles might give reaſon to expect; and a very large proportion of the letters are exceſſively trifling and inſignificant. What would our readers ſay, for inſtance, to a ſeries of epiſtles from Miſs Wilkes in this ſtyle and pattern?

'DEAR PAPA, *Bury, Saturday Morning.*

'I take the liberty of informing you of my arrival here; as I remember the letters from Garboldiſham are received only the third day, and I cannot learn here when the poſt ſets out from thence. I will have the pleaſure of writing to you as ſoon as poſſible. I lay at Sudbury, where I arrived a little after ſix. I have had a very pleaſant journey, without the leaſt accident. *Bon jour, mon cher papa.*' Vol. IV. p. 120.

Or this, when the fair writer is ſome years older—

'I received, dear papa, your kind favour of Saturday, in company with your old friend Miſs Goddard; who accepted of a *tête-à-tête* dinner with me yeſterday. We had the Bath mutton you was ſo good as to ſend me. It was delicious; and we drank the health of the amiable donor. We had likewiſe the Bath cheeſe; which we both liked extremely.

'At laſt you ſee that Mr Luttrell is married. I beg you will aſk Lord Irnham where he has taken a houſe; as I wiſh to be among the firſt that wait upon the bride.

'Mr Serjeant Adair called yeſterday, to know if you was returned; and Mr Mulliner ſent this morning.

'My grandmother is pretty well, and deſires her love.' Vol. IV. p. 245. 246.

If they wiſh to ſee what ſort of compoſitions Mr Almon has recorded from more celebrated authors, they may read a ſeries of complimentary acknowledgements in the fourth volume, of which the following ſtands firſt.

'Mr Pitt preſents his compliments to Mr Wilkes, and is extremely obliged to him for the edition of Catullus, which Mr Wilkes has done him the honour to ſend this morning.' Vol. IV. p. 221.

Or they may peruſe ſeven letters about dinners from Mr Boſwell, in this taſte.

'I ſhould ſet out for Scotland to-morrow; but I will ſtay on purpoſe to have a dinner with Lord Mountſtuart and you. Let me know then, by a note, this night if poſſible, or to-morrow morning before ten, if that party can hold on Thurſday, provided I can fix the third man. Send the note to me, at Lord Mountſtuart's, Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-

Berkeley-ſquare. I think our tavern ſhould be the Crown and Anchor. Yours, &c.' Vol. IV. p. 311.

If they ſhould like the following ſpecimen of Mr Wilkes's tour through Italy in 1765, we can aſſure them that upwards of fifty pages of the ſame compoſition await them in the ſecond volume.

'I left Florence February 9, at three in the afternoon; and got to San Caſſiano, one poſt, a little after ſix. The road was very rough, and much up hill.—February 10, I left San Caſſiano at ſeven; arrived at Tavernelle, one poſt, at twelve; came to Poggibonzi, one poſt, at three; to Caſtiglioncello, one poſt, at five; and reached Sienna a little before ſeven: the road tolerably good, and the views on each ſide very pictureſque; a ſweet variety of hills and valleys, and the whole face of the country ſmiling. The earth is almoſt every where covered with corn, and olive-trees.—February 11, I left Sienna, at twelve, and arrived at Monterone, one poſt, at two; reached Buonconvento, one poſt, at five; and arrived at Torrenieri, one poſt, at ſeven. The road much up and down hill, but not dangerous.—February 12, I left Torrenieri at ſeven; came to La Scala, one poſt, at nine; to Ricorſi, one poſt, at twelve; to Radicofani, one poſt at three; to Ponte Centino, one poſt and three quarters, at five; to Acquapendente, one poſt, at a little after ſeven. The poſt to Radicofani is very bad, the hills very ſteep and rough: the poſt to Acquapendente is ſtill worſe, and the hill a little dangerous; it is indeed almoſt perpendicular.—February 13, I left Acquapendente at eight: came to S. Lorenzo, three-quarters of a poſt, at ten; proceeded to Bolſena, one poſt and three-quarters; arrived there at five; changed horſes about half-way; reached Viterbo at half an hour after ſix. Between Bolſena and Monteſiaſcone you have a beautiful view of the lake of Bolſena, about thirty miles in circumference, with two iſlands in it; all the way on the right. The road is very rough, and over mountains.—February 14, I left Viterbo at eight: aſcended the very high mountain of that name to Ronciglione, three-quarters of a poſt; arrived there at eleven: proceeded to Monte Roſi, one poſt, the whole way almoſt deſcending the mountain of Viterbo; got there by one: proceeded to Baccano, one poſt; came there at three: to Alla Storta, one poſt, at ſix; and to Rome, one poſt at eight. The road is either very rough, or deep, the whole way. The poſtillions drove directly to the Dogana; where the trunks were taken off, and left till the next morning.' Vol. II. p. 132.–134.

Finally, if any one ſhould have a curioſity to know how Mr Wilkes ordered a book-caſe to be painted like mahogany, how he got a ſuit of ſcarlet trimmed with gold, and what he paid for bird cages, caricature prints, and china handles to his knives and forks, we have great pleaſure in referring him to any part of the voluminous correſpondence between him and his daughter, which is interſperſed in various lots and ſubdiviſions through the latter volume of this publication.

At

As Mr Almon's avidity for the immortality of an honest reputation has led him not only to publish all their common memorials of his private occupations, but also to present us once with several copies of a great number of papers that were merely in possession of the public, we cannot but regret that he did not extend his labours so far as to give us a complete view of all his editorial publications. In what he has actually accomplished, he is clearly chargeable either with culpable carelessness or with very foolish economy. If his work is not to contain a complete edition of Mr Wilkes's private letters, why is the veil of privacy withdrawn from the correspondence of persons with whom it would otherwise have remained? And if the whole correspondence is to be published, why is expedition to be made the pretext for the omission of the earliest letters? For what purpose has Mr Wilkes employed his leisure? What is the reason that Mr Almon has reserved the letters to the Duke of Grafton and to the memory of Aylesbury, the speech on Mr Hastings's impeachment, the introduction to the History of England, and the letter on his own conduct, together with his preface to Mortimer, the remarks on Sir John Cust's speech, and all the writs, warrants, charges and sentences connected with his apprehension and trial, at the same time that he has left out the North Briton, the speeches in Parliament, and the observations on the Spanish war, together with many other pieces also, either as worthy of preservation as those which will fall to the lot of the fortunate purchasers of these five volumes? For our own part, we are very well disposed to forgive him for these little omissions, and could have extended our charity to a still greater delinquency: but we do not see how he can ever forgive himself, or expect to be pardoned by those who like to have their pamphlets bound up in an uniform and handsome manner.

There are scattered through these volumes some minute pieces of new information as to the conduct and the motives of ministers in the different measures which were adopted with regard to Mr Wilkes; but though there may still be some persons who will peruse with avidity every thing that bears the form of ministerial anecdote, we will confess that the interest of such investigations is with us long ago gone by. We care very little whether it was determined in the cabinet to expel Mr Wilkes before he presented his petition or after; whether the Duke of Grafton kept faith with him or not; or whether his quarrels with Lord Temple and Mr Horne Tooke did or did not arise entirely from his own misconduct. This stale collection of petty politics indeed appears to us to be a worse kind of trifling than the letters upon his domestic arrangements, his ailments, and visitations: and the only part

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of the work we have peruſed with any degree of amuſement, is that which contains his private letters to Mr Cotes and his daughter. The former give a very lively and undiſguiſed picture of his feelings during the period of his perſecution and popularity; and afford ſome curious glimpſes of conſtitutional gaiety and Epicurean careleſſneſs, in a mind agitated by a fierce ambition, a diſtempered vanity, and a rancorous thirſt for revenge. The latter are indulgent, cheerful, unconſtrained, and every way amiable. Though written in the tone of a man of the world, the morality which they inculcate is entirely unexceptionable, and ſhow the author to have been ſuſceptible, in private life, of better feelings and affections than could be gueſſed at from his public appearances. In theſe particulars, as well as in the inſignificance of their details, they are exactly on a level with the prattling epiſtles which compoſe the other collection: and ſince it was thought worth while to print them at all, we are ſurpriſed that they were not ſeparated from the ſtory of his political adventures, and preſented in another publication to a different ſet of readers.

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*** The Reviewer of Mr Mathias' *Componomenti Lirici* in our laſt Number, begs leave to obſerve, that the admirable ſonnet to which he refers in p. 60, though quoted by Mr Mathias from the works of *Gaetana Paſſarini*, is really the production of *Giovambatiſta Paſtorini* of Genoa; and takes this opportunity of correcting this error of the learned editor of the *Componomenti*, which had formerly eſcaped his obſervation.

QUAR-

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# ANNALS

OF

## COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, AND NAVIGATION,

WITH

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From the earliest accounts to the meeting of the Union Parliament in January 1801. Compoſed from the moſt authentic original Hiſtorians and public Records, and other materials of unqueſtionable authenticity (moſtly unpubliſhed); extracted from the Records of Parliament, the Accounts of the Cuſtomhouſe, the Mint, the Board of Trade, the Poſt-office, the Eaſt-India Company, the Bank of England, *&c. &c.* in three parts.——

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